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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād, written about the year* 900 A.D. *by Ibn Serapion. The Arabic Text edited from a MS. in the British Museum Library, with Translation and Notes.* By GUY LE STRANGE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Geography of Mesopotamia during the epoch of the Baghdād Caliphate has not, I think, received the attention which the subject deserves. With the exception of the small maps found in the Spruner-Menke Atlas, I believe no detailed description or delineation of the country at this date has been attempted. Yet it must be admitted that the history of the Abbasids is almost incomprehensible without such an aid; for the physical and political condition of the country was not then what it is now, as a glance at the accompanying map will show.

The basis of this map is the description of the two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, with their affluents and inter-communicating canals, which was written by Ibn Serapion at the beginning of the fourth century A.H., corresponding with the tenth A.D. The text now published for the first time is from the unique MS. of one volume of his work preserved in the British Museum Library (Add. MS. 23,379). Of Ibn Serapion, personally, I believe

nothing is known; the date of his work, however, is fixed by the minute description he has given of Baghdād. Various palaces are described, the latest being the celebrated *Ḳaṣr-at-Tāj* (the Palace of the Crown), completed by the Caliph Al-Muḳtafī immediately after his accession in A.H. 289 (902). That Ibn Serapion wrote not later than the first part of the tenth century A.D. is proved by the fact that no mention is made of the palaces which were built in Baghdād by the Buwayhid princes, subsequent to the year 334 A.H. (945), when Mu'izz-ad-Dawla became master of both the capital and the person of the Caliph.

In regard to the Topography of ancient Baghdād—a subject which I hope to take up again and elucidate more fully in a future paper—the information given by Ibn Serapion is of much importance, for it enables us to complete the minute description of the city which we possess in the work of Ya'ḳūbī, written in A.H. 278 (891), a decade or so before the date of Ibn Serapion. Now Ya'ḳūbī describes Baghdād from the centre outwards, going along the main-roads; while, on the other hand, Ibn Serapion follows the course of the canals, beginning above and passing down to where each flows out into the Tigris. It will readily be understood that the canals and the high-roads, for the most part, cross each other, and interlace; hence by plotting out the palaces and quarters described by these two independent authorities, a net-work of points is gained, which, with the main course of the Tigris for a back-bone, enables us to reconstitute the ground-plan of Baghdād of the times of the Caliphate. This is what I have attempted in my plan, but full details concerning the various buildings given in Ibn Serapion, and of others mentioned by Ya'ḳūbī must be reserved for a future paper.

It will be convenient, in this Introduction, briefly to point out how the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates differed in the 10th century A.D. from what is at present found. Ibn Serapion describes the Tigris as rising at a spring and flowing down past Āmid, which is proof that

the eastern branch of the Tigris (and not the Bitlis river) was that regarded as the main-stream by the Arabs. Down as far as Samarrā, the towns given show that the course was then much what it is now. From this place, however, to a point a few miles above Baghdād, the river followed a shorter and more westerly channel than it does at the present day. The line of this older river-bed—which still has the ruins of the towns named by Ibn Serapion lying on its bank—is marked on our maps. After flowing through Baghdād and past Al-Madāin (Ctesiphon), the Tigris passed down to the latitude of Kūt-al-Amarah, and here the great alterations in its course are to be noticed. At the present day the Tigris follows an easterly channel down to Korna—this also, as we shall show (see Note 1 to Section xiv.), was its course in Sassanian times—and here its waters join the Euphrates to form the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab or Tidal Estuary of the combined streams. In the days of the Caliphate, however, the Tigris flowed due south from Kūt-al-Amarah, running down the channel now known as the Shaṭṭ-al-Hay, and passing through the city of Wāsiṭ, below which, by various canals and mouths, the stream spread out and became lost in the great Swamp, which is so important a feature in the geography, political and physical, of that epoch. From the great Swamp—into which, as we shall see later, the Euphrates also poured its waters—a canal flowed out direct into the Tidal Estuary, which thus served to drain off the waters of both the Tigris and the Euphrates. This Estuary, after passing to the eastward of Al-Baṣra, finally came to the open sea at 'Abbadān, a town which, on account of the recession of the Persian Gulf, now lies nearly twenty miles distant from the present shore-line. In the account which Ibn Serapion gives of the Estuary of the Dujayl, as he calls the river Karun, there are some matters of importance which will be discussed in the notes appended to my translation.

The description of the Euphrates presents many points of interest. In the first place the Orientals then, as now, considered what we call the Western Euphrates, which

rises in the mountains to the north of Erzeroum, as the main arm of the great river. The Eastern Euphrates, now generally called the Murād-Sū, a name given to it by the Turks, Ibn Serapion and other mediæval geographers speak of as the river Arsanās. This latter name has, apparently, long since fallen into desuetude, but it is evidently identical with the classical *Arsanias Flumen*, which Pliny describes in the first century after Christ. It is curious to find another classical name, apparently, still in use in the tenth century A.D., although, as in the former case, this also has now been long forgotten; for the Nahr Lūḳīya, no longer to be found on our modern maps, is doubtless the river *Lycus* of the Roman geographer. In the time of Ibn Serapion, many of the other great tributaries of the Euphrates, as also their secondary affluents, bore names which are evidently not Arabic. As instances I may mention the rivers Salḳiṭ, Jarjārīya, and Ḳarāḳīs—possibly there are some others—all of which are now known under Turkish names, but which, in the tenth century A.D., evidently still kept the nomenclature of pre-Islamic times, and thus, in a modified form, preserved the original Greek or native denomination for these streams.

The main-stream of the Euphrates, after passing out from the mountains, received various affluents in the plain of northern Mesopotamia, and flowing south-east, followed its present course down to a point a short distance north of Al-Kūfa. Here the stream bifurcated. The branch to the right—considered then as the main-stream of the Euphrates, but now known as the Hindiyya Canal—ran down past Al-Kūfa, and a short distance below this city became lost in the western part of the great Swamp, which has already been spoken of as swallowing up the waters of the Tigris. The stream to the left or eastward, called the Sūrā Canal—which, in its upper reach, follows the line of the modern Euphrates—ran a short course and then split up into numerous canals whose waters, for the most part, flowed out into the Tigris above Wāsiṭ. Those canals which did not join the Tigris above that

city, joined its waters lower down, for they all drained into the northern part of the great Swamps.

The Arabs had inherited from the Persians, their predecessors in Mesopotamia, the system of canalization which joined the lower courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris, making the Sawād—or Alluvial plain to the south of Takrīt and Al-Anbār—one of the richest countries of the East. A glance at the map will show that the system adopted was to carry off the surplus waters of the Euphrates into the Tigris, for the purpose of irrigating the lands between the two rivers. On the other hand, the waters of the Tigris were, for the most part, tapped by canals on its further or eastern bank, in order more thoroughly to irrigate the lands which lay on the Persian border of its stream. The four great irrigation canals of the Euphrates were the ʿĪsā, Ṣarṣar, Mālik, and Kūtha, and these four with the Sūrā Canal (flowing eastward from the bifurcation above Al-Kūfa) carried off the greater part of the waters of the Euphrates to the Tigris. The distances separating these canals which Ibn Serapion mentions are of great importance, since they enable us to fix their positions. The main canal of the left bank of the Tigris was the great Ḳāṭūl-Nahrawān channel, dating from the days of the Chosroes; but a shorter line also existed on the right bank of the Tigris, formed by the Isḥaḳiyya and the Dujayl Canals, and this irrigated the lands immediately to the north of Baghdād.

With only a single MS. of the work of Ibn Serapion to consult, the reconstitution of the text has been a matter of some difficulty. Most of the place-names, it is true, occur again either in the works of the contemporary geographers of the third and fourth centuries A.H., or in the later compilations of Yāḳūt and Bakri; but in some instances places are mentioned once only in Ibn Serapion and by no other geographer, and often the reading of our MS. is corrupt or uncertain. For plotting out the names on my map, I have in most cases been able to fix the position of the towns along the various streams by a reference

to the distances given in the Road-books of Ḳudāma and other authorities, taking as fixed points the places therein mentioned which still exist. In the three sections describing the city of Baghdād, great help has been derived from the work written by Al-Khaṭīb on the "History of Baghdād," of which the British Museum possesses three fairly correct MSS. Al-Khaṭīb has often copied Ibn Serapion verbatim; and some portions of the work of Al-Khaṭīb have been incorporated by Yāḳūt, who thus quotes Ibn Serapion at second-hand; Abu-l-Fidā in his geography, on the other hand, appears to have copied some of the text of Ibn Serapion at first-hand.

With all these aids, however, a few corrupt passages remain over, which I have emended as best I could, and these, with minor verbal additions, have been marked by enclosure in square brackets [ ]. The translation has been made as literal as possible, but to avoid ambiguity the antecedent proper-name has constantly been repeated in place of the pronoun; such additions, however, I have marked by enclosure in parentheses ( ). All dates are given in years of the Hijra; the succeeding, and higher, figures (in parentheses) represent the corresponding dates A D. I have translated the term *Farsākh* by "league," with which measure it practically corresponds; for along roads, and counting the winding course of the rivers, three miles as the crow flies is above, rather than below, the fair estimate of the *Farsākh*. The Arab mile (*mīl*), the one used by Ibn Serapion, is equivalent to our nautical mile or knot—that is to say, about one English statute mile and a quarter. It must be remembered, however, that distances in those early days were not measured, but only estimated by time, being counted as so many *Farsākhs* (the League, or Hour), or so many *Marḥalas* (the Day's march); hence the Arab mile may, as a rule, be taken as roughly the equivalent of our mile. On the Map nineteen *Farsākhs*, or fifty-seven Arab miles, go to the degree of latitude.

I have divided up the text (and the translation) into sections, for convenience in adding the notes. These last

have been made as succinct as was compatible with giving translations of short passages from contemporary geographers, whose descriptions enable us to fix distances and positions.

The text of Ibn Serapion, which I now publish, occupies a little over eleven leaves (22 pages) of the MS., which contains in all 68 leaves of a folio-sized volume, written in a clear hand, and dated A.H. 709 (1309). The beginning of the volume contains a description of the various seas, islands, lakes, and mountains of the world, after which come the rivers. Following on the notice of the Euphrates and Tigris (now published) is a page devoted to a minute description of the course of the Nile, and this contains some curious information. The volume closes with an enumeration of various springs and minor streams. The whole of this volume by Ibn Serapion would, I believe, be well worth translating and editing. Apparently, however, in our present MS. we only possess a portion of the entire work, for Ibn Serapion refers to a chapter "On the Roads and Ways" (see Section XIV.), which is nowhere to be found in the volume in the British Museum.

In conclusion I add a list of the authorities quoted in my notes, with a sufficient bibliography to enable my readers to identify the editions of the texts from which my translations have been made.

Ibn Kutayba, wrote about A.H. 250 (864). Edited by Wüstenfeld, 1850.
Ibn Khurdādbih, A.H. 250 (864). Edited by De Goeje. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. vi.
Bilādhurī, A.H. 255 (869). Edited by De Goeje, 1866.
Kudāma, A.H. 266 (880). Bibl. Geogr. Arab. vol. vi.
Ya'ḳūbī, A.H. 278 (891). *Idem.* vol. vii.
Ibn Rusta, A.H. 290 (903). *Idem.* vol. vii.
Mas'ūdī, A.H. 332 (943). Edited by Barbier de Meynard. Nine vols. Paris, 1877.—*Tanbih*, by the same Author, in Bibl. Geogr. Arab. vol. viii.
Iṣtakhrī, wrote about A.H. 340 (951). Bibl. Geogr. Arab. vol. i.
Ibn Hawkal, A.H. 367 (978). *Idem.* vol. ii.
Muḳaddasi, A.H. 375 (985). *Idem.* vol. iii.
Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, A.H. 438 (1047). Edited in Persian by C. Schefer, 1881.

Al-Khaṭīb, wrote about A.H. 450 (1058). Three MSS. of his *History of Baghdād* exist in the British Museum under the numbers Or. 1507, 1508, and Ad. 23,319. It is to the folios of the first of these copies that my references are made. There is also an excellent MS. at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, No. 2128 of the new Catalogue, and this I have collated.

Bakri, wrote in A.H. 585 (1189). Edited by Wüstenfeld, 1876.

Yāḳūt, wrote in A.H. 623 (1225). Edited by Wüstenfeld. Six vols. 1873.

Epitome of the same, called the *Marasid*, written about A.H. 700 (1300). Edited by Juynboll. Six vols. 1859.

Dimashḳī, wrote about A.H. 700 (1300). Edited by Mehren, 1866.

Fakhri, of about the same date. Edited by Ahlwardt, 1860.

Abu-l-Fidā, wrote A.H. 721 (1321). Edited by Reinaud, 1840.

Ibn-al-Athīr. Chronicle. Edited by C. J. Tornberg. Fourteen vols. 1876.

Z. D. M. G. refers to the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

Jones (Commander J. F. Jones, R.N.). Various papers in the *Records of the Bombay Government*. No. xliii. New Series, 1857.

Ritter. *Die Erdkunde*. The volumes relating to Western Asia of the second edition. Berlin, 1844.

The Maps I have used are those of Kiepert, namely *Provinces Asiatiques de l'Empire Ottoman*. Six feuilles, Berlin.—And the *Ruinenfelder der Umgegend von Babylon*. Published in the *Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde*. Vol. xviii.

An anonymous Arabic MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of a work on Geography, written for the Hamdanid prince Sayf-ad-Dawla, who died in A.H. 356 (967), gives some curious native maps, which have occasionally been of use to me in fixing the position of towns. This MS. bears the number 2214 in the new Catalogue.

ARABIC TEXT.

[I.] معرفة[1] نهر دجلة من اوله الى اخره * وذلك ان دجلة اولها من عين عند طول سدم سه اخرى لطه وعرض لحل ثم يمر فيها جبلان عند طول سدمه وعرض لزمه ثم يعدل مع الجبل الى طول سحه وعرض لحه ويمر بمدينة آمد مماسا لها ثم يمر الى جزيرة ابن عمر فيدور بها ويصير جزيرة في وسطها مدينة ثم يمر الى مدينة بلد مماسا لها ثم يمر الى مدينة الموصل مماسا لها ثم يمر بالحديثة والسن والسودقانية وجبلتا وتكريت ثم يمر الى مدينة سر من رأى مماسا لها ثم يمر الى القادسية والاجمة والعلث والحظيرة والصوامع وعكبرا واوانا وبصرى وبزوغى والبردان والمزرفة وقطربل والشماسية ويشق مدينة السلام وهى راكبة بشاطئيه ثم يمر الى كلواذى ثم يمر الى مدينة المداين ثم فى وسطها وهى راكبة بشاطئيه[2] ثم يمر الى السيب ودير العاقول والصافية ودير قنى وهمانية[3] وجرجراى والنعمانية وجبل ونهرسابس وفم الصلح ثم يمر الى واسط ثم فى وسطها وهى راكبة بشاطئيه ثم يمر الى الرصافة ونهربان والفاروث ودير العمال والحوانيت ثم يصب فى القطر[4] فم البطيحة عند طول[5] عحه وعرض لبه وذلك وسط البطيحة وسأذكر لك البطايح و

[1] MS. third line of f. 30 b. The Roman numeral refers to the Section of the Translation.

[2] MS. شاطيه.

[3] By an error of the MS. Dayr Ḳunnā and Humāniya are made to precede Dayr al'Āḳūl. The first name is more generally spelt دد قنة.

[4] MS. without points.

[5] F. 31 a.

كيف صفتها والانهار التى يصب اليها ويخرج منها بعد عمل نهر الفرات والانهار التى بينه و بين دجلة ان شاء الله تعالى *

[II.] معرفة الفرات من اوله الى آخره * اول نهر الفرات من عين فى جبل اقردخس عند طول سل وعرض ماك مبك ثم تمر الى طرف جبل مسفينا عند طول سك و عرض مبكه ثم تمر بمدينة كمخ[1] وبحصن المنشار ثم تمر على ميلين من ملطية و تمر بمدينة هنزيط ثم تمر الى مدينة سميساط ثم الى جسر منبج و بالس ثم تمر بمدينة الرقة مماسا لها ثم تمر بالمبارك[2] و فم نهر سعيد و قرقيسيا و الرحبة و الدالية ثم تمر بين[3] [الروابى] لا مماسا للجبل يقال له جبلُ القسوس ثم تمر الى عانة فتدور بها و تصير جزيرة فيها مدينة ثم تمر الى الوسة و النناؤسة ثم تمر الى مدينة هيت ثم تمر بالغرب[4] الانبار و هى مدينة و فيها جسر عليه ثم يمر الى مدينة الكوفة مماسا لها ثم ينفرع منه بين الانبار و الكوفة انهار عظام و سأذكرها فيما بعد ثم تمر الى موضع طوله عاه و عرضه لاه ثم تصب فى البطيحة عبد طول عمه و عرض لال فاذا صار الفرات الى طول عاه وعرض لاه افترق نهرين فيمر النهر الخارج منه بين نهر الفرات[5] و بين سواد الكوفة والبصرة حتى يصب فى البطيحة قريبا من مصب الفرات *

[III.] فاذا فرغت من عمل هذين النهرين العظيمين فابدأ بالانهار التى تصب فى الفرات و الانهار التى تحمل منه و تصب فى دجلة نهرا نهرا من اوله الى اخره فافهم ما ابينه لك *

[1] MS. here and below كمح.
[2] MS. in error puts Ḳarḳīsiyā above the Sa'īd Canal.
[3] MS. رباور.
[4] MS. بالعرب و الانبار.
[5] F. 31 b.

من ذلك نهر يصب فى الفرات من جبل اوله عند طول سبك وعرض ماه ثم يمر بمدينة هنزيط و اقليمها ثم يصب فى الفرات عند طول سال و عرض لطك *

و يصب الى الفرات ايضا نهر يقال له ارسناس و هو نهر شمشاط و اوله من جبل فى حد بلد طرون[1] ثم [يمر][2] بباب مدينة شمشاط ثم يمر بالقرب من باب حصن يقال له حصن زياد و على جنبتى هذا النهر حصون ستة ثم يصب فى الفرات فوق ملطية بمرحلتين فى الجانب الشرقى *

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر لوقية اوله من جبل مرور فى حد بلد أبريق[3] و عليه حصن واحد ومصبه فى الفرات اسفل مدينة كمخ بمرحلة فوق مصب ارسناس فى الجانب الغربى *

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر أبريق مع جبل ماد الى مصبه فى الفرات اسفل من نهر لوقية بقليل فى الجانب الغربى *

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر أنجا اوله من جبل ابريق فوق محجة طريق ملطية بشئ يسير يمر بين جبال و يصب فى الفرات اسفل من مصب نهر ارسناس[4] بمقدار خمسة فراسخ *

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر جرجارية[5] اوله من جبل مرور قريب بحصن خرشنة فى بلد الروم ثم يمر ممرا[6] بعيدا فى صحارى و مروج و يصب فى الفرات اسفل من مصب نهر أنجا[7] بعشرة فراسخ فى الجانب الغربى *

[1] MS. طورون.
[2] Added.
[3] MS. ابريق, below with diacritical points.
[4] MS. اسناس.
[5] Without points, below points given.
[6] F. 32 a.
[7] Without points, below points given.

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له قباقب وهو نهر عظيم كبير يصب اليه انهار كثيرة و سأذكرها فيما بعد و اول هذا النهر من جوف بلد الروم من نهر جيحان من اقصاه يمر بين جبال و حصون و صحارى و مروج ثم يخرج الى ارض العرب و يصب فى الفرات اسفل من مصب نهر جرجاريه بثلثة فراسخ او اكثر و عليه قنطرة عظيمة تعرف بقنطرة قباقب فى الجانب الغربى *

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر البليخ اوله من ارض حران من عين تقال لها عين الذهبانية[1] يمر فيسقى ضياعا و رساتيق و بساتين و يمر ببا جدى و حصن مسلمة و باجروان[2] ويمر فى ظهر مدينة الرقة و يصب فى الفرات اسفل من الرقة السودا فى الجانب الشرقى *

و يصب اليه ايضا نهران مجتمعان فى موضع واحد يقال لاحدهما الخابور وللاخر الهرماس فاول الخابور من مدينة راس العين من عين الزاهرية و اول الهرماس من ارض نصيبين من موضع يقال له طور عبدين و الهرماس نهر نصيبين يمر فيسقى الضياع و البساتين و يخرج من العمارة الى البر و يمر بالخابور فيسقى ضياع راس العين ثم يجتمعان هو و الهرماس فى البرية و الهرماس منصب فيه فيصير نهرا واحدا والغالب عليه الى مصبه الخابور فيمر فيسقى الضياع[3] التى فى شمال قرقيسيا و يصب فى الفرات بقرقيسيا فى الجانب الشرقى و يخرج من الهرماس ايضا نهر يقال له الشرثار اوله من عند سكير العباس يمر فى وسط البرية و يصب فى دجلة اسفل من تكريت بعد ان يمر بالحضر و يقطع جبل بارما[4] *

[1] MS. الدهانيّه.
[2] MS. باحروان.
[3] F. 32 b.
[4] MS. بارما.

و يصب اليه ايضا نهر من عين التمر يمر بارضها ثم يمر الى البرية ويصب فى الفرات اسفل من مدينة هيت فى الجانب الغربى *

[IV.] فاما الانهار التى تستمد منها هذه الانهار الصابة فى الفرات فهى انهار كبيرة * فمنها نهر ارسناس يصب اليه نهر يقال له نهر الذئب مخرجه من جبل فى ناحية قاليقلا يدور فيمر بحصون كثيرة و يصب فى ارسناس فوق مدينة شمشاط بشئ يسير * و يصب الى هذا النهر ايضا نهر يقال له السلقط[1] مخرجه من جبل مزور[2] يمر بحصون كثيرة و يصب فى ارسناس اسفل مدينة شمشاط و جبلها بقليل *

و يصب الى نهر ابريق نهر يقال له زمرة و مخرجه من جبل مرور فوق مخرج نهر لوقية بقليل و مصبه فى نهر ابريق اسفل من القعلة بشئ يسير *

و يصب الى نهر جرجارية نهر يقال له نهر غَوْث مخرجه من جبل فى ناحية ابريق و مصبه فى نهر جرجارية *

و يصب الى نهر قباقب نهر يقال له قراقيس[3] مخرجه من بحر بلاد الروم يجئ الى قريب من باب[4] زبطرة[5] و يصب فى قباقب *

و يصب فى قباقب ايضا نهر الزربوق[6] و مخرجه من جبل بين ملطية و حصن منصور و مصبه فى قباقب اسفل من نهر قراقيس و يحمل من نهر الزرنوق نهر يقال له نهر ملطية فيسقى ضياعا و يصب فى قباقب اسفل من نهر الزرنوق ويحمل من هذا النهر قناة ملطية يمر فيدخل المدينة و يخرج منها و يصب فى قباقب اسفل القنطرة *

[1] MS. سلقط but below section XVIII. with the article.
[2] MS. مرور. See note to the translation.
[3] MS. without points, below pointed.
[4] F. 33 a.
[5] MS. زبطره.
[6] MS. in one place الزربوق, in another الزرنوق.

ويصب فى قباقب ايضا نهر يقال له حوريث[1] اوله عين زنبقا يصب الى بحيرات و يمر بالقرب من مدينة الحدث و يصب فى قباقب على سمته *

و يصب الى حوريث نهر يقال له العرجان اوله من جبل الريش و يصب فى حوريث و من العرجان قناة الحدث واليه تصب *

[V.] معرفة الانهار التى تحمل منه و تصب فى دجلة *

يحمل منه نهر سعيد اوله تحت القبة التى تعرف بفم نهر سعيد تمر الضياع التى فى غربى الفرات و تمر فتسقى ضياع الرحبة فتسقى و تصب فى الفرات فوق دالية مالك بن طوق بعد ما يتفرع منه انهار فى ضياع الدالية فى الجانب الغربى *

و يحمل منه ايضا نهر يقال له دجيل اوله فوق قرية الربّ بفرسخ او اكثر ثم يمر فى العراض[2] و يتفرع منه انهار كثيرة تسقى ضياع مسكن و قطربل و ما يليها من الرساتيق و يصب فى دجلة[3] بين عكبرا و بغداد *

و يحمل[4] منه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر عيسى اوله عند طول سحن و عرض لبك وعلى فوهته قنطرة مهولة يقال لها قنطرة دمما و دمما قرية راكبة الفرات و النهر يمر النهر جاريا فيسقى طسوج فيروزسابور و يمر بقرى و ضياع على جانبيه و اذا صار الى المحول يتفرع منه انهار مدينة السلام و سنذكره فيما بعد ثم يمر الى الياسرية و عليه هناك قنطرة و هى قنطرة الياسرية ثم يمر فى وسط بادوريا[5] من جانبها المشرقى ثم يمر الى الرومية و عليه هناك قنطرة تعرف بالرومية

[1] MS. here and below جوريث. See note to the translation.
[2] MS. العراض.
[3] MS. الدحلة.
[4] F. 33 b.
[5] MS. بادريا.

و يمر الى الزياتيين[1] [و عليه هناك قنطرة تعرف بالزياتيين] ثم يمر الى موضع باعة الاشنان و عليه هناك قنطرة تعرف بقنطرة الاشنان ثم يمر الى موضع باعة الشوك و عليه هناك قنطرة تعرف بقنطرة الشوك ثم يمر الى موضع باعة الرمان و عليه هناك قنطرة تعرف بقنطرة الرمان ثم يمر الى قنطرة المغيض و المغيض ثم يمر الى قنطرة البستان ثم يمر الى قنطرة المعبدى ثم يمر الى قنطرة بنى زُرَيق و يصب فى دجلة اسفل من قصر عيسى بن موسى فى مدينة السلام فى الجانب الغربى *

و يحمل منه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر صرصر اوله اسفل من دمما بثلثة فراسخ و هو نهر كبير و هو ذوب[2] يسقى منه بدوالى و الشواديف و عليه جسر و ضياع و قرى و يمر ببعض بادوريا و مصبه فى دجلة بين بغداد و المداين و هو فوق المداين باربعة فراسخ فى الجانب الغربى[3] *

و يحمل منه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر الملك اوله اسفل من فوهة نهر صرصر بخمسة فراسخ و هو نهر كثير الضياع خصب و عليه جسر و قرى كثيرة و عمارات و يتفرع منه انهار كثيرة و هو طسوج من السواد و مصبه فى دجلة اسفل من المداين بثلثة فراسخ فى الجانب الغربى *

و يحمل منه ايضا نهر يقال له [نهر] كوثى اوله[4] اسفل من نهر الملك بثلثة فراسخ و هو نهر كثير الضياع و القرى و عليه جسر و يتفرع منه انهار تسقى طسوج كوثى من كورة اردشير بابكان[5] و بعض

[1] Added from Yāḳūt IV. 842. MS. الزياسن.
[2] MS. دوب. Cf. *Marāsid* I. 368.
[3] F. 34 a.
[4] MS. اوله من اسفل.
[5] MS. بابكان.

طسوج نهر جوبر[1] و يمر بكوثى ربا و يصب فى دجلة اسفل المداين بعشرة فراسخ فى الجانب الغربى *

[VI.] فاذا جاوز الفرات نهر كوثى بستة فراسخ انقسم قسمين فيمر الفرات الى قنطرة الكوفة و يماس مدينة الكوفة و عليه جسر هناك و يمر الى البطايح *

و يمر القسم الآخر نهرا عظيما اعظم من الفرات و اعرض و هو النهر الذى يقال له سُورَا الاعلى يمر بقرى و ضياع يتفرع منه انهار كثيرة تسقى طسوج سورا و بربيسما[2] و باروسما و يمر بازا مدينة قصر ابن هبيرة بينهما اقل من ميل و هناك على النهر جسر و هو جسر سُورَا و يحمل منه نهرابى رحا اوله فوق القصر بفرسخ و يمر هذا النهر مع مدينة القصر و يصب الى سورا اسفل من القصر بفرسخ و يمر نهر سورا بين القصر مادا الى[3] ستة فراسخ فيحمل منه هناك نهر يقال له نهر سورا الاسفل وعلى فوهة هذا النهر قنطرة عظيمة يقال له قنطرة القامغان و الماء فيها منصب عظيم يمر هذا النهر بقرى و عمارات و يتفرع منه انهار كثيرة تسقى طسوج بابل و خطرنية[4] و الجامعين و الفلوجة العليا و السفلى و يمر هذا النهر فيما بين مدينة بابل و يمر بالجامعين المحدث و القديم و يمر الى حمداباد و خطرنية و يمر الى قسين و يتفرع منه هناك انهار تسقى طسوج جنبلا[5] و ما والاها و يصب فى النهر الذى ياخذ من الفرات و هو البداة اسفل من الكوفة فى سوادها و يحمل من نهر سورا الاسفل نهر يقال له النرس[6] اوله مع الجامع القديم يمر بقرى و ضياع و يتفرع منه انهار تسقى سواد الكوفة

[1] MS. حوبر.
[2] MS. بربيسما.
[3] F. 34 b.
[4] MS. حطرنيه below with points.
[5] MS. جبلا.
[6] MS. النرس below with points.

او بعضه و يمر بالحارثية و بحمام عمرو من قنطرة القامغان الى فم النرس ستة فراسخ و من فم النرس الى حمام عمر ستة فراسخ فيصب فى البداة التى فى سواد الكوفة الذى فى شرقى الفرات *

فاذا جاوز سورا الاعلى قنطرة القامغان سمى هناك الصراة الكبيرة يمر بالعقر و بقرى و ضياع ثم يمر الى صابرنيثا و يتفرع منه هناك انهار تسقى الضياع التى فى غربيه *

و يحمل منه نهر يقال له صراة جاماس[1] اوله عند النواعير و يمر فيسقى الضياع هناك و يصب فى النهر الكبير اسفل مدينة النيل بثلثة فراسخ و تمر الصراة الكبيرة مدينة النيل و عليه[2] هناك قنطرة يقال لها الماسى فاذا جاوز النهر القنطرة سمى النيل فيمر بقرى و عمارات الى موضع يقال له الهُول بينه وبين النعمانية التى على شاطئ دجلة اقل من فرسخ و منه يحول الى دجلة ثم يَطيف[3] النهر من هناك فيمر الى نهر سابُس القرية الراكبة دجلة و يسمى هناك نهر سابس و يصب فى دجلة اسفل من القرية بفرسخ *

فهذه الانهار التى تصب و تحمل من نهر الفرات و قد فرغ منها و بقى عليك استخراج انهار دجلة التى تصب اليها و تحمل منها و انا مبين لك ذلك ان شاء الله تعالى *

[VII.] فمن ذلك نهر يقال له نهر الذيب يصب الى دجلة اوله من جبل عند طول سحل و عرض لطه ويجئ من ناحية ارزن و يصب فى دجلة عند طول سحك و عرض لول *

و يصب اليها ايضا نهر يقال له [فافان][4] اوله من عين فى جبل

[1] MS. حاماس.
[2] F. 35 a.
[3] MS. يطبق.
[4] MS. فامس.

عند طول مطه سطه و عرض لطک و مصبه فی دجلة عند طول سطیه[1] و عرض لول *

و یصب الیها ایضا نهر یقال له نهر باسانفا[2] اوله من ارض میافارقین و مصبه فی دجلة فوق جزیرة ابن عمر بخمسة[3] فراسخ فی الجانب الشرقی

و یصب الیها انهار الزوابی فاول احدها من جبل عند طول عال وعرض لحل مصبه فی دجلة عند طول سطل و عرض لهل فی الجانب الشرقی

و الزاب الثانی اوله عند طول عبه و عرض لحه[4] و مصبه فی دجلة عند طول سطم و عرض لهه فی الجانب الشرقی *

و یصب الیها ایضا نهر یقال له الثرثار اوله من نهر الهرماس نهر نصیبین یمر فیقطع جبلا معترضا له ویجئ فی البریة و یمر بالحضر ویجئ فی بریة سنجار و یصب فی دجلة فوق مدینة تکریت بفرسخین فی الجانب الغربی *

و یصب الیها ایضا[5] اسفل الحصن حصن کیفا [نهر سربط][6] لم نذکره و ساتیدماد[7] و لم نذکره *

[VIII.] معرفة الانهار التی تحمل منها و الیها تصب کلها *

یحمل من دجلة من غربیها[8] نهر یقال له الاسحاقی اوله اسفل من تکریت بشئ یسیر یمر فی غربی دجلة علیه ضیاع و عمارات و یمر

[1] MS. سطه or سطیه, without points.
[2] MS. نامانفا.
[3] MS. بخمس.
[4] F. 35 b.
[5] MS. امل.
[6] MS. سرسط.
[7] MS. سامیدماه.
[8] MS. شرقیها.

بطيرهان[1] ويجئ الى قصر المعتصم بالله المعروف بقصر الجص و يسقى الضياع التى هناك فى غربى مدينة سرمن راى المعروفات بالاولة و الثانية و الثالثة الى السابعة و يصب فى دجلة بازاء المطيرة *

ويحمل منه ايضا من شرقيها القاطول الاعلى الكسروى اوله اسفل دور الحارث بشئ يسير مماس لقصر المتوكل على الله المعروف بالجعفرى و عليه هناك قنطرة حجارة ثم يمر الى الايتاخية و عليه هناك قنطرة كسروية ثم يمر الى المحمدية وعليه هناك جسر زواريق ثم يمر الى الاجمة قرية كبيرة ثم يمر الى الشاذروان ثم يمر الى المأمونية[2] و هى قرية كبيرة ثم الى القناطر و هذه قرى[3] عامرة و ضياع متصلة ثم يمر الى قرية يقال لها صولى[4] و باعقوبا[5] و يسمى هناك تامرّا ثم يمر الى باجسرى[6] ويجئ الى الجسر المعروف بجسر النهروان و يعرف النهر هناك بالنهروان ثم يمر الى الشاذروان الاعلى ثم يمر الى جسر بوران ثم يمر الى عبرتا ثم الى يرزاطية[7] ثم الى الشاذروان الاسفل و هذه قرى و ضياع جليلة ثم يمر الى أسكاف بنى الجنيد و هى مدينة فى جانبين و النهر يشقها ثم يمر بين قرى متصلة و ضياع مادة الى ان يصب فى دجلة اسفل ماذرايا[8] بشئ يسير فى الجانب الشرقى *

[IX.] ويحمل منه ايضا الثلثة القواطيل اوايلها كلها موضع واحد اسفل مدينة سر من راى بفرسخين بين المطيرة و بركوارا و يسمى

[1] MS. بطيران.
[2] MS. المامونة below as corrected.
[3] F. 36 a.
[4] Below written صلوى.
[5] MS. باعقوبا.
[6] MS. باحسرى.
[7] MS. possibly يرزاطية. In the *Tanbih*, p. 53 برزاليا.
[8] MS. ماذرايا.

الاعلى منها اليهودى و عليه قنطرة وصيف و يمر مادا الى ان يصب فى القاطول الكسروى اسفل المأمونية والثانى يقال له المأمونى و هو الاوسط و يمر بقرى و ضياع و هو طسوج من السواد و مصبه فى القاطول الكسروى اسفل من قرية القناطر و الثالث يقال له ابو الجند و هو الاسفل و هو اجلها و اعمرها شاطيا يمر بين ضياع و قرى و يتفرع منه انهار تسقى الضياع التى على شاطئ دجلة الشرقى و يصب اكثرها الى دجلة ثم يمر الى طفر و عليه هناك جسر ثم يمر فى القاطول الكسروى فوق صولى[1] باربعة فراسخ *

و يحمل من تامرا نهر يقال له الخالص يمر بين ضياع و قرى و يحمل منه انهار كثيرة[2] و هو نهر كبير تجرى فيه السفن و يصب فى دجلة اسفل الراشدية بفرسخين شرقى دجلة *

و يحمل من النهروان نهر يقال له نهر ديالى اوله اسفل الجسر بميل يمر بقرى و ضياع و يصب فى دجلة اسفل بغداد بثلثة فراسخ *

و يحمل من دجلة انهار كثيرة فى اسفل مدينة واسط تصب كلها فى البطيحة و بعضها فى بعض اكبرها و اجلها ما قد ذكرناه * منها نهر يقال له نهر بان اوله[3] اسفل واسط مع القرية التى تسمى نهر بان ثم يمر بقرى و ضياع و يقلب و يصب فى البطيحة * و يحمل منها ايضا نهر يقال له نهر قريش اوله من القرية التى تسمى نهر قريش يمر بقرى و ضياع و يصب فى البطيحة غربى [واسط][4] * و يحمل منه ايضا نهر يقال له السيب و هو سيب العُقر و مدينة العقر راكبته اوله اسفل نهر بان بفرسخين يمر فى قرى و ضياع و يمر بالجوامد و يتفرع منه ايضا انهار

[1] MS. صلوى.
[2] F. 36 b.
[3] MS. اول.
[4] Added.

كثيرة و يقلب فيصب فى البطيحة * و يحمل منها ايضا نهر يقال له بُرْدُودى اوله مع القرية التى تسمى الشديديّة وهو نهر جليل و يصب فى البطيحة *

فهذه انهار دجلة الصابة اليها و العاملة منها و قد بينا لك فافهمها *

[X.] فاما انهار مدينة السلام الجارية فيها و منها شرّب من يقرب اليها فاول ما نبداء به من ذلك الانهار التى فى الجانب الشرقى و هو عسكر المهدى * من ذلك نهر يقال له نهر موسى اوله من النهر بين فى ظهر قصر المعتضد[1] المعروف بالثريّا و اول النهر بين من النهروان فوق الجسر بشئ يسير يمر جاريا و يتفرع منه انهار كثيرة تسقى سواد بغداد و يمر فى شرقى الثريا و عليه قرى و ضياع و يسقى بعض طسوج كلواذى و يصب فى دجلة اسفل من مدينة السلام بأقل من فرسخين *

و يحمل منه ايضا النهر المعروف بنهر موسى و اوله فى الموضع الذى تقدم ذكره يمر فيدخل قصر الثريا و يدور فيه و يخرج منه ثم يصير الى موضع يقال له مقسم الماء فينقسم هناك ثلثة اقسام فيمر الاول منها الى باب سوق الدواب و يجتاز بباب عمار و يحمل منه هناك نهر يمر الى دار البانوجة[2] و يفنى هناك * و يمر نهر موسى فيدخل من باب سوق الدواب و يمر الى باب مُقيِّر الكبير فيحمل منه هناك نهر يمر الى دار ابن الخصيب فى الشارع المعروف بسعد الوصيف و يخرج الى العلافين فيصب فيه[3] النهر الذى حفره المعتضد

[1] F. 37 a.
[2] MS. البانوجه و بعضى.
[3] MS. فى.

للبحيرة[1] و يمر فى الشارع المعروف خلف الحوانيت الى العلافين بباب المخرم[2] و يمر فى قنطرة العباس التى فى باب المخرم و يمر فى الشارع الى المخرم و يفنى هناك *

و يمر نهر موسى الى قنطرة الانصار فيحمل منه هناك ثلثه انهار يصب احدها فى حوض الانصار و الثانى فى حوض هيلانة[3] و الثالث فى حوض داود و يمر نهر موسى الى شارع درب الطويل و قصر المعتصم بالله فيحمل منه هناك نهر يمر الى سوق العطش مادا فى وسط شارع كَرْم العَرْش و يصب فى[4] دار الوزير على بن محمد بن الفرات و يفنى هناك * و يمر نهر موسى ملاصقا لقصر المعتصم الى ان يخرج الى الشارع الاعظم ثم يخرج الى شارع عمرو الرومى ثم يدخل الى بستان الزاهر فيسقيه ثم يصب فى دجلة[5] اسفل البستان بشئ يسير *

ثم يمر النهر الثانى من المقسم الى باب ابرز فيدخل الى بغداد من هناك و يسمى نهر المعلى و يمر بين الدور الى باب سوق الثلثا[6] ثم يدخل قصر المعتضد المعروف بالفردوس و يدور فيه و يصب الى دجلة مع القصر *

و يمر النهر الثالث من المقسم الى باب قطيعة موشجيين[7] ثم يمر الى باب العامة ثم يدخل الى القصر المعروف بالحسنى فيدور فيه و يصب فى دجلة مع قصر المكتفى بالله المعروف بالتاج *

[1] MS. الحجرة. In place of this line the MSS. of Al-Khaṭīb have the following: و يمر شئ منه الى باب سوق الغنم ثم الى خندق العباس.

[2] MS. here and below المحرم.

[3] MS. هلانه.

[4] F. 37 b.

[5] MS. الدجلة.

[6] MS. الثلثا.

[7] MS. موشجين Al-Khaṭīb, موشجير.

ويحمل من النهر بين نهر يقال له نهر على اوله فوق نهر موسى بشئ يسير يمر معترضا لطريق خراسان الى قرية الاثلة و يمر فيسقى طسوج نهر بوق و رستاق الأفروطر و يصب فى نهر من الخالص *

ويحمل من نهر الفضل نهر يقال له نهر الجعفرية يمر بقرى و ضياع و يصب فى سواد بغداد الذى فى شمالها * و يحمل من نهر الجعفرية نهر يقال له نهر السور يمر مع سور بغداد اوله من نهر الجعفرية يمر بباب خراسان و باب البردان و يصب فى نهر الفضل[1] الذى يصب بباب الشماسية *

ويحمل من نهر الخالص الذى قلنا يصب اسفل الراشدية نهر يقال له نهر الفضل يجئ الى باب الشماسية يمر فيسقى ضياعا عليه و قرى و يصب فى دجلة مع باب الشماسية و يحمل من نهر الشماسية وهو[2] نهر الفضل نهر يقال له نهر المهدى اوله فوق الباب بشئ يسير يمر فيدخل الى مدينة السلام من باب الشماسية و يجئ الى سويقة جعفر و يمر فى الشارع المعروف بشارع نهر المهدى ثم يجئ الى قنطرة البردان و يدخل فى دار الروميّين ثم يخرج الى سويقة نصر بن مالك ثم يدخل الرصافة فى مسجد الجامع الى بستان حفص و يصب فى جوف قصر الرصافة فى بركة فيه *

ويحمل من هذا النهر نهر اوله فى سويقة نصر مع الابواب الحديد يمر فى وسط شارع باب خراسان ماذا الى ان يصب فى نهر السور[3] بباب خراسان * فهذه انهار الجانب الشرقى و يبقى انهار الجانب الغربى و انا ابينها ان شاء الله *

[1] MS. gives الخالص in error.
[2] F. 38 a.
[3] The MS. gives in error نهر الفضل.

[XI.] من ذلك نهر يقال له الصراة اوله من نهر عيسى فوق قرية المحول الكبير بشئ يسير يمر هذا النهر فيسقى ضياع و بساتين بادوريا و يتفرع منه انهار كثيرة و يدخل بغداد فيمر بقنطرة العباس ثم يمر الى قنطرة الصينيات ثم يمر الى قنطرة رحا[1] البطريق و هى قنطرة[2] الزبد ثم يمر الى القنطرة العتيقة ثم يمر الى[3] القنطرة الجديدة ثم يصب فى دجلة اسفل الخلد[4] بشئ يسير *

و يحمل من الصراة نهر يقال له خندق[5] طاهر اوله من نهر الصراة اسفل من فوهته بفرسخ يمر فيسقى الضياع و يدور حول مدينة السلام مما يلى الحربية[6] فيمر الى باب الانبار و عليه هناك قنطرة ثم يمر الى باب الحديد[7] و عليه هناك قنطرة و يمر الى باب حرب و عليه هناك قنطرة و يمر الى باب قطربل و عليه هناك قنطرة رحا ام جعفر[8] و يمر فى وسط قطيعة ام جعفر و يصب فى دجلة فوق دار اسحاق بن ابرهيم الطاهرى بشئ يسير *

و يحمل من الخندق نهر[9] يقال له الصراة الصغيرة يجئ قاطعا للبساتين يمر ببعض بادوريا[10] و يصب فى الصراة الكبيرة اسفل من رحا البطريق بشئ يسير *

و يحمل من نهر عيسى نهر يقال له كرخايا اوله اسفل المحول الكبير

[1] MS. روحا.
[2] MS. الربد.
[3] MS. قنطرة.
[4] MS. الخلد.
[5] MS. خدق.
[6] MS. العربيه.
[7] MS. الجديد.
[8] F. 38 b.
[9] MS. نهرا.
[10] MS. بادرويا.

بشئ يسير يمر فى وسط طسوج بادوريا و يتفرع منه انهار ينبث فى بادوريا تسمى و تعرف وعلى جانبيه قرى وضياع و بساتين مادا الى ان يدخل بغداد من باب ابى قبيصة[1] و يمر الى قنطرة اليهود و يمر الى قنطرة درب الحجارة و يمر الى قنطرة البيمارستان و باب محوّل فيتفرع منه هناك انهار الكرخ كلها *

فمن ذلك اذا جاوز كرخايا قنطرة البيمارستان فاول الانهار نهر يقال له نهر رزين يمر فيأخذ فى ربض حميد فيدور فيه ثم يمر الى سويقة ابى الورد ثم يمر الى بركة زلزل فيدور فيها ثم يمر الى باب طاق الحرانى ثم يصب فى الصراة الكبيرة اسفل من القنطرة الجديدة مع القنطرة و يعرف بنهر ابى عتاب *

و اذا صار نهر رزين باب سويقة ابى الورد يحمل منه نهر[2] يعبر فى قورج على القنطرة[3] العتيقة فيمر مادا الى شارع باب الكوفة فيدخل [نهر][4] من هناك الى بعض آثار مدينة ابى جعفر المنصور و ينقطع فيها و يمر النهر من باب الكوفة مادا الى شارع القصاطبة يمر الى باب الشأم و يمر فى شارع الجسر الى طرف الزبيدية[5] و يفنى هناك *

ثم يمر نهر كرخايا من البيمارستان[6] فاذا مار الى الدرابات يسمى هناك العمود و هو النهر الذى يتفرع منه انهار الكرخ الداخلة فيمر النهر من هناك الى موضع قريب منه فيسمى هناك رحا ابى القسم الى موضع يعرف بالواسطيين ثم يمر الى موضع يعرف بالخفقة[7]

[1] MS. قبيصه.
[2] MS. نهرا.
[3] MS. قنطرة.
[4] Added.
[5] MS. الزبيدبه.
[6] F. 39 a.
[7] MS. بالحفقه.

فيحمل منه هناک نهر[1] يقال له نهر البزازين[2] يعطف فيخرج فی شارع المصور ثم يمر الی دار کعب ثم يخرج الی باب الکرخ ثم يدخل البزازين ثم يمر الی الخرّازين ثم يدخل فی اصحاب الصابون ثم يصب فی دجلة تحت دار الجوز *

ثم يمر النهر الکبير من الخفقة[3] الی طرف مربعة الزيات فيعطف منه هناک نهر يقال له نهر الدجاج يمر فاخذ مادا الی اصحاب القنی ثم يمر الی اصحاب القصب و شارع القيّارين و يصب فی دجلة فی اصحاب الطعام *

ثم يمر[4] النهر الکبير من مربعة الزيات الی دوارة الحمار فيعطف منه هناک نهر يقال له نهر الکلاب[5] ياخذ فی شارع قطيعة الکلاب مادا يصب [تحت] قنطرة الشوک[6] فی نهر عيسی بن موسی * ثم يمر هذا النهر الکبير من دوارة الحمار الی موضع يقال له مربعة صالح فيعطف منه هناک نهر يقال له نهر القلائين[7] يمر مادا الی السواقين ثم الی اصحاب القصب و يصب هناک فی نهر الدجاج و يصيران نهرا واحدا *

ثم يمر النهر الکبير من مربعة صالح الی موضع يعرف بنهر طابق ثم يصب فی نهر عيسی فی موضع يعرف بمشرعة الآس بحضرة دار بطيخ فهذه انهار الکرخ وبقی انهار الحربية[8] و انا ابينها ان شاء الله تعالی[9] *

[1] MS. نهرا.
[2] MS. البزارين.
[3] MS. الحفقة. The reading given is that of the MSS. of Al-Khaṭīb.
[4] MS. يمر الی النهر.
[5] MS. کُلّاب.
[6] MS. الشولی. From Al-Khaṭīb.
[7] MS. القلابين.
[8] MS. الحربة.
[9] F. 39 b.

[XII.] ومن ذلک نهر يحمل من دجيل يقال له نهر بطاطيا اوله من اسفل فوهة دجيل بستة[1] فراسخ يمر فيسقى ضياعا و قرى و يمر فى وسط مسكن و يصب فى الضياع و يفنى فيها * و يحمل منه نهر اسفل جسر[2] بطاطيا بشئ يسير يجئ نحو مدينة السلام فيمر على عبارة قورج قنطرة باب الانبار ثم يدخل بغداد من هناک فيمر فى شارع باب الانبار و يمر فى شارع الكبش و يفنى هناک *

و يحمل من نهر بطاطيا نهر[3] اسفل من النهر الاول يجئ نحو بغداد فيمر على عبارة يقال لها عبارة الكوخ بين باب حرب و باب الحديد و يمر فيدخل بغداد من هناک و يمر فى شارع دجيل الى مربعة[4] الفرس فيحمل منه هناک نهر يقال له نهردكان[5] الابنآ و يفنى هناک * و يمر النهر الكبير من مربعة الفرس الى قنطرة ابى الجون[6] فيحمل منه هناک نهر[3] الى كتاب اليتامى الى مربعة شبيب و يصب هناک فى نهر الشارع سنذكره * ثم يمر النهر الكبير من قنطرة ابى الجون[6] الى شارع قصرهانى ثم يمر الى بستان القس و يصب فى النهر الذى يمر بشارع القماطبة *

و يحمل من نهر بطاطيا نهر اوله من قناة الكوخ يجئ الى بغداد و يمر على عبارة قورج على قنطرة باب حرب و يدخل بغداد من هناک و يمر فى وسط شارع باب حرب الى شارع دار ابن ابى عون

[1] MS. بست.
[2] MS. نهرا اسفل حسر.
[3] MS. نهرا.
[4] MS. مدينة.
[5] MS. نهردكان الابنا.
[6] MS. الجون.

و يجئ الى مربعة ابى العباس ثم يجئ الى مربعة شبيب فيصب فيه النهر الذى ذكرناه ثم يمر الى باب الشام *

فهذه انهار مدينة السلام[1] قد بيناها و هذه الانهار التى فى الحربية هى قنى تحت الارض و اوايلها مكشوفة فافهم ذلك ان شاء الله تعالى *

[XIII.] فاما انهار البصرة و صفة البطيحة و دجلة العوراء فانا ابين لك ذلك كله و بالله التوفيق * صفة البطيحة * و ذلك ان اول البطيحة القطر و هو زقاق قصب نابت و بعده هور و الهور هو مآء كثير ليس فيه قصب و اسم هذا الهور بحصى[2] و بعده زقاق قصب ثم الهور الثانى و اسمه بكمصى و بعده زقاق قصب ثم الهور الثالث اسمه بصرياثا و بعده زقاق قصب ثم الهور الرابع و اسمه المحمديّة و فيه منارة حسان و هو اعظم الاهوار و بعده زقاق قصب و هو ماد الى نهر ابى الاسد و يمر النهر بالحالة و قرية الكوانين و يصب الى دجلة العوراء *

[XIV.] صفة دجلة العوراء * و اذا الخارج من نهر ابى الاسد فان دجلة العوراء تستقبله معترضة له فالطريق الى البصرة على يمين الخارج و يسرته الى عبدسى و المذار و ليس لها هناك مصب و لا مخرج بل هى نهاية يلحقها المد و الجزر فاذا عطف الخارج من نهر ابى الاسد منه مرمادا الى الدسكرة و المفتح و عبادان و سليمانان[3] و يصب فى البحر اسفل عبادان و سأذكر لك مواقع هذه القرى و المدن فى جانبى دجلة العوراء فى وقت الطرق و المسالك ان شاء الله تعالى *

[1] F. 40 a.
[2] MS. بحصى.
[3] MS. سلمانان.

[XV.] صفة انهار البصرة[1] * و ذلك ان البصرة على فيض لها و هذه الانهار تصب اليه و المد و الجزر يلحق الى اواخرها و يجزر منها *

و اول نهر يلقاه من نهر ابى الاسد يمنة و هو ماد الى البصرة نهر يقال له نهر المرأة و بينه و بين نهر ابى الاسد فرسخان * والثانى نهر يقال له نهر الدير و بينه و بين نهر المرأة ثلثة فراسخ * و الثالث نهر يقال له بشق شيرين[2] وبينه و بين الدير ستة فراسخ * والرابع نهر يقال له نهر معقل و بينه و بين بشق شيرين فرسخان * و الخامس نهر يقال له نهر الابلة و الابلة هى فوهته و بينه و بين نهر [معقل][3] اربعة فراسخ * و السادس نهر يقال له اليهودى و بينه و بين الابلة اربعة فراسخ * و السابع نهر يقال له نهر ابى الخصيب و بينه و بين اليهودى فرسخ * و الثامن نهر يقال له نهر الامير و بينه و بين نهر ابى الخصيب فرسخ * و التاسع نهر يقال له نهر القندل و بينه و بين نهر الامير فرسخان *

و هذه الانهار التسعة كلها تصب الى فيض البصرة و اطولها اربعة فراسخ و اقل و اكثر و الفيض يصب عند عبادان فى دجلة العوراء فى وقت الجزر و هو كثير * و عبادان قريبة من البحر و البحر قريب منها و ما فى هذه الانهار نهر الا و يحمل منه انهار[4] كثيرة تسقى تلك الضياع * فهذه انهار البصرة المشهورة العظام التى فى الجانب الغربى من دجلة العوراء و بقى ما فى الجانب الشرقى و انا ابين لك ذلك ان شاء الله تعالى *

[1] F. 40 b.
[2] MS. سحرين.
[3] MS. in error, نهرالابلة.
[4] MS. انهارا.

[XVI] ومن ذلک اذا جاوز الخارج من نهر[ابی] الاسد فاول الانهار نهر يقال له نهر المذار[1] يحمل منه[2] انهار[3] كثيرة و اخره سكر و طوله ستة فراسخ * والثانی نهر يقال له نهر الريان و بينه و بين المبارک[4] ثلثة عشر فرسخا و يحمل منه انهار كثيرة و قد كان طريقا الى الاهواز فسكر و طوله ستة فراسخ * و الثالث[5] نهر يقال له نهر بيان[6] و هو الان طريق الاهواز يمر من فمه الى حصن مهدی[7] ثم الى فم دهستان و هو البحر ثم الى سوق بحر ثم يمر فی نهر السدرة ثم الى البحر و من سوق بحر[8] الى المسرقان نهر الاهواز مقدار يسير فی العراض ثم يركب الى مدن الاهواز و سنذكر المسرقان فيما بعد ان شاء الله تعالى *

[XVIII.] فهذه انهار البصرة الكبار المشهورة فاذا فرغت من عملها فينبغی لک ان تعمل الانهار التی تصب الى الانهار الرومية و مدينة ملطية حتى تكون قد فرغت من جميع ما جازه هذان النهران العظيمان الشريفان و لا يبقى عليک فيهما شئ ان شاء الله تعالى * من ذلک نهر ارسناس يصب اليه نهر يقال له نهر الذئب اوله من جبل فی ناحية قاليقلا يدور فيمر بحصون كثيرة ويصب فی ارسناس فوق شمشاط بشئ يسير *

و يصب الى ارسناس ايضا نهر يقال له نهر السلقط[9] و مخرجه من

[1] MS. المنار.
[2] F. 41 a.
[3] MS. انهارا.
[4] Query to read المذار.
[5] MS. الرابع.
[6] MS. بيان.
[7] MS. مصدی.
[8] MS. here بجر and below بجر.
[9] Above section IV. سلقط.

جبل مزور[1] يمر بحصون كثيرة و يصب فى ارسناس اسفل من مدينة شمشاط بميل مع جبلها المحيط بها *

و من ذلك نهر ابريق و يصب اليه نهر يقال له نهر زمرة[2] مخرجه من جبل مرور فوق مخرج نهر لوقية[3] بقليل و مصبه فى نهر ابريق اسفل من القلعة بشئ يسير *

و من ذلك نهر جرجارية و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر غَوْث مخرجه من جبل ناحية ابريق و مصبه فى نهر جرجارية فى وسط مرج[4] هناك *

و من ذلك نهر قباقب يصب اليه نهر يقال له نهر قراقيس مخرجه من تخوم بلاد الروم يجئ الى قريب من باب زبطرة[5] ثم يصب فى قباقب * و يصب اليه ايضا نهر يقال له نهر الزرنوق و مخرجه من جبل بين ملطية و بين حصن منصور و مصبه فى قباقب اسفل من نهر قراقيس *

و يحمل من نهر الزرنوق نهر يقال له نهر ملطية يمر فيسقى ضياع ملطية و يصب فى قباقب اسفل من نهر الزرنوق *

و يحمل من نهر ملطية نهرو هو قناة نهر ملطية يمر فيسقى بساتين لها و يدخل الى ربض ملطية و يشق المدينة و يخرج منها و يصب فى قباقب اسفل من قنطرة قباقب مع القنطرة *

تمت انهار العراق دجلة والفرات و ما يصب اليهما و يحمل منهما بعون الله و قوته *

[1] MS. مرور.
[2] MS. زمرة.
[3] F. 41 b.
[4] MS. مرح.
[5] زبطرة.

[XVII.][1] معرفة نهر دجيل[2] الا هواز * و ذلك ان اوله من جبل بارض اصفهان يمر بمدن الاهواز و يصب فى البحر الشرقى و يصب اليه ايضا نهر جنديسابور الذى عليه قنطرة الروم [اوله من][3] ناحية اصفهان ثم يصب فى دجيل الاهواز ويحمل من دجيل الاهواز نهر يقال له المسرقان اوله فوق الشاذروان[4] و يصب فى البحر الشرقى *

[1] From f. 47 a. of the MS.
[2] MS. جبل.
[3] Added.
[4] MS. الشادروان.

MAP
MESOPOTAMIA
as described by
IBN SERAPION
CASPIAN SEA

KALWADHA
DISTRICT
BAGHDAD

TRANSLATION.

[SECTION I.]

Account of the River Tigris from its Source to its Mouth.

Now the source of the Tigris is at a spring in longitude 64° 40′, or 65°, or another (says) 39° 5′, and in latitude 38° 30′. Passing to longitude 64° 45′, and latitude 37° 45′, with mountains to either side, it flows on even with the mountains to longitude 68° 5′ and latitude 38° 5′, going by the city of Āmid, which lies upon the stream.[1] Thence it passes on to Jazīra-Ibn-'Omar, surrounding the same, so that the city is as an island in the midst of the stream. Thence it passes to the city of Balad, which lies on its bank; and thence to the city of Al-Mawṣil (Mosul), likewise on the river side. Then it passes by the following:[2] Al-Ḥadītha, As-Sinn, As-Sūdaḳāniyya, Jabiltā, and Takrīt. Next it comes to the city of Surra-man-raa (Samarrā),[3] which lies on its bank. After this it passes the following: Al-Ḳādisīya,[4] Al-Ajama, Al-'Alth, Al-Ḥaẓīra,[5] Aṣ-Ṣawāmi', 'Ukbarā, Awānā, Buṣrā,[6] Bazūghā, Al-Baradān, Al-Mazrafa, Ḳaṭrabbul, Ash-Shammāsiyya, and next divides the City of Peace (Baghdād), which lies across the river on either bank. After this it runs on to Kalwādhā, and next to the city of Al-Madāïn,[7] passing through the midst of the same, which lies across on either bank of the stream. After this it flows by the following: As-Sīb,[8] Dayr-al-'Āḳūl, Aṣ-Ṣāfīya, Dayr Ḳunna, Humānīya, Jarjarāy,[9] An-Nu'māniyya, Jabbul, Nahr Sābūs, Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ, and thence it reaches Wāsiṭ,[10] passing through the midst of the town, which lies across the stream and on either bank. From here it passes on to the following: Ar-Ruṣāfa,[11] Nahr Bān, Al-Fārūth, Dayr-al-'Ummāl, Al-Ḥawānīt, and then in longitude 78° 5′ and latitude 32° 5′ it flows out, at Al-Ḳaṭr, into the head of the Swamps, and this same place is in the midst of them.

Further on, if it please Allah Almighty, I will give an

account of these Swamps, and a description of the same, and of the streams which fall into them and which flow out of them, but this will be after concluding the subject of the Euphrates, and of the streams lying between it and the Tigris.

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[1] The Arabs call the Tigris *Dijla* (without the article), and under this name (with certain modifications of pronunciation) the river has been known in all ages. In the Jewish Targums the word occurs under the form *Diglath*, which corresponds with the latter part of *Hiddekel*, the name under which the Tigris is mentioned in Genesis ii. 14.

Āmid, the Roman Amida, is the capital of the province of Diyār Bakr. The town is now more generally known by the name of the province, Diyār Bakr, which means "the habitations of the Bakr," an Arab tribe who had already settled here in Sassanian times. Yāḳūt (I. 66) says that Āmid was a very ancient city, on a height, being built of black stone, from which fact, doubtless, its modern name of Kara (or Black) Āmid is derived.

Jazīra-Ibn-'Omar, "the island of the son of Omar," is still a flourishing town. According to Yāḳūt (II. 79) it took its name from a certain Al-Ḥasan Ibn-'Omar of the Taghlib tribe, who founded this place, taking a wife from among the women of the country. The city has the Tigris going round it in a semicircle on the one side, and on the other side a ditch has been dug and filled with water, so that the town stands on an island.

Balad was the first stage, and seven leagues north of Mosul, and therefore at the place now marked by the ruins of Eski Mosul, where the road to Āmid and the one running west to Sinjār forked (Kudāma, p. 214). According to Yāḳūt (I. 715) the name was often written Balaṭ, and it occupied the site of the ancient Persian town of Shahrābādh.

Al-Mawṣil (Mosul) became the capital of Upper Mesopotamia under the Omayyads; and Marwan II., the last Caliph of this dynasty, rebuilt the town and surrounded it with walls. According to Yāḳūt (IV. 682) the ancient Persian name of Mosul was Nawardashīr or Bawardashīr, and opposite, across the river, were the ruins of Nineveh.

[2] Between Mosul and Baghdād the high road lay along the eastern side of the Tigris, and it did not therefore pass through Takrīt, which stood on the western bank. The distances are given by Kudāma (p. 214) and others.

Al-Ḥadītha, "the New Town," stood at the junction of the Upper, or Greater Zāb, with the Tigris. The city was restored by the last Omayyad, Marwan II.; and according to Yāḳūt (II. 222) it was in Persian times also known as Nawkird, or "New City."

As-Sinn lay on the Tigris, according to the *Tanbih* (p. 53), one mile below the junction of the Lower or Lesser Zāb. It is, however, described by Muḳaddasi (p. 123) as having the latter river on its eastern side. According to Yāḳūt (III. 169) there were many Christian Churches here. The positions of Al-Ḥadītha and As-Sinn are fixed respectively by the two rivers Zāb, but no trace of either appears on the modern maps.

As-Sūdaḳāniyya was a stage on the high road, 10 leagues south of As-Sinn, and 14 north of Samarrā. Jabiltā lay five leagues south of As-Sūdaḳāniyya. Both of these towns have disappeared from the map, but by the distances in Kudāma (p. 214) Jabiltā must have been situated not far from, and nearly opposite to, Takrīt. The name of Jabiltā (or Jabultā), from the lack of diacritical points in the MS., has often been incorrectly read Ḥabultā (*e.g.* Muḳaddasi p. 135, but *cf.* Ibn Khurdādbih p. 93, note *k*); the initial *j* is, however, very clearly pointed in the MS. of Ibn Serapion. Jabiltā is further a mint city, but the

name on the coin-die was unfortunately likewise engraved without points. The town is not given in the Geographical Dictionaries of Yāḳūt or Bakri, where its position in the alphabetical list would have settled the question of the initial *j* or *ḥ*; but under the form *Gebhāltā* the place is repeatedly mentioned in the Syriac Chronicle of Thomas of Margā (see *The Book of Governors*, E. A. W. Budge, II. 290), and this confirms the reading of Ibn Serapion.

Takrīt, with its strong castle, stands on the western bank of the Tigris. According to Yāḳūt (I. 861) the town dated from Persian days, having been founded by King Sābūr (Sapor), son of Ardashīr. It received its name from Takrīt, daughter of Wāil, ancestor of the Arab tribe of that name.

[3] Samarrā, sometimes written Sāmīrā, was an ancient Persian town, the name of which the Caliph Al-Mu'taṣim changed, for the sake of good augury, into Surra-man-raa, meaning "Who sees it, rejoices." Samarrā, during more than half a century, was made the capital of the Caliphate, dating from A.H. 221 (836), when Al-Mu'taṣim betook himself thither with his court and body-guard; and Baghdād only regained its former pre-eminence in A.H. 279 (892), on the accession of Al-Mu'taḍid. Ya'ḳūbī (pp. 255–268), writing about the year 278 (891), has left a long and detailed account of Samarrā, and of the various palaces which adorned it. The city proper stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris, while on the western bank were many of the palaces and pleasure-grounds. The houses of the city, on the left bank, extended for a distance of seven leagues along the river, and fabulous sums, of which Yāḳūt (III. 18) gives the details, were spent on the palaces. These all fell to ruin when the seat of government was removed back to Baghdād, and Samarrā became what it had been before—a provincial town; remaining, however, a place of pilgrimage to the Shī'a Muslims,

for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdi, Al-Ḳāim, is to appear in the fulness of time.

[4] Al-Ḳādisīya, also on the eastern bank of the Tigris, some three leagues below Samarrā, still exists. It must not be confounded with the place of the same name, where the great battle was fought between the Arabs and the Persians, which last lay in the plain to the westward of the Euphrates, near Al-Kūfa. Al-Ḳādisīya, on the Tigris, is said by Yāḳūt (IV. 9) to be famous for its glass works.

Al-Ajama, meaning "the Thicket," is not marked on the map, and apparently is not mentioned by any other authority. Ibn Serapion later on (Section VIII.) states that it lay on or near the Nahrawān Canal.

Al-'Alth is still found on the map, and Muḳaddasi (p. 123), who, however, writes the name without the article, speaks of it as a large town lying on a canal derived from the Tigris. Its wells of sweet water were easy of access and its men were handsome. Yāḳūt (III. 711) notes it as the first place in Al-'Irāḳ on the east side of the Tigris coming from Persia. By the change of bed, however, Al-'Alth now lies on the *western* bank of the river. From below Al-Ḳādisīya, and down almost to Baghdād, the Tigris in the tenth century A.D. flowed by a more westerly course than it does at the present day. The old river-bed, with the ruins of 'Ukbarā, Awānā, and Buṣrā, all lying on its eastern bank, is still marked on the maps. At the present time, however, owing to the change of course, these places stand at a considerable distance from the *western* bank of the Tigris. That the western course was the one followed by the river in Ibn Serapion's day admits of no doubt, for the great post-road from Baghdād to Samarrā, and the north, passed up the eastern

bank of the Tigris, going through Al-Baradān and 'Ukbarā to Al-Ḳādisīya; further, among other early authorities, Bilādhurī (p. 249) in the ninth century A.D. couples together 'Ukbarā and Al-Baradān as lying to the east of the Tigris, and the two towns are so marked in the native map of the Paris MS., a work of the tenth century A.D. When the river changed over to its present western course, I have been unable exactly to ascertain. As early as the date of Mas'ūdi, A.H. 332 (943), the bed appears to have begun to shift, for in his *Meadows of Gold* (I. 223) this author refers to the law-suits to which this changing of the stream had given rise, between the landowners of the eastern and western banks immediately above Baghdād. The first clear mention of 'Ukbarā as lying (as at the present day) to the *west* of the Tigris is, I believe, given by the author of the *Marāṣid* (II. 270), who wrote about the year 1300 A.D. This author, correcting Yāḳūt, remarks that both 'Ukbarā and Awānā stood in his day at a considerable distance to the *west* of the Tigris, that being a consequence of the changing of the river bed, *eastwards*, into the course then known as Ash-Shuṭayṭa—"the little Shaṭṭ" or Stream. The exact date of this change, however, he does not give; but he adds that the Caliph Al-Mustanṣir, between A.H. 623 and 640 (1226–1242), had dug a canal to irrigate the lands which the Tigris, by its shifting, had left dry—at this epoch, therefore, the change must have been complete.

[5] Neither Al-Ḥaẓīra, meaning "the Enclosure," nor Aṣ-Ṣawāmi', "the Cells," have left any trace of their names on the present maps, and the latter place is not apparently mentioned by any other authority. Yāḳūt (II. 292) states that Al-Ḥaẓīra was a large village on the Dujayl Canal (see Section V.), where cotton stuffs, called *Kirbās*, were manufactured for export; and in another passage (II.

235) he speaks of it as lying opposite to Ḥarbā. This last place still exists on the western side of the Dujayl Canal, where there is a magnificent stone bridge, now partly in ruin, built by the last Abbasid Caliph but one, Al-Mustanṣir, in A.H. 629 (1232). This has been drawn and described, and its dedicatory inscription copied, by Commander J. F. Jones, R.N. (*Records*, p. 252). In another passage Yāḳūt (I. 178) speaks of Al-Ḥaẓīra as lying near the village of Balad, a place which like Ḥarbā still exists.

[6] The ruins of 'Ukbarā, Awānā, and Buṣrā, lying one close to the other, still exist on the left bank of the old bed of the Tigris, as has been already mentioned. Yāḳūt (III. 705, I. 395, and I. 654) describes these towns as of the Dujayl District, lying some ten leagues distant from Baghdād, being very pleasant places surrounded by gardens.

Bazūghā, Al-Baradān, and Al-Mazrafa, all three, lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Al-Baradān, which gave its name to a gate and bridge in eastern Baghdād (see Section X.), Kudāma (p. 214), gives as the first stage on the north road, and it was four leagues distant from the capital. The existing ruin at Bedran doubtless represents the older name. Bazūghā has apparently disappeared entirely; according to Yāḳūt (I. 606) it lay near Al-Mazrafa and about two leagues from Baghdād. Of Al-Mazrafa the name is apparently preserved in the district of Mazurfeh, marked on the map as immediately to the north of eastern Baghdād. According to Yāḳūt (IV. 520) Al-Mazrafa was a large village lying three leagues above the city.

Ḳaṭrabbul was the name of the district on the western bank of the Tigris, and up-stream, lying between Baghdād and 'Ukbarā (Yāḳūt IV. 133). On the eastern bank, also up-stream, lay Ash-Shammāsiyya, meaning "The Deaconry," the northernmost

suburb of eastern Baghdād, which gave its name to the gate opening in this direction (see Section X.). Kalwādhā was the outlying suburb on this same eastern bank, but down-stream. Kudāma (p. 193) gives it as two leagues below Baghdād and five above Al-Madāin. In the present maps its site is marked by the village of Gerāra.

[7] Al-Madāin, meaning "the Cities," a plural form of the word *Madīna*, was the name by which the Arabs called the remains of the twin cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia. Ya'ḳūbī (p. 321) at the close of the ninth century A.D. describes three towns as standing on the eastern bank among the ruins of Ctesiphon. Of these one was Al-Madīna al-'Atīḳa, "the Old Town" (which also occurs as a mint city), where was to be seen "the White Palace" of the Chosroes, and here was the Great Mosque. One mile south of this lay the town of Asbānbur, with the great Arch of the Chosroes (still standing at the present day) and the equal of which there was none in all Persia for height, seeing that its summit was 80 ells above the ground. Adjoining these two towns lay Ar-Rūmiyya, built by the Greeks when they conquered Persia, and here the Caliph Al-Manṣūr took up his abode for some months of his reign. These three cities on the eastern bank covered ground measuring two miles from end to end. The towns on the western bank (the ancient Seleucia) were Bahurasīr, and a league to the south of this, Sābāt. Ibn Rusta (p. 186) speaks of a fire-temple as existing on this western side, which, in Sassanian days, had been endowed with the revenue of half the land-tax of Fārs.

[8] As-Sīb, surnamed for distinction Sīb of the Bani Kūmā, was a place noted for its olive trees (Ibn Rusta, p. 186). It was the site of the battle where, in A.H. 262 (876), Ya'ḳūb the Saffarid was

routed by the troops of the Caliph Al-Mu'tamid. As-Sīb is not marked on the maps, but according to Kudāma (p. 193) it lay seven leagues below Al-Madāin.

Dayr-al-'Āḳūl, "the Convent of the (river) Loop," is still marked on the map, and the name is descriptive of the Tigris course at this point. Yāḳūt (II. 676), writing in the thirteenth century A.D., states that in his day the Convent, which originally had lain on the river bank, then stood solitary in the middle of the plain, a mile distant from the water's edge, by reason of the shifting of the Tigris bed. In former days a populous town had (he says) stood there, with good markets, but this had fallen to ruin with the decay of the District of An-Nahrawān. Ibn Rusta (p. 186), in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., alludes to the Great Mosque here, and says that across the Tigris at this point were set toll-barriers, such as will be described below (see under Ḥawānīt, note 11), and that this was a Station for the Officials for Travellers and Customs.

As-Ṣāfīya is described by Yāḳūt (II. 687, and III. 362) as a small town overhanging the Tigris, and of which in his day (thirteenth century A.D.) nothing but the walls and some ruins remained standing. It lay over against Dayr Ḳunnā, which last stood near Dayr-al-'Āḳūl.

For Dayr Ḳunnā (more usually spelt Dayr Ḳunna), otherwise called the Convent of Marmārī as-Salīkh, "the Impotent," Yāḳūt (II. 687) quotes the description left by Ash-Shabushtī, who died A.H. 388 (998). The Convent lay sixteen leagues down stream from Baghdād, on the eastern bank, and stood at the distance of a mile from the river. Ash-Shabushtī describes it as a huge monastery, surrounded by a high, solidly-built, wall, so as to be impregnable and almost like a fortress. Within

this wall there were a hundred cells for the monks, and the right to a cell was only to be bought for a price ranging from 200 to 1000 Dīnārs (£100 to £500). Surrounding each cell lay a garden, irrigated by a small canal. Every garden was planted with fruit trees, the crop of which brought in yearly a sum of from 50 to 200 Dīnārs (£25 to £100). Neither Aṣ-Ṣāfīya nor Dayr Ḳunnā have apparently left any trace on the map; but judging from the description of Yāḳūt—who says that Dayr-al-'Āḳūl lay fifteen leagues from Baghdād, that "near it" and sixteen leagues from Baghdād lay Dayr Ḳunnā, this last standing a mile distant from the Tigris, on whose bank was Aṣ-Ṣāfīya—it seems probable that Dayr Ḳunnā and Aṣ-Ṣāfīya occupied a position on the eastern bank about halfway between Dayr-al-'Āḳūl and Humānīya. In accordance with these data I have changed the order of names in the Arabic text, placing Dayr Ḳunnā and Humānīya *after*, instead of *before*, Dayr-al-'Āḳūl and Aṣ-Ṣāfīya.

Humānīya is marked on the present maps as lying on the western Tigris bank, in a great loop of the river, about two leagues to the south-east of Dayr-al-'Āḳūl. Yāḳūt (IV. 980) describes it as a large village standing in the midst of cultivated lands and on the river bank. In the beginning of the ninth century A.D. it must have been a place of some importance, for after the death of the Caliph Al-Amīn in Baghdād, his two sons and his mother, Zubayda, widow of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, were brought down the river in boats and kept prisoners at Humayniyā (as the name is otherwise spelt) before being despatched into Khurāsān to Al-Mamūn (see Ibn-al-Athīr, VI. 207).

[9] Jarjarāy, more generally spelt Jarjarāyā, still exists. According to Ya'ḳūbī (p. 321) this was the capital of the district of Lower Nahrawān; and in his day (ninth century A.D.) it was still inhabited by many

Persian nobles. Yāḳūt (II. 54) says that it lies on the eastern river-bank, but had become a ruin, as, in fact, had most of the other towns of the Nahrawān district.

An-Nu'māniyya, Yāḳūt (IV. 796) counts as the half-way stage between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ. It lay four leagues down stream from Jarjarāyā, and five leagues above Jabbul (compare Kudāma, p. 193, with Abu-l-Fidā, p. 305). By this reckoning An-Nu'māniyya probably occupied the position marked Tell Na'aman of Kiepert's larger map of *Babylon*. Ya'ḳūbī (p. 321) counts An-Nu'māniyya as the capital town of the district of the Upper Zāb Canal, and mentions a convent here called Dayr Hizḳil, where mad persons were treated. Ibn Rusta (p. 186) adds that the lands of An-Nu'māniyya lay, mostly, on the western bank of the Tigris; that it was counted one of the dependent cities of Al-Ḥīra, and that the celebrated carpets of Al-Ḥīra were really made at An-Nu'māniyya.

Jabbul is, apparently, the place now called Jambil. It lies on the eastern bank, and Ibn Rusta (p. 187) speaks of it as a large town with a great mosque, where there were bakehouses belonging to the Government. Yāḳūt (II. 23) says that in his day (thirteenth century A.D.) the former town had sunk to the size of a large village.

Nahr Sābūs was the name of a town occupying the western bank of the Tigris and situated on the canal of the same name (see Section VI.). Ya'ḳūbī describes it as lying opposite the town of Al-Mubārik, which was on the eastern bank of the Tigris. It was one day's journey above Wāsiṭ, and is mentioned by Yāḳūt (II. 903) as being the chief city of the district of the Lower Zāb Canal. Nahr Sābūs is not marked on the present maps, but according to Kudāma (p. 194) it was situated seven leagues below Jabbul and five leagues above Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ.

Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ was situated seven leagues above Wāsiṭ. *Fam* in Arabic means "mouth," but applied to a canal designates what we should call the "head" or point of origin, where the canal branches from the parent stream—not the place where it runs out to join the river again, which in English would be the usual acceptation of the term "mouth" as applied to a canal. Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ, therefore, is "the Head of the Ṣilḥ," the place where that canal left the Tigris, and it was also the name of a town on the eastern river-bank. Ibn Rusta (p. 187) speaks of its Great Mosque and markets. The place also was famous in Arab history for the palace built here by Ḥasan ibn Sahl, Wazīr of Al-Mamūn, and in which he celebrated the espousals of his daughter Būrān with the Caliph his master, spending fabulous sums in banquets and gifts (*cf.* Mas'ūdi VII. 65). Yāḳūt (III. 917), in the 13th century A.D., found the town and neighbouring villages already gone to ruin.

10 Wāsiṭ, the "middle" city, was so called because it lay equidistant (about 50 leagues) from Al-Kūfa, Al-Baṣra, and Al-Ahwāz. It was the capital of the district of Kaskar, and was founded in A.H. 84 (703) by Ḥajjāj, the great viceroy of Al-'Irāḳ, in the reign of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Mālik. The city occupied both banks of the Tigris, and the two quarters were connected by a bridge of boats. According to Ya'ḳūbī (p. 322) the eastern quarter had been a town before the days of Ḥajjāj, and here the population was for the most part Persian. In the western quarter stood the Great Mosque, the palace of the Governors, and the celebrated Green Dome (the *Khaḍrā* of Wāsiṭ), which Ibn Rusta (p. 187) states was so high that it could be seen from Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ. There was also a great mosque in the eastern quarter. The lands round Wāsiṭ were extremely fertile, and their crops

provisioned Baghdād in times of scarcity. Some idea of the richness of the Wāsiṭ District may be gathered from the statement made by Ibn Hawḳal (p. 162), who was here in A.H. 358 (969), when the revenue paid into the Baghdād treasury was being collected; he says that the yearly total then amounted to a million of Dirhams, about £40,000. The ruins of Wāsiṭ, lying on what is now called the Shaṭṭ-al-Hay, were examined in 1831–2 by Messrs. Ormsby and Elliott (see Col. Chesney's *Report of the Euphrates and Tigris Expedition*, I. p. 37), but their exact position is not given. In the accompanying map, Wāsiṭ is placed to agree with the distances given in Kudāma.

11 Ar-Ruṣāfa—"the Causeway"—surnamed for distinction Ruṣāfa of Wāsiṭ, was a village or small town lying ten leagues below Wāsiṭ, and twelve leagues above Al-Ḳaṭr (Kudāma, p. 194). The next place mentioned is Nahr Bān, which Idrisi (A. Jauber's translation, I. 368) gives as lying half a day's journey by water below Wāsiṭ, or a whole day's journey by land; it would thus have been situated but a short distance south of Ar-Ruṣāfa. It must be noted that neither these nor the following places on the Tigris below Wāsiṭ are any of them marked on the present map. Nahr Bān is the name of a small town at the head of the *Nahr* or canal of the same name, which according to Ibn Rusta (p. 184) lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris. The name is variously spelt, Nahr Bān or Bīn, also Nahrawān and Nahr Ābān, the last being the form given by Yāḳūt (IV. 758), who states that it took its name from Ābān, a Persian woman, to whom the Chosroes had granted the land in fief. This canal is again mentioned by Ibn Serapion (Section IX.), but it must not be confounded with either the great Nahrawān (Section VIII.) or the Nahr Bīn of Baghdād (Section X.).

Al-Fārūth is mentioned by Yāḳūt (III. 840) as

a large village, with a market, lying on the bank of the Tigris in the country between Wāsiṭ and Al-Madhār. It stood, therefore, on the eastern bank.

Of Dayr-al-'Ummāl, "the Monastery of the Governors" (in the singular *'Āmil*), apparently no mention is made, elsewhere, sufficient to determine its position.

Al-Ḥawānīt means "the Booths," and according to Ibn Rusta (p. 184) both this place and Al-Ḳaṭr lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Near Al-Ḥawānīt (at the beginning of the 10th century A.D.) toll-barriers were moored across the river, and placed under the superintendence of Government officials called *Aṣḥāb as-Sayyāra wa-l-Maaṣir*—"Masters of Travellers and Barriers"—such as have already been mentioned as existing up the river at Dayr-al-'Āḳūl (see above, note 8). The description of these, as given in Ibn Rusta (p. 185), is as follows:—"The toll-bar (called al-Maaṣir in Arabic) is the name given to the place on the Tigris where two boats have been moored on the one bank of the river, opposite two other boats on the further bank, which two likewise are firmly moored. Then across the stream they have carried cables, their two ends being fastened to the boats on either bank, and these prevent ships from passing by night without paying toll. Now at Al-Ḳaṭr the Tigris divides into three arms, which flow out into the Swamps."

The Swamps will be described in Section XIII.

[SECTION II.]

Account of the River Euphrates from its Source to its Mouth.

The source of the River Euphrates[1] is at a spring in Jabal Aḳradkhis in longitude 60° 30′ and latitude 41° 20′ or 42° 20′. Flowing thence, it passes by the spur of Jabal Misfīnā, in longitude 60° 20′ and latitude 42° 25′. Then

it passes the city of Kamkh and by Ḥiṣn-al-Minshār. Next, after flowing past Malaṭya,[2] which is two miles distant from its bank, it comes to the city of Hinzīṭ, next to the city of Sumaysāṭ,[3] after which come Jisr Manbij and Bālis. Next it flows beside the city of Ar-Raḳḳa,[4] which stands upon the river, and then it passes Al-Mubārik, and the head of the canal called the Nahr Sa'īd. Next follow Ḳarḳīsīyā,[5] Ar-Raḥba, Ad-Dāliya, and then it passes* [between hillocks but not] skirting the mountain, which is called Jabal-al-Ḳusūs, from whence it passes on to 'Āna,[6] and the same it surrounds, forming an island, on which stands the city. Thence it passes to Alūsa and An-Nāwusa, coming next to the city of Hīt, from whence it flows by the westward of Al-Anbār,[7] which is a city, and here there is a bridge over the (canal of the Nahr 'Īsā). Thence it passes to the city of Al-Kūfa,[8] which stands upon the river-bank. Now between Al-Anbār and Al-Kūfa there divide from the Euphrates many great canals, and these I will describe in what follows. After this the river passes on to a place in longitude 71° 5′ and latitude 31° 5′, and thence to longitude 78° 5′ and latitude 31° 30′, where it falls into the Swamp.

Now when the Euphrates is in longitude 71° 5′ and latitude 31° 5′ aforesaid, there is a division of its waters into two streams; and from here the outermost (or eastern) stream passing onwards, flows between (the main arm of) the river Euphrates and the Sawād (or plain) of Al-Kūfa and of Al-Baṣra, till finally it likewise flows out into the Swamp near by where (the main arm of) the Euphrates flows out.

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[1] To Ibn Serapion, the main stream of the Euphrates was the branch which is now known to the Turks as the Kara Sū (Black River), but which is still called Frāt by the Arabs, and which we designate the Western Euphrates. The mountains of Jabal Aḳradkhis (no longer bearing this name) must be

* MS. corrupt, translation tentative.

those near Erzeroum, where the river takes its rise. Aḳradkhis is not given in the Dictionaries of Yāḳūt or Bakri. By omitting a diacritical point, Mas'ūdi (I. 214) writes the name Afradkhis, and in his *Tanbih* (p. 52) Afradkhamish, adding that the Euphrates rises in the Ḳālīḳalā country, of which mention will be made in a subsequent note (Section IV. note 1). Kudāma (p. 233), in the corresponding passage, gives the name of the mountains as Barūjis. It is possible that this word Aḳradkhis may be the Arab form of the native name, which the Roman geographers gave as *Caranitis*.

Jabal Misfīnā is mentioned by Kudāma (p. 233), but by no other authority. The name is not Arab in form, and the mountain range referred to is apparently that lying to the north of Arzinjān, and called Ak Dāgh and Kashīsh Dāgh at the present day.

Kamkh is the city on the left or south bank of the Euphrates, which the Greeks called *Kamacha*, and which still exists. Yāḳūt (IV. 304) says that its inhabitants pronounce the name Kamakh, and that it lies one day's journey from Arzinjān. It is perhaps worth noting that in the MS. of Ibn Serapion the name is invariably written Kamḥ (not with the *kh*).

Ḥiṣn-al-Minshār, "the Fort of the Saw," has apparently disappeared from the map. Yāḳūt (IV. 661) mentions it as one of the fortresses near the Euphrates.

[2] Malaṭya, which the Greeks called *Melitene*, is still a flourishing town, and was in early days one of the most important of the Muslim fortresses of the Greek frontier. The garrison, according to Bilādhurī (p. 187), held the military post at the bridge, three miles distant, over the river Ḳubāḳib (see Section III. note 5). Iṣtakhrī (p. 62), among others, describes Malaṭya as a large town, having over it

one of the strongest of the frontier fortresses, and one of the most important in the matter of both garrison and armament.

Hinzīṭ, which appears to have been a place of note in early times, is difficult to identify. Ibn Serapion locates it near the Euphrates, between Malaṭya and Sumaysāṭ, and in this he is confirmed by Kudāma (p. 233). Ibn Serapion (see Section III.) speaks of one of the affluents of the Euphrates (unnamed) as flowing past Hinzīṭ, and Yāḳūt (IV. 993) counts the town as of the Greek frontiers—by which a place lying to the west of the Euphrates is evidently indicated. Further, he says, that Hinzīṭ lay near Sumnīn, and in other passages the same author (III. 146, IV. 168) speaks of Sayf-ad-Dawla, the Hamdanid prince, as passing Hinzīṭ in A.H. 335 (947), when he made his expedition against Ḳulūniya (query *Sinis Colonia*). Bakri (p. 832) counts Hinzīṭ as of the frontier fortresses of Mar'ash, and mentions it in connection with Malaṭya and Sumaysāṭ. In another passage (p. 495) he couples it with Kharshana (see Section III. note 4).

These indications seem to point to some strong place on the present Kakhta Sū (possibly the ruins near the town of Kakhta), or else Hinzīṭ may be identified with Karkar (Gerger), which is described as a magnificent Saracenic ruin occupying a commanding position (see Ritter, X. 870, 872). Both Kakhta and Karkar are mentioned by Abu-l-Fidā (p. 385) as castles situated near Malaṭya, but neither names, I believe, occur in the works of the earlier Arab geographers; hence the name Hinzīṭ may have been replaced by one of these two in the later Middle Ages.

[3] Sumaysāṭ (not to be confounded with Shimshāṭ), below Hinzīṭ, is the well-known town which the Greeks called *Samosata*. It lies north, and on the right

bank of the Euphrates. Mas'ūdi (I. 215) states that its fortress was called Ḳal'a-at-Tīn, "the Clay Castle," and according to Yāḳūt (III. 151) one of its quarters was inhabited exclusively by Armenians.

Jisr Manbij, Bālis, and Ar-Raḳḳa are all marked on the map. The fortress of Jisr Manbij, otherwise called Ḳal'a-an-Najm, "the Castle of the Star," stood on a hill, according to Yāḳūt (IV. 165), which overlooked the eastern bank of the Euphrates, where the high road from Manbij to Ḥarrān crossed the river. Bālis is the ancient *Barbalissus*, also on the western bank of the Euphrates. Iṣtakhrī (p. 62) counts it as the first Syrian town after crossing from Mesopotamia, and he says that it was the river-port of Syria on the Euphrates. Yāḳūt (I. 477) remarks that Bālis, which in former times lay on the Euphrates, in his day (13th century A.D.) stood four miles distant from the stream, by reason of the shifting of the course.

[4] Ar-Raḳḳa, on the left (northern) bank of the Euphrates immediately above where the Balīkh river flows in, was counted the capital of the province of Diyār Muḍar. The name Ar-Raḳḳa, in Arabic, is applied to any plain beside a river that is at times covered by the inundation, and the word occurs in many other place-names. This Ar-Raḳḳa occupies the approximate site of the ancient *Callinicus* or *Nicephorium*.

It is curious that Ibn Serapion should here make no mention of Ar-Rāfiḳa, the town built by the Caliph Al-Manṣūr in A.H. 155 (772) as a place of garrison for his Khurāsān troops. It lay close beside Ar-Raḳḳa, being only 300 ells distant, and its ground-plan resembled that of Baghdād. Bilādhurī (pp. 179 and 297) relates the above particulars, and says that Hārūn-ar-Rashīd added to the town, building many palaces, and himself lived there, preferring its climate to that of Baghdād. Yāḳūt

(II. 734) states that with the rise of Ar-Rāfiḳa, Ar-Raḳḳa fell to ruin, so that in time the very name even of Ar-Raḳḳa passed to the younger city, the whole of the intervening lands having come to be built over and occupied by markets, which last took the place of a shallow lake that formerly had existed here.

Al-Mubārik is a station on the high road down the right bank of the Euphrates, and is given by Kudāma (p. 217). He says it lay eight leagues below Ar-Raḳḳa, while the beginning of the Sa'īd Canal was eight leagues above Ḳarḳīsīyā. Nothing further is recorded of Al-Mubārik, a name common to many localities (see Section I. note 9), and meaning "the Blessing." This Al-Mubārik is omitted in Yāḳūt.

The Nahr Sa'īd, which is more particularly described in Section V., according to Bilādhurī (pp. 179 and 332), was dug by Sa'īd, son of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Mālik, and at one time governor of Al-Mawṣil. He was a man of great piety, and was surnamed Sa'īd-al-Khayr, "the Good." Where the canal was dug there had been originally a thicket and swamp infested by lions; and the reclaimed lands were granted in fief to Sa'īd by his brother, the Caliph Al-Walīd.

[5] Ḳarḳīsīyā, the ancient *Circesium*, was a town of some importance, standing at the angle formed by the Euphrates and the inflowing river Khābūr. It lay therefore on the eastern side of the Euphrates, and, according to Yāḳūt (IV. 66), stood six leagues distant from Ar-Raḥba.

The remains of Ar-Raḥba, "the Square," are shown on the map, lying on the western bank of the Euphrates. Both this place and Ad-Dāliya, meaning "the Water-wheel," were surnamed for distinction Raḥba, and Dāliya of Mālik-ibn-Ṭawḳ, who Bilādhurī states (p. 180) was a man of the Taghlib tribe, and lived in the reign of Al-Mamūn. From what

Yāḳūt (II. 538, 764) says, Ar-Raḥba and Ad-Dāliya must have stood very near each to the other, but the distance between the two is not given.

The range of hills called Jabal-al-Ḳusūs—a name mentioned by no other authority, and signifying "the Hill of the Priests"—is marked on the map above ʿĀna. Ritter (XI. 711) names part of the range Al-Muhadiya, and other heights appear now to be called the Sultan ʿAbd-Allah Hills. The reading, however, of the MS. of Ibn Serapion in this passage is very uncertain, and the words which are translated "between hillocks, but not skirting the mountain," are emended conjecturally.

6 ʿĀna is still marked on the map, and represents the ancient *Anatho*. Yāḳūt (III. 595) speaks of it as a celebrated town, having a strong castle, that overhung the Euphrates.

Alūsa and An-Nāwusa are places frequently mentioned in the history of the Arab Conquest (cf. Bilādhurī, p. 179). Kudāma (p. 217) places Alūsa seven leagues above An-Nāwusa, which last lay seven leagues above Hīt. Alūsa is marked on the map under the name of El Uz, and it appears to be identical with the place which the ancients called Olabus (Ritter, XI. 731). Yāḳūt (I. 352, IV. 734) speaks of Alūsa as a small town, and adds that An-Nāwusa was one of the villages of Hīt.

Hīt still exists, and, according to Yāḳūt (IV. 997), was celebrated for its palm groves.

7 Al-Anbār, "the Granaries," stood above, and to the north of where the first great canal, the Nahr ʿĪsā (see Section V.), flowed off from the Euphrates to the Tigris (cf. Kudāma, p. 234). It was a mint city, and a town of great importance in the days of the Caliphate. In Sassanian times it was called Fīrūz Sābūr (Perisabor), after King Sapor, its founder, and this name the Arabs applied to the district. The first Abbasid Caliph, As-Saffāḥ, for a time made Al-

Anbār his capital, and he died in the palace which he built there. Yāḳūt (I. 367) states that the name Al-Anbār, "the Granaries," was derived from the fact that of old the Persian kings stored the wheat, barley, and straw, for the rations of their troops in this town. The site of Al-Anbār appears to be that marked on the modern maps by the ruins named Sifeyra.

The ancient main-stream of the Euphrates, which flowed down to Al-Kūfa and then became lost in the Swamps, is called Al-'Alḳamī by Kudāma (p. 233), and in the *Tanbīh* (p. 52). Branching off westwards below Musayyib from what is the present main-stream, the old main-stream corresponds with the channel now known as the Nahr Hindiyya, and flowed past Al-Kūfa, the ruins of which lie on its western bank. The present main-stream of the Euphrates, below Musayyib, is the Nahr Sūra of Ibn Serapion, which will be described in Section VI.

[8] Al-Kūfa, the sister-city and rival of Al-Baṣra, was founded by the Arabs at the time of the first conquest of Persia, and was intended to serve as a permanent camp on the Arab, and desert, side of the Euphrates. It occupied an extensive plain lying above the river-bank, and in its immediate vicinity was the Persian city of Al-Ḥīra. Fronting Al-Kūfa was the Bridge of Boats across the Euphrates arm, over which, during the times of the Abbasid Caliphate, lay the great pilgrim road running from Baghdād southward to Mecca and Medina.

[SECTION III.]

Affluents of the Euphrates.

And since now thou art free in the matter of these two great rivers (the Euphrates and Tigris), I will begin with the streams which flow into the Euphrates and the streams

which are carried from the same and run into the Tigris, proceeding from its source to its mouth, stream by stream: so do thou give heed to what I shall explain to thee.

Of these is a river which falls into the Euphrates, flowing down from a mountain where its source lies in longitude 62° 20′, and latitude 41° 5′. It passes the city of Hinzīṭ and the province thereof, falling into the Euphrates in longitude 61° 30′ and latitude 39° 20′.

There also[1] falls into the Euphrates a river called Arsanās, and this is the river of Shamshāṭ. Its source is in a mountain in the limits of the country of Ṭarūn. It flows by the gate of the city of Shamshāṭ, and then passes near the gate of a fortress called Ḥiṣn Ziyād, and on the banks of this river are six other fortresses. Finally it falls into the Euphrates about two marches above Malaṭya, and on the eastern bank.

There also falls into (the Euphrates) a river called Nahr Lūḳīya.[2] Its source is in Jabal Marūr in the frontiers of the country of Abrīḳ. On its bank stands a single fortress. Its point of junction with the Euphrates is at a point one day's march below the city of Kamkh, but above the mouth of the river Arsanās, and on the western bank (of the Euphrates).

There also falls into (the Euphrates) a river called Nahr Abrīḳ.[3] It has a mountain extending right down to its point of junction with the Euphrates, which lies a short way below the mouth of the Nahr Lūḳīya, and likewise on the western bank (of the Euphrates).

There also flows into (the Euphrates) a river called the Nahr Anjā. Its source is in the mountain of Abrīḳ, a little way above the crossing of the high road from Malaṭya. It flows between mountains, and falls into the Euphrates at a distance of five leagues below the mouth of the Nahr Arsanās.

There also falls into (the Euphrates) a river called the Nahr Jarjārīya.[4] Its source is in the mountain of Jabal Marūr, near the fortress of Kharshana in the Greek country. From thence it passes, traversing a long course

through plains and meadows, and falls into the Euphrates, on its western bank, at a point ten leagues below the mouth of the Nahr Anjā.

There also falls into (the Euphrates) a river called the Nahr Ḳubāḳib.[5] This is a great and mighty stream, into which many lesser rivers flow, and these I will mention later. The source of the Nahr Ḳubāḳib is in the interior of the Greek country, beyond the Nahr Jayḥān. Its course is between mountains, passing by fortresses, plains, and meadows, till finally it comes out into the Arab dominions, falling into the Euphrates on its western bank at a point three leagues or more below the mouth of the river Jarjārīya. Here there crosses it a great bridge called Kantara Ḳubāḳib.

There falls into (the Euphrates) also a river called Nahr-al-Balīkh.[6] Its source is in the land of Ḥarrān at a spring called 'Ayn-adh-Dhahbāniyya. It waters many domains, hamlets, and gardens, passing by Bājaddā, Ḥiṣn Maslama, and Bājarwān. Then, after flowing round at the back of the city of Ar-Raḳḳa, it falls into the Euphrates on the eastern bank of the same, below Ar-Raḳḳa, which is surnamed As-Sawdā (the Black).

There also flow into the Euphrates, at one spot, the waters of two rivers that have joined above (to form one stream). One of these is called Al-Khābūr,[7] and the other Al-Hirmās. The source of the Khābūr is near the city of Rās-al-'Ayn at the spring called 'Ayn-az-Zāhiriyya; the source of the Hirmās is in the land of Naṣībīn at a place called Ṭūr 'Abdīn. Now the Hirmās is the river of Naṣībīn, and in its course it waters the domains and gardens of that city; then, leaving the cultivated lands, it passes out to the plain. Here it meets the Khābūr, which has watered the domains of Rās-al-Ayn; and the waters of the Khābūr together with those of the Hirmās form one stream, which flows on through the plain. It is the Hirmās which thus flows into the Khābūr, for the chief river down to the junction of the two streams is the Khābūr. Passing on, this single stream, formed by

the united rivers, irrigates the domains which lie to the north of Ḳarḳīsīyā, and finally flows into the Euphrates, on the eastern bank near Ḳarḳīsīyā.

From the Hirmās, also, there flows off a river called Ath-Tharthār.[8] Its origin is at Sukayr-al-'Abbās. It passes through the midst of the plain, and runs into the Tigris below Takrīt, after passing Al-Ḥaḍr, and cutting through the hills called Jabal Bārimmā.

There also flows into (the Euphrates) a river coming down from 'Ayn-at-Tamr.[9] It passes through the lands of the same, and then flows on through the plain, falling into the Euphrates, on its western bank, below the city of Hīt.

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[1] The River of Hinzīṭ has been noticed above (Section II. note 2).

The Eastern Euphrates, which by some geographers is considered the main source of the great river, is given in Pliny (Nat. Hist. Bk. V. 24, Teubner's edition) as the *Arsanias Flumen*, and this is evidently identical with the Nahr Arsanās of Ibn Serapion. The name is apparently now entirely lost, for this stream, at the present time, is known by the Turkish name of Murād Sū (or Tchay), being so called, it is said, in honour of Sultan Murād IV., the conqueror of Baghdād, in A.D. 1638. The name Arsanās, however, is given by Yāḳūt (I. 207), who refers to the coldness of its waters, and by Bakri (p. 91), who gives the pronunciation as Arasnās. It would appear, therefore, that this name was in use from the time of Pliny in the first century A.D. down to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

The Ṭarūn country, where the Arsanās took its rise, is mentioned by both Kudāma (pp. 246, 251) and Bilādhurī (p. 201). The name is identical with the Armenian *Daron*, which in earlier times occurs in Strabo as *Taronites*, and in Tacitus as *Taurantium*.

At the present day, however, the name Ṭarūn has completely disappeared from the maps,

The town of Shamshāṭ (or Shimshāṭ) was, during the early centuries of the Hijra, a place of much importance; it is frequently mentioned in the histories of the Arab Conquest, and in the works of the earlier geographers. It has been suggested that the name represents the *Arsamosata* of Pliny (*op. cit.* Bk. VI. 9). Shamshāṭ on the Arsanās has frequently been confounded with Sumaysāṭ* on the Euphrates, a totally different town, which, as already mentioned, is the classical *Samosata*. Shamshāṭ has completely disappeared from the maps. Its site, however, may be fixed by the indications of Ibn Serapion (see below, Section XVIII.) and Yāḳūt (III. 319). Yāḳūt prefaces his account by noting that this town must not be confounded with Sumaysāṭ. He writes that, in his day, Shamshāṭ was already in ruins and had but few inhabitants; adding that the city had Khartabirt (modern Kharput) to the west of it, and Balūya (modern Palu) to the east, and that it was a town of Armenia. Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 123) refers to Shamshāṭ as lying close to Ḥiṣn Ziyād, which fortress Yāḳūt (II. 276) says is identical with Khartabirt (*i.e.* Kharput). The ruins of Shamshāṭ are to be sought for on the right or northern bank of the Murād Sū, one mile above where the Nahr-as-Salḳiṭ (see Section IV.), the modern Peri Tchay, flows in, and they must lie somewhere near the village marked Pistik on Kiepert's map.

[2] The river Lūḳīya, flowing into the Euphrates one day's march below Kamkh, corresponds fairly with the modern Tchalta Irmak. The name Lūḳīya is not found on our maps, neither is it mentioned by any other Arab geographer. The name is evidently not Arabic, and it is remarkable that Pliny (*op. cit.* Bk.

* *E.g.*, Ritter X. 931; and in many places of Jaubert's translation of Idrisi, *e.g.*, II. 129, 137, 314.

V. 24) names a river *Lycus* as one of the affluents of the Euphrates. Possibly this is the same stream, which in the 10th century A.D. still preserved the name under which it was known in classical times.

[3] The Nahr Abrīḳ is the river now called Sari-tchitchek Sū; and the Nahr Anjā corresponds with the stream at the mouth of which is the village of Tchermik as marked on Kiepert's map. The Castle of Abrīḳ (see Section IV.) is the fortress which the Byzantines called *Tephrikē*, corresponding to the modern Divrigi; it is mentioned in the *Tanbih* (p. 183), and by Yāḳūt (I. 87), who quotes a curious description of the place, which is said to have been a sanctuary venerated both by the Christians and the Moslems. He spells the name Al-Abrūḳ.

[4] The Nahr Jarjārīya is the river now called Kuru Tchay. The fortress of Kharshana is mentioned by Yāḳūt (II. 423) as situated at no great distance from Malaṭya, in the Greek country, but no trace of it is to be found on the present maps. Kharshana is the place so frequently mentioned in the Byzantine Chronicles under the name of *Kharsianon Kastron*.

[5] The Nahr Ḳubāḳib, which is described by both Yāḳūt (IV. 26) and Bakri (pp. 657 and 726), is the river of Malaṭya, and except for the Arsanās is by far the most important affluent of the Upper Euphrates. The Greeks called it the river *Melas*, and its present Turkish name is the Tokhma Sū. The Jayḥān, beyond which the Ḳubāḳib takes its rise, is the ancient *Pyramus*, which flows out into the Mediterranean in the Bay of Alexandretta. Ḳubāḳib may mean "babbling" in Arabic, or as the plural of *Ḳabḳab* is the name given to the "wooden-clogs" worn in the bath; in either case the word is evidently onomatopœic.

[6] The river Al-Balīkh is the *Bilecha* of the Greek geographers; while Ḥarrān represents the ancient *Carrhæ*. Yāḳūt (II. 231) counts Ḥarrān as the

capital of the district of Diyār Muḍar. According to tradition, this was the first city built after the Flood, and was the original home of the Sabæans, also called the Ḥarrānians.

The spring at the source of the Balīkh, Yāḳūt (I. 734) names the 'Ayn-adh-Dhahbāniyya, which name Ibn Rusta (p. 90) writes Ad-Dahmāna, and Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 175, but cf. note *k* for other readings) Adh-Dhahbāna. Of the three places lying on this river, Ḥiṣn Maslama took its name from Maslama, son of the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Mālik. Yāḳūt (I. 734, II. 278) writes that this fortress stood five miles from the source of the Balīkh, nine leagues from Ḥarrān on the road to Ar-Raḳḳa, and about a mile-and-a-half from the actual river-bank. From this latter point a canal brought water to the fortress, in which Maslama had dug a cistern, 200 ells square by 20 ells deep, lined with stone, in order to supply the wants of the garrison. This cistern needed only to be filled once a year, and at other times the canal served to irrigate the lands round Ḥiṣn Maslama. The fortress itself covered an area of a *Jarīb* (an Arab land-measure equivalent to about a third of an acre, it being a plot of land measuring 60 ells by the like), and the walls of the fortress were of fifty ells in height.

Bājaddā is described by Yāḳūt (I. 453) as a large village lying near Ḥiṣn Maslama, and between Rās-al-'Ayn and Ar-Raḳḳa. Maslama had granted this land in fief to one of his captains, named Asīd, of the Sulaym tribe, who surrounded the place with a wall and built the village. Springs abounded here, and the gardens were celebrated.

Bājarwān, Yāḳūt (I. 454) mentions as a village of Diyār Muḍar, on the Balīkh. According to Kudāma (p. 215) Bājarwān lay three leagues northward of Ar-Raḳḳa on the high road to Ḥarrān,

which last was eleven leagues from Bājarwān, while from Bājarwān it was seven leagues to Ḥiṣn Maslama on the road to Rās-al-'Ayn in a north-easterly direction. (For Ar-Raḳḳa, see above, Section II. note 4.)

[7] The Khābūr is the river which the Greeks called *Chaboras*. The origin of the name Hirmās appears to be unknown. The Greek geographers called this river either *Saocoras* or *Mygdonius*. The Khābūr has kept its name to the present time, but the river of Naṣībīn, the Hirmās, is now generally known as the Jaghjagha.

The town of Rās-al-'Ayn, meaning in Arabic the "Spring-head," bore this name long before Arab days, being mentioned in *Resaina* by the Latin geographers. The place was noted for its numerous springs, and their waters made the surrounding country a garden. The 'Ayn-az-Zāhiriyya, by Yāḳūt's account (II. 731, 911), was fathomless, and the stream flowing from it was in old times sufficiently deep to carry small pleasure-boats, in which people went from garden to garden, and down to Ḳarḳīsīyā. In the 13th century A.D., however, the Hirmās was no longer navigable.

Naṣībīn is the Roman *Nisibis*, which Yāḳūt (IV. 787) says was celebrated for its white roses and its forty thousand gardens. It was counted the capital of the district of Diyār Rabī'a, and is still a flourishing town.

Ṭūr 'Abdīn, "the Mountain of (God's) Servants," is the hilly district still bearing this name, which is so celebrated in the annals of the Jacobite Christians. According to Muslim tradition (see Yāḳūt III. 559) Jabal Jūdī, a mountain of this district, was the place where the Ark of Noah came to rest, as related in the Ḳurān, chapter XI. verse 46. (For Ḳarḳīsīyā see above, Section II. note 5.)

[8] The account of the river Ath-Tharthār is repeated below

in Section VII. At the present day its stream is so shrunk in volume that it no longer forms a natural water-way between the Euphrates and the Tigris. According to Ibn Serapion, it flowed out from the Hirmās at Sukayr (the "little Dam" of) al-'Abbās. Yāḳūt (III. 109), however, describes this place as a small town *on the Khābūr*, where there is a mosque. Further, both Kudāma (p. 216) and Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 96) likewise place Sukayr on the Khābūr, and give it as lying on the high road, fourteen leagues from Sinjār, and eighteen leagues from Ḳarḳīsīyā. These distances (especially the latter) are difficult to fit in with what is shown on the present map. The Tharthār river must have cut through the Sinjār mountains (the Jabal Bārimmā) at the gap to the west of the town of that name; but possibly the point of junction of the Khābūr and Hirmās was not in the tenth century A.D. where it now is. Yāḳūt (I. 921) describes the bed of the Tharthār, in his day (13th century A.D.), as running in flood when the rains were plenteous, but in summer as showing only pools of warm water, with here and there brackish springs. He had himself travelled along its course, and adds that of old, as it was reported, boats could pass up its stream, and that many villages lay along its banks in the midst of well-cultivated lands.

Al-Ḥaḍr is the ancient *Hatra*, still standing, with the ruins of a Parthian palace. Yāḳūt calls it the city of a certain As-Sāṭirūn, adding (II. 281) that it is built of squared stones, which form chambers, with their roofs and doors likewise of stone. There were originally sixty towers, with three turrets in between each tower, and a castle stood over against each.

Jabal Bārimmā, Yāḳūt says (I. 464), is also known as Jabal Ḥumrīn, and this is the chain of hills which stretches across Upper Mesopotamia from west to east,

till it reaches the mountains of Persia. Through this chain the Tigris cuts its way at As-Sinn. The hill-chain here spoken of is evidently that at present called Jabal Sinjār, from the town of Sinjār, which also gave its name to the plain referred to by Ibn Serapion (Section VII.). Sinjār city still exists, and Yāḳūt (III. 158) describes it as a fine town with magnificent gardens that were celebrated for their crops of dates, oranges, and lemons. It was from this city that the famous Saljuk Sultan, Sinjār, took his name, it having been his birth-place.

[9] The town of 'Ayn-at-Tamr, meaning "the Date Spring," was a place of importance in the days of the first Muslim conquest, but its site is apparently lost. Yāḳūt (III. 759) says that it lay near Al-Anbār, and to the west of Al-Kūfa on the borders of the Arabian desert, but unfortunately no authority gives its distance from either of these towns. Further, near 'Ayn-at-Tamr was a place called Shafatha, and from both towns great quantities of sugar-cane and dates were exported to neighbouring lands. Kudāma (p. 236) counts 'Ayn-at-Tamr as one of the six sub-districts of the Astān, or District, of Upper Bihkubādh, coupling it with Bābil (Babylon) and other neighbouring territories. The stream on which it stood is apparently either the present Wādī-al-'Amīh of Kiepert's map, or the Wādī Burdān. The town of Shafatha referred to by Yāḳūt may be the place marked under the name of Shethatheh on the above-mentioned map.

[SECTION IV.]

Streams flowing into Affluents of Euphrates.

And now regarding the streams which are the affluents of these rivers flowing into the Euphrates, they too are great rivers, and among them are the following :—

Into the Nahr Arsanās flows a river called the Nahr-adh-Dhīb[1] (the "Wolf River"). Its source is in a mountain in the neighbourhood of Ḳālīḳalā. It turns and passes many fortresses, falling into the river Arsanās a short distance above the city of Shamshāṭ.

There also flows into the Arsanās a river called As-Salḳiṭ. Its source is in the mountains called Jabal Marūr (or Mazūr). It turns passing many fortresses, and falls into the Arsanās a little below the city of Shamshāṭ and the mountain near it.

Into the river Abrīḳ flows a river called Zamra.[2] Its source is in the mountain called Jabal Marūr, a little above the source of the river Lūḳīya, and it falls into the river Abrīḳ a little below the Castle (of Abrīḳ).

Into the river Jarjārīya flows a river called the Nahr Ghawth.[3] Its source is in a mountain in the neighbourhood of Abrīḳ, and it falls in the Nahr Jarjārīya.

Into the river Ḳubāḳib falls a river called Ḳarāḳīs.[4] Its source is in a lake in the Greek country. It passes near the gate of Zibaṭra, and it falls into the Ḳubāḳib.

There also falls into the Ḳubāḳib the river called Nahr-az-Zarbūḳ (or Zarnūḳ). Its source is in a mountain lying between Malaṭya and Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. It falls into the Ḳubāḳib below the mouth of the river Ḳarāḳīs.

From the river Az-Zarnūḳ there is carried a stream called the Nahr Malaṭya; it waters various domains, and falls into the Ḳubāḳib below (the mouth of) the river Az-Zarnūḳ. From this stream are brought the water-courses of Malaṭya, which, entering the city, afterwards pass forth and fall into the Ḳubāḳib below the Bridge.

There also falls into the Ḳubāḳib a river called Jūrīth (or Ḥūrīth).[5] Its source is at (the Spring of) 'Ayn Zanīthā; its course lies through certain lakes, and it passes near the city of Al-Ḥadath, falling out into the Ḳubāḳib at a point in the direction of this town.

Into the Jūrīth (or Ḥūrīth) there falls a river called Al-'Arjān. Its source is in the mountains of Jabal-ar-Rīsh, and it flows into the Jūrīth (or Ḥūrīth). From the river

Al-'Arjān are brought the water-courses of Al-Ḥadath, and their waters flow back into the same.

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[1] It will be seen that Ibn Serapion has given this section, describing the tributaries of the affluents of the Euphrates, in duplicate (see below, Section XVIII.); but since some additional information is to be found in the second account, it has seemed worth while to print the texts and the translations in full.

The two tributaries of the Arsanās serve to fix the site of Shamshāṭ, as already stated (see Section III. note 1). Nahr-adh-Dhīb, the "Wolf River," is a common name for streams, and there is an affluent of the Tigris which is likewise so-called (see below, Section VII.). This Nahr-adh-Dhīb is evidently the stream now known as the Gunek Su. Ḳālīḳalā, where it is said to rise, according to the somewhat vague statement of Yāḳūt (IV. 19), was the name by which the Arabs called the chain of mountains in Greater, or Fourth, Armenia, and it was of the province of Mināzjird (modern Melasgird) or of Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ). Further, Ibn Serapion (MS. folio 46 *b*) says that the river Ar-Rass (the Araxes) "has its source in the mountain between Khilāṭ and Ḳālīḳalā, being from the Ḳālīḳalā district." Ibn Rusta (p. 89) and Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 174) both confirm this, and the latter authority gives Ḳālīḳalā, also, as the country of the head-waters of the (western) Euphrates. The name has entirely disappeared from the maps, but from the above Ḳālīḳalā evidently represents the mountainous district lying between the various sources of the Eastern and Western Euphrates and those of the Araxes.

The river Salḳaṭ (or As-Salḳiṭ), which (see Section XVIII.) joined the Arsanās "one mile below Shamshāṭ," is the stream now called Peri Tchay, with its numerous tributaries. The statement that this

stream rises in the Jabal Marūr is puzzling. By our author's account, repeated more than once, these mountains were in the Abrīḳ Country, that is to the *westward* of the Euphrates, while the present passage evidently refers to the district lying *eastward* of the great river, and between the two great arms of the Eastern and Western Euphrates. The name Marūr, to my knowledge, occurs in no other author, and I am inclined to think that the MS. in this and the corresponding passage (Section XVIII.) may be in error, for by the addition of a diacritical point Marūr becomes *Mazūr*, and this, written Mezour Dāgh, is the mountain which, at the present day, gives its name to a tributary stream of the upper waters of the Peri Tchay. Jabal Marūr may mean "the Mountain of the Passage," while Mazūr is a name applied to any place "visited" by pilgrims.

[2] The tributary of the Abrīḳ, called Zamra, is probably the modern Miram Tchay, which flows into the Sari Tchitchek Sū, a little below Divrigi, "the Castle of Abrīḳ," mentioned in the text and referred to in Section III. note 3. A place called Zimarra is marked on Kiepert's map at this spot.

[3] The Nahr Ghawth must be the tributary stream shown on the map as flowing from the northward past the village of Mirlabey into the Kuru Tchay, the Jarjārīya of our author.

[4] The tributaries of the Ḳubāḳib (the ancient *Melas* and the present Tokma Su) are of importance, since they give us the sites of two places of much note in early days, namely, Zibaṭra and Al-Ḥadath. The Nahr Ḳarāḳīs, on which stood Zibaṭra, is evidently the present Sultān Su, and Zibaṭra itself I feel inclined to identify with the remains now called Virān Shahr, "the Ruined City" (see Ritter, X. 850). Zibaṭra was a frontier fortress of great importance in mediæval times. According to Bilādhurī (p. 191) it was an

ancient Greek fortress: possibly it may be identical with *Sosopetra*, which is, I believe, mentioned in the Byzantine Chronicles. Bilādhurī tells us that it was conquered at the same time as Al-Ḥadath (see below, note 5), that it was rebuilt by the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, after having been destroyed during an incursion of the Greeks; later on it was strongly fortified by Al-Mamūn, and since that date had been dismantled and refortified several times over. Abu-l-Fidā (p. 234), who had visited Zibaṭra in A.H. 715 (1315), describes it as a ruin, of which only the line of the walls remained:—"Its fields are all wasted; it lies in a plain surrounded by mountains, and the vegetation grows close up to its walls. It stands two marches southward of Malaṭya, and the same distance westward of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr." Kudāma (p. 97) states that from Malaṭya to Zibaṭra was five leagues, and thence on to Al-Ḥadath it was four leagues.

The river that flows by Malaṭya (see also Section XVIII.) is called Nahr-az-Zarnūḳ or Az-Zarbūḳ by Ibn Serapion, for both these readings are given in the MS., and I have been unable to find the name in any other authority. This stream, whose waters irrigated the plain round the city (see Ritter, X. 851) is now known as the Shakma Sū.

Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, now more often called Adiamān, lies immediately to the north of Sumaysāṭ. According to Bilādhurī (p. 192) this fortress took its name from a certain Manṣūr ibn Ja'wana, who commanded some troops here, and rebuilt the fortifications in the days of Marwān II., the last Omayyad Caliph. Hārūn-ar-Rashīd restored the buildings, and Istakhrī (p. 62) describes it as a small fortified town with a Friday Mosque.

[5] The site of Al-Ḥadath and the streams on which it lay, are difficult to identify. Al-Ḥadath was conquered by the Muslims in the reign of 'Omar; and Bilādhurī (p. 189) states that the name was originally *Darb-al-*

Ḥadath-as-Salāma, that is "the Road of the News of Safety." This, in course of time, was shortened to Al-Ḥadath, meaning "the News" (of Safety), and held as of good augury. The town was rebuilt by the Caliph Al-Mahdi, and again later by Ar-Rashīd, when its garrison was fixed at 2,000 men. Istakhrī (p. 62) mentions its arable fields and excellent fruit-trees, and relates how this frontier-fortress was taken and retaken alternately by the Greeks and Muslims. Yāḳūt (II. 218) speaks of the town, with its strong castle, as lying between Malaṭya, Sumaysāṭ, and Mar'ash. It was surnamed Al-Ḥamrā, "the Red," and its Castle crowned a hill called Al-Uhaydab. Dimashḳi (pp. 208, 214) says that Al-Ḥadath, on being rebuilt by Al-Mahdi, took the name of Al-Muḥammadiyya, after that Caliph, being called by the Armenians Kaytuk. Abu-l-Fidā (p. 263) states that this Castle stood twelve miles distant from a point on the river Jayḥān (the Pyramus), where this stream was crossed at "the Ford of the Alide." Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 97) writes that between Al-Ḥadath and Mar'ash was a distance of thirty miles, but Kudāma (p. 216) gives it as five leagues, or about fifteen miles.

Turning now to the rivers of Al-Ḥadath, the name of the Nahr Jūrīth is very clearly so written by Ibn Serapion, *i.e.* with an initial *j*. Yāḳūt (IV. 838), however, gives the name as Ḥūrīth, placing it among the Ḥs in his alphabetical list, and, as usual, specifying the exact pronunciation. He goes on to state that the river Ḥūrīth "flows out of the Lake of Al-Ḥadath, near Mar'ash," but adds (and I believe in error) that "flowing on, it finally falls into the Nahr Jayḥūn," the *Pyramus*, which runs to the Mediterranean. The spring of 'Ayn Zanīthā and the tributary Nahr-al-'Arjān, flowing down from the mountains of Jabal-ar-Rīsh, are none of them, to my knowledge, mentioned by any other authority. On an examination of the map,

the only tributary of the Tokhma Sū, which at all satisfies the requirements of the case, is the Gurun Sū (see Ritter, X. 841), on which lies Gurun, an important town, in Byzantine days called *Gauraina*, at or near which I am inclined to place Al-Ḥadath. The Gurun Sū I conclude to be the mediæval Jūrīth or Ḥūrīth, and the 'Arjān would be one of its tributaries, possibly that now called the Inja Sū.

[SECTION V.]

ACCOUNT OF THE CANALS WHICH ARE BROUGHT FROM (THE EUPHRATES OR TIGRIS), AND WHICH FLOW BACK INTO (THE SAME OR OTHER RIVER).*

From the Euphrates is taken (the canal called) the Nahr Sa'īd.[1] Its origin is just below the Dome (Al-Ḳubba), which is called Fam (or Mouth of the) Nahr Sa'īd. It flows watering the domains which lie to the west of the Euphrates, and, passing on, next irrigates the domains of Ar-Raḥba, and then falls into the Euphrates on the western bank, and above Dāliya of Mālik ibn Ṭawḳ, after various canals have branched from it, which water the domains of Dāliya aforesaid.

From the Tigris is taken a canal called Dujayl.[2] Its beginning is a league or more above the village of Ar-Rabb. Then it passes cross-wise, and from it branch many canals which water the domains of Maskin and Ḳaṭrabbul, and the hamlets pertaining thereto, and finally it falls into the Tigris between 'Ukbarā and Baghdād.

From the Euphrates is taken a canal called the Nahr 'Īsā.[3] Its beginning is in longitude 68° 50′ and latitude 32° 20′. At its head is a wonderful bridge, called Ḳanṭara Dimimmā, Dimimmā being the name of a village lying on the

* The Arabic is ambiguous, but this, from what follows, is evidently the sense.

Euphrates and on the canal. The canal passes on, with running waters, and irrigates the districts of Fīrūz Sābūr, flowing by villages and domains which lie on both its banks. When it reaches Al-Muḥawwal the canals of the City of Peace (Baghdād) branch from it, but these we will detail later. From Al-Muḥawwal it passes to Al-Yāsiriyya, and here there crosses it the bridge called Ḳanṭara-al-Yāsiriyya. Thence it passes through the midst of (the district of) Bādūrayā, which lies (mostly) to the eastward of it. Thence it passes to Ar-Rūmiyya, and there is here a bridge over it called Ḳanṭara-ar-Rūmiyya. Thence it passes to (the Place of the Oil-sellers, called) Az-Zayyāṭīn [and here there is a bridge over it called by the same name] *; and thence to the Place of the Sellers of Alkali (Ushnān), where over it is a bridge called Ḳanṭara-al-Ushnān. Thence it passes to the Place of the Sellers of Thorns (Shawk), where over it is a bridge called the Ḳanṭara-ash-Shawk; from thence to the Place of the Sellers of Pomegranates (Rummān), where over it is a bridge called the Ḳanṭara-ar-Rummān. Thence it goes to (the bridge called) Ḳanṭara-al-Maghīd, and (the place called) Al-Maghīd. Then it passes to Ḳanṭara-al-Bustān (the Garden Bridge); then to (the bridge called) Ḳanṭara-al-Ma'badī; next to (another called) Ḳanṭara Bani Zurayḳ, and finally falls into the Tigris on its western bank, below (the palace called) Ḳaṣr 'Īsā-ibn-Mūsā, of the City of Peace (Baghdād).

From the Euphrates also is taken the canal called the Nahr Ṣarṣar.[4] Its origin is three leagues below the village of Dimimmā. It is a great canal, with running waters, and the lands (adjacent) are irrigated from it by means of the (water-wheel called) Dāliya and the (lever called) Shadūf. Over it is a Bridge-of-Boats (Jisr), and there are domains and villages (on its banks). It passes through part of (the District of) Bādūrayā, and finally flows into the Tigris, on its western bank, between Baghdād and Al-Madāin, and at a point four leagues above Al-Madāin.

* Supplied from Yāḳūt, IV. 842.

From the Euphrates also is taken a canal called the Nahr-al-Mālik.[5] Its point of origin is five leagues below the head of the Nahr Ṣarṣar. It is a canal that has along it numerous domains and fertile lands. There is also a Bridge-of-Boats over it; and further many villages and fields (along its banks). From it branch numerous other canals, and its lands form a District of the Sawād. Finally it flows out into the Tigris on its western bank, three leagues below Al-Madāin.

From the Euphrates also is taken a canal called the Nahr Kūthā.[6] Its point of origin is three leagues below that of the Nahr-al-Mālik. It is a canal watering numerous domains and villages. There is a Bridge-of-Boats over it, and from it branch other canals, irrigating the District of Kūthā—which is of the province of Ardashīr Bābakān—also part of the District of Nahr Jawbar. After passing by Kūthā Rabbā, it finally flows out into the Tigris on its western bank, ten leagues below Al-Madāin.

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[1] The canal of Sa'id has been described in Section II. note 4.

The word Dāliya, in Arabic, besides meaning "a grape-vine," or "bunch of grapes," is also the name for "a water-wheel," being the synonym of *Nā'ūra*. This last is the more common term for these instruments of irrigation, and under the plural form of An-Nawā'īr this occurs as a place-name (see Section VI.)

[2] The Dujayl, or "Little Tigris," is the name given to the canal above Baghdād, on the right or western bank of the Tigris, whose waters irrigate the district called Maskin, which lies immediately to the north of the Katrabbul district. The village of Ar-Rabb is not, I believe, mentioned by any other geographer. According to Yāḳūt (II. 555) the Dujayl Canal begins opposite Al-Ḳādisīya. Its course may still be traced on the modern maps.

[3] The Nahr ʿĪsā is the first of the four great canals which carry the surplus waters of the Euphrates into the Tigris, and irrigate the intervening lands, called the Sawād (or "black" alluvial plain) of lower Mesopotamia. The Nahr ʿĪsā left the Euphrates immediately below Al-Anbār, and so much of its waters as was not diverted by the Ṣarāt—and the other minor canals, which branched from its left bank—flowed out at last into the Tigris some distance below Baghdād at a place known as Al-Farḍa, "the Harbour" (see Yaʿḳūbī, p. 250). In general the Nahr ʿĪsā followed the line of the modern Saklawiyya Canal. Dimimmā is described by Yāḳūt (II. 600) as a large village on the Euphrates near the hamlet of Al-Fallūja; and these two villages with Al-Anbār were the chief places of the district of Fīrūz Sābūr, the *Perisabor* of the Greek geographers (see Section II. note 7). The whole of this section of Ibn Serapion has been copied almost verbatim by Yāḳūt (IV. 842).

Al-Muḥawwal, meaning the "Place of Unloading," is described by Yāḳūt (IV. 432) as a fine township, one league distant from Baghdād, and celebrated for its gardens and markets. The name *Al-Muḥawwal* is explained by the account in Ibn Hawkal (p. 166), who says that ships could float unimpeded down the Nahr ʿĪsā from the Euphrates to the Tigris, but that, by reason of the bridges and weirs, their cargoes had to be "unloaded" into small boats in order to pass into the Ṣarāt, the canal (see Section XI.) which branched from the Nahr ʿĪsā, immediately below Al-Muḥawwal, and flowed into Baghdād.

The District of Bādūrayā is described by Yāḳūt (I. 460) as comprising the lands lying to the westward of Baghdād. It is divided, he says, from the Ḳaṭrabbul District by the Canal of the Ṣarāt, the lands to the west (and north) of this being

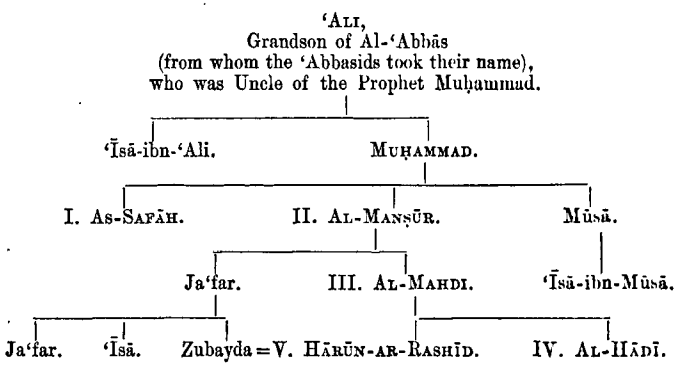
Ḳaṭrabbul, while Bādūrayā is to the east (and south) of this canal.

In regard to the various bridges over the Nahr ʻĪsā, Yāḳūt gives particulars of the following. The Yāsiriyya (IV. 1002) was called after a man named Yāsir, and the village of this name lay about one mile from Al-Muḥawwal, and two miles from Baghdād, on the canal bank. It was famous for its gardens. Ibn Hawkal (p. 165) mentions the gate called Bāb-al-Yāsiriyya as marking the westermost limit of Baghdād, adding that formerly five miles of streets intervened between this point and the Khurāsān Gate to the north-east, which lay at the boundary of the Eastern quarter of the city, on the Persian side of the Tigris (see Section XI. note 1). *Ushnān*, Yāḳūt (I. 284) says, is the substance (*alkali*) used for washing clothes, and he adds that the bridge of this name was a well-known quarter of Western Baghdād. The bridge of Ash-Shawk is noticed in like terms (IV. 191). Here dwelt the clothes-merchants (Al-Bazzāzūn) and other hucksters. Ḳanṭara-al-Maghīd means the Bridge of "the Place which-lacks-water," but is not otherwise specified. Ḳanṭara-al-Maʻbadī, Yāḳūt says (IV. 191), was called after a certain ʻAbd-Allah ibn Muḥammad Al-Maʻbadī, who possessed fiefs here, and built this bridge, with a mill and a palace (Dār) which were all called after him. These buildings afterwards came into the possession of Muḥammad Az-Zayyāt (the Oil-man), who was Wasīr of the Caliph Al-Wāthiḳ. The Bridge of the Bani Zurayḳ is described (IV. 190) as having been built of marble. The family of Zurayḳ were celebrated architects, and of Persian origin.

The great Nahr ʻĪsā was named after an ʻAbbasid

Prince whom Ibn Serapion calls Ibn (son of) Mūsā, but whom all other authorities call Ibn ʻAlī. This canal was, however, far more ancient than Arab times, and its upper portion, according to Kudāma (p. 234), was originally called Ad-Dakīl, while its lower reach was apparently known as the Nahr Rufayl (compare Yāḳūt, IV. p. 839, with pp. 117 and 190 of the same volume). In regard to the Prince ʻĪsā, who re-dug this canal, and whose palace stood just above its point of junction with the Tigris, if he be called ʻĪsā-ibn-Mūsā (as in the text of Ibn Serapion), he was *nephew* to the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, founder of Baghdād, who at one time appointed him to be his successor in the Caliphate. This ʻĪsā was governor of Al-Ahwāz and Al-Kūfa, at which latter city he died, after having been ousted from his right to the succession by Al-Manṣūr, who proclaimed his own son, Al-Mahdi, heir-apparent in his stead. It seems likely, however, that Ibn Serapion has here made a mistake, and that it was ʻĪsā, son of ʻAlī, and *uncle* of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, who (as all other authorities concur in stating) was the person from whom the Nahr ʻĪsā took its name. Yāḳūt (IV. 117) says that his palace (Ḳaṣr) was the first of those built by the ʻAbbasids, during the reign of Al-Manṣūr, after Baghdād had been founded; and though no traces of it remained in the thirteenth century A.D., a great quarter of the city, with its markets and streets, was still known as the Ḳaṣr ʻĪsā. Apparently this palace had changed its name in A.H. 278 (891), when Yaʻḳūbī wrote his description of Baghdād, for the only palaces he mentions (p. 245) at this point are those of ʻĪsā and Jaʻfar, *grandsons* of Al-Manṣūr, their sister, Zubayda, being the famous wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. The following table makes clear

the relationships of the various 'Īsās. The capital roman numerals indicate the 'Abbasid Caliphs.



[4] The beginning of the Nahr Ṣarṣar followed the line of the modern Abu Ghurayb Canal. The Bridge-of-Boats mentioned was at the point where the great pilgrim high road, from Baghdād to Al-Kūfa, crossed the canal, namely, according to Ibn Rusta (p. 182) at a point ten miles south of Baghdād. Here stood the town of Ṣarṣar at no great distance from the Tigris bank, to judge from the account in Yāḳūt (I. 768). The water-wheels called Dāliya have been mentioned above (Section V. note 1); the Shadūf is described by E. Lane in his *Modern Egyptians* (Chapter XIV.), where an illustration will be found representing it. Here, and in the following pages, the word *Jisr* is always translated "Bridge-of-Boats," while *Ḳanṭara* is rendered by "Bridge," and implies an arched structure of masonry.

[5] The Nahr-al-Mālik, "The King's Canal," dates from very ancient times, and under the name of *Nahar-malcha* is frequently mentioned by the classical historians. Yāḳūt (IV. 846) reports that tradition assigned its digging either to Solomon or Alexander.

Roughly speaking, it followed the line of the modern Radhwāniyya Canal. The Bridge-of-Boats crossed it, on the Baghdād Kūfa high road, at the town, likewise called Nahr-al-Mālik, and according to Ibn Rusta (p. 182) this lay seven miles distant from the Ṣarṣar bridge. The town of Nahr-al-Mālik, Ibn Hawkal (p. 166) states, was larger by a half than the town of Ṣarṣar; both districts were famous for their corn-lands and date-palms.

[6] The Nahr Kūthā is represented by the line of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm. The city of Kūthā dates from biblical days, for in II. Kings, xvii. 24, there is mention made of *Cuthah*, one of the important places near Babylon. According to Muslim tradition Kūthā is the place where Abraham was thrown into the fire by the tyrant Nimrod (see G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 74); and Yāḳūt (IV. 317) asserts that Kūthā, who dug this canal, was the grandfather of Abraham. Ibn Hawkal (p. 168) states that Kūthā consisted of two cities called respectively Kūthā-at-Tarīḳ, "of the road," and Kūthā Rabba, which latter was a city larger than Bābil (Babylon). He adds:—"Here are great mounds of ashes which, they say, are those of the fire made by Nimrod, son of Canaan, into which he threw Abraham, the Friend of God." Muḳaddasi (p. 121), repeating the above, adds that near the high road might be seen a building resembling a minaret (or tower) about which the people related many strange legends. The site of Kūthā is still marked by the mound called Tell Ibrāhīm, "the Hill of Abraham." The Bridge-of-Boats, mentioned by Ibn Serapion, lay on the Baghdād Kūfa high road, and it was four miles, according to Ibn Rusta (p. 182), below the town of Nahr-al-Mālik. The point where the Kūthā canal joined the Tigris

(stated to have been ten leagues below Al-Madāin) would bring it out nearly opposite Dayr-al-'Āḳūl (see Section I. note 8). The canal of Nahr Jawbar is mentioned incidentally by Yāḳūt (I. 324 and II. 141), and in Kudāma (p. 236) Nahr Jawbar is given as one of the five districts of the rich province (Astān) of Ardashīr Bābakān, which last was called after the founder of the Sassanian monarchy, whom the Greeks knew as Artaxerxes, son of Babek.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. II.—*The Lî Sâo Poem and its Author.* By the Rev. Professor LEGGE, Oxford.

I. THE AUTHOR.

THE Literature of China has been arranged by its scholars, as is well known, in four great divisions, bearing the names of Classical, Historical, Philosophical, and Belles-lettres or Polite Literature. Under each division there are various sub-divisions, but of the four the last is by far the most extensive. The Chinese name for it is *Chî* (集), meaning "Collections," and it is of this only that the Papers which I now propose to submit to the Society lead me to give a somewhat particular account.

These Collections for the most part are only reprints. To use the words of Mr. Wylie, "although some few original productions occasionally find their way into these repositories, they are almost entirely made up of works which have already appeared before the public in a detached form. This custom has tended to the preservation of numerous writings of all ages, which otherwise would have been known only by name from incidental quotations in more permanent authors. These Collections are analogous in some respects to Constable's Miscellany, Bohn's series, and others of the kind in England, but differ from them in that, instead of being published periodically, the complete series is issued at once as an indivisible whole, and it is only rarely that any of the separate works can be obtained second-hand from an already imperfect series."

An idea of the size of many of these Collections may be gained from the "Explanations of the Classics during the *Ch'ing* (or Pure) dynasty (皇清經解)," which was

published in 1829 under the superintendence, and very much at the expense, of Yüan Yüan (阮 元), the Governor-General of the two Kwang provinces. It contains, if my examination of the contents be correct, about 180 treatises from 64 different authors, comprehending in all 1,412 Books or chapters, and forming, when bound in English fashion, 66 thick volumes of large octavo size.

This compilation is too recent to have a place in the catalogue of the Imperial Library of the present dynasty, which was completed in 1790. The *Chî* entered there are given under five subdivisions, the first of which, and to which alone my present subject invites attention, goes by the name of *Ch'ú Ts'ze* (楚 辭), "The Compositions of Ch'û." But the peculiar character and style of the pieces thus classed together has been recognised from the first, and the designation of "The Elegies of Ch'û" is now commonly applied to them all. The principal and longest piece in the Collection is called "The Lî Sâo (離 騷)"="Fallen into (or Beset with) Sorrow." The late Marquis d'Hervey de Saint Denys, who published a translation of it in 1870, says that "the name signifies *Lamentations, songs of one who is fallen into sadness*"; and with this account of it there is little fault to find, though "lamentations" gives an idea which is not in the Chinese characters, however the poem may be characterised by sad and plaintive feeling. These elegies of Ch'û form but a small collection of eight Books by six different authors, according to the arrangement of Chû Hsî. The first five Books contain in all twenty-five pieces, the authorship of which is ascribed to Ch'ü Yüan (屈 原). The first Book is all occupied with the *Lî Sâo*, and its name is also given to the other four Books. The other three Books are denominated "The Appendix to the Lî Sâo (續 離 騷)," the pieces in them being divided among Sung Yü (宋 玉), Ching Ch'â (景 差), Chiâ Î (賈 誼), Chwang Chî (莊 忌), and one of the scholars who gathered round Liû An, a grandson of Liû Pang, the founder of the Hán dynasty, better known as the king of Hwâi-nan, and Hwâi-nan Tsze (淮 南 子, 淮 南 王, 劉 安). All these writers had a more

or less intimate connection with the kingdom of Ch'û and its ruling family, and hence the Collection is called Ch'û-Ts'ze, "The Compositions or Elegies of Ch'û."

I hasten now to relate what we know of the history of Ch'ü P'ing (or Yüan), the author of the *Lî Sâo*. There is no name better known in China than his. His death—or suicide, rather—is commemorated every year on the fifth day of the fifth month, falling generally early in our month of June, and the commemoration is called "The Festival of the Dragon Boats." Many, perhaps forty years ago, I was walking in the interior of Canton province, not far from its great East river which flows on to join the streams from the north and west at Whampoa. All at once my steps were arrested by a loud shouting from the river, and I hurried to the bank to see what was going on. There, as I stood above the water, I saw two boats, long and slender, each built to represent a dragon, the head of which rose high and formed the prow. A man sat upon it with a flag in each hand, which he waved to direct the movements of the crew, and with his face turned towards the helmsman who stood near the stern. Midway in the boats were two men beating with all their might, the one a gong, the other a drum. The crew in each boat could not have been fewer than thirty men, each grasping a short stout paddle, and all, with quivering eagerness and loud cries, racing towards a certain point. The scene came vividly before me when I first stood on one of our Oxford barges, and witnessed the conclusion of one of the races, the rowers exerting all their strength and skill, and the excited crowds on the banks running at the top of their speed, and shouting out the expression of their various sympathies. What were those men in the two dragon boats doing? They were racing, and having a good time, but they were, they would have told you, commemorating the death of the author of the *Lî Sâo*, and looking for the body of the patriot Ch'ü Yüan, who had drowned himself in the Mî-lo (汨羅), a river of the province of Hû-nan, more than 2200 years ago.

A good memoir of our subject is found in the 24th Book

of the Biographies of Sze-mâ Ch'ien, the first great historian of his country, and entitled to a high place among the historians of other countries. I have now simply to relate to you, with some notes in passing, what I find in his pages.

Ch'ien says that "Ch'ü Yüan's name was P'ing (平)." His father called him so at his naming, when a child, and afterwards, probably at his capping, he received the designation of Yüan (原). We may call him therefore, indifferently, either Ch'ü P'ing or Ch'ü Yüan. The name and the designation, as I will show in my next Paper, were intended to have the same significance. "He was a member of the ruling House of Ch'û," which had long been one of the most powerful of the feudal States under the dynasty of Châu. Its original centre was in the present province of Hû-pêi, but in the course of centuries it had extended its territory east, north, and south, so that its ruler was now more powerful than the real King, the lord-paramount of all the States. Other States had pursued a similar course, and at the time of which we are speaking there were seven principal States, the rulers of each of which had usurped the title of king. There was a condition of chronic warfare among them, but the only match for Ch'û was Ch'in in the north and west. It became more and more evident as time went on that the final struggle for supremacy must be between these two.

Our subject, I have said, was a member of the ruling House of Ch'û, and belonged to one of the three princely families into which it had become divided, and the chiefs of which used as their surnames the names of the several appanages with which their different ancestors had been invested. Those were Châo (昭), Ch'ü (屈), and Ching (景). Ch'ü P'ing, it would appear, had, moreover, a position at the court of Ch'û like that which the prince-president of the Imperial Clan-court (宗人府) holds at the present day at Peking. It is his to regulate all affairs relating to the kindred of the ruling house, and to preserve their family roll or genealogical record. I call attention now to this official position of our subject because, as we shall

see, it is important to our understanding, and even crediting the very important statement of his descent with which the *Lî Sâo* commences.

I return to the narrative of Ch'ien, which says that Ch'ü was "an attendant of king Hwâi on the left, a minister possessed of extensive information and with a strong memory, skilful in the maintenance of order, and admirable in the composition of governmental notifications and orders. In council he deliberated with, and advised, the king on the business of the State; out of council he was employed in the reception of visitors and guests, and in communicating with the princes (who came to court). The king employed him very much. But the great officer of the highest grade, of the same rank (as Yüan), had (long) striven for the favour which he enjoyed, and was his enemy at heart, wishing to deprive him of his influence and power.[1]

"(On one occasion), when king Hwâi had appointed Ch'ü P'ing to draw up a governmental proclamation, and he had made a draft of it, but had not finally written it out, this great officer wished to carry it off, but Ch'ü refused to give it to him. The other then slandered him (to the king), saying, 'All are aware that your Majesty employs Ch'ü P'ing to prepare your notifications. Whenever a notice comes out, P'ing boasts of his services, and says, "If it were not for me, they could do nothing."' This made the king angry. He treated Ch'ü with coldness, and kept him at a distance.

"On his part Ch'ü was indignant that the king listened (to such a charge against him) without discrimination; that slanderers and flatterers were able to obscure the king's intelligence; that the justice of his words was perverted by their injurious and contemptible misrepresentations, while his right and correctness were not acknowledged. He therefore became sorrowful, brooded moodily over his case,

[1] There is some difficulty in interpreting this last sentence. See Chû Hsî's note on it in his *Pien Chăng* (辯 證), p. 2. He differs from the view of Wang Yî, and prefers that of Hung Hsing-tsû of our 12th century.

and composed the *Lî Sâo*, which may be considered as equivalent to 'Beset with sorrow.'[1]

"Now man owes his beginning to Heaven, and he grows from the root of his parents. When his term (of life) is exhausted, he returns to his root. Therefore, when burdened, pained, and wearied out, men always cry out to Heaven; and when afflicted and severely wounded or grieved, they call out to their parents. Ch'ü P'ing, pursuing a correct and straightforward path, had strained his loyalty and tasked his wisdom to the utmost to serve his ruler; and then came in the slanderer and separated between them. He might be described as reduced to extremity. True and yet doubted, loyal and yet slandered, could he repress the feeling of resentment? His making of the *Lî Sâo* certainly arose from the feeling of resentment."

This account of the origin of the *Lî Sâo* is, no doubt, in a great measure correct. But we shall find that there are other feelings in it of a better character as well. I pause for a moment in Ch'ien's biography, and ask how nearly we can approximate to the dates of our subject's death, and of the composition of his principal poem. Mayers says that he was in the service of king Hwâi about 314 B.C.; but his disgrace had taken place before that year. Hwâi succeeded to the throne of Ch'û in 328 B.C., and died as a captive in Ch'in in 296, being succeeded by his son, known as king Ch'ing-hsiang (頃襄王). Two different years are assigned as the first year of this son's reign, 298 B.C. and 295, of which an explanation can be given, with which I need not detain you. It was by him that Ch'ü P'ing was banished from Ch'û; and he had proceeded as far as a well-known spot on the bank of the Mî-lo river, when he clasped a large stone in his arms, and plunged into the water. When the Marquis d'Hervey refers the composition of the *Lî Sâo* to the year 299 B.C. he cannot be far wrong; but we do not know exactly the

[1] This is the explanation of the title, accepted by Sze-mâ Ch'ien, Pan Kû, and Yen Sze-Kû, and is preferred by Chû Hsî to that of Wang Yî.

year of the author's birth or of his death, or of the finishing touch which he gave to his principal poem.

Having been led to mention the *Lî Sâo*, Sze-mâ Ch'ien proceeds to speak of it and of Ch'ü Yüan himself in eulogistic terms. He says: "In 'The Lessons from the States,'[1] we have the love of beauty, but no expression of lasciviousness. In 'The Minor Odes of the Kingdom,'[2] we have indignant complaint of slanderers, but with no incitement to violent disturbance. In the *Lî Sâo* we have what may be called the union of these excellences. The author celebrates the most ancient Tî K'û,[3] speaks of duke Hwan of Ch'î[3] of a comparatively recent time, and between them he tells about T'ang and Wû, passing (as he does so) his critical judgment on the affairs of the world, illustrating how wide is the path of duty and virtue, and exalting the method of dealing with disorder and bringing it to an end. Every point in these subjects is displayed; yet the style is condensed, and the language is subtle and exquisite. The spirit that breathes in the poem is pure, as the author's conduct was disinterested. His words are few, but the aim of them is very great. His illustrations are from things near at hand, but the meaning of them is far-reaching. His purposes were pure, and therefore his composition partook of the fragrancy of perfumes. His course was incorrupt, and therefore he would have died rather than allow himself to be slighted as he was, and cast out into a miry, muddy pool. Like a chrysalis amidst the wet and dirt, he was still the brilliant fly.[4] Though lying among the dust, Society could impart to him nothing of its filth. He still remained clean, no stain of the foulness resting upon him. So pure in aim was he, that he might be compared in his brightness to the splendour of the sun and moon."

[1] 國風, the first part of the *Shih Ching*.

[2] The second part of the *Shih* (小雅).

[3] I have failed to discover the mention of Tî K'û in the poem, but see stanza 60, and the note on it. Duke Hwan appears in stanza 75.

[4] The 浮游 of Ch'ien's text should be 蜉蝣. See the *Shih*, I. xiv. 1, and the notes on it.

From this digression Ch'ien returns to his narrative of affairs, and says: After Ch'ü P'ing was dismissed from office, Ch'in proposed to attack Ch'î,[1] the ruler of which in consequence paid court to Ch'û, and arranged for a matrimonial alliance with it. This alliance alarmed and troubled king Hûi of Ch'in,[2] whose principal adviser and minister, indeed, was Chang Î, an able man, but one of the political intriguers of the time whom Mencius, who was their contemporary, so strongly condemned.[3] To break off the good understanding between Ch'û and Ch'î, the king employed the services of this adventurer. Supplied with abundant means for bribery and gifts, Chang Î pretended to fly from Ch'in and seek refuge in Ch'û. There, having succeeded in opening a communication with king Hwâi, he told him that he had come to Ch'û with a secret message from the king of Ch'in:—that if he would break off his friendship with Ch'î, Ch'in would cede to him 600 *lî* of the territory of Shang-yü.[4] King Hwâi, in his greed, believed Chang Î, broke off his friendship with Ch'î, and sent a commissioner to Ch'in to receive the promised territory. But Chang Î (who had managed in the meantime to return to Ch'in) now threw off the mask, and said to the commissioner, "What I agreed about with your king was six *lî*; I heard nothing about six hundred!" King Hwâi's messenger went back to Ch'û in a rage, and reported to the king how they had been imposed on. The king was equally indignant, and raised a large army, which he sent against Ch'in. Ch'in on its part despatched a force to meet it. A great battle was fought, in which the army of Ch'û was defeated, with the loss, it is said, of 80,000 men and the capture of its commander, Ch'ü K'âi

[1] The great State of the north-east, and formerly more powerful than either Ch'in or Ch'û.

[2] "King Hûi," I suppose, is a mistake of Ch'ien for King Hûi-wăn (惠文王), who ruled in Ch'in from B.C. 336 to 307.

[3] See Works of Mencius, III., ii. 2.

[4] Forming the present district of Nêi-hsiang (內鄉) in the department of Nan-yang (南陽), Ho-nan.

(屈 匄).[1] This defeat was followed by the loss of the territory of Han-chung,[1] which is still the name of one of the departments of Shen-hsî.[1] On this king Hwâi called out all the military strength of his kingdom and led it deep into Ch'in, with whose forces another battle was fought at Lan-t'ien.[2] At this juncture the State of Wei (魏), one of the divisions into which Tsin had been broken up, took advantage of the difficulties of Ch'û with Ch'in, and sent a force against it, which penetrated as far as the city of Făng, and the army of Ch'û was necessarily recalled to combat this new enemy. Its straits also were all the greater because Ch'î, with which king Hwâi had broken off all friendly relations, refused to lend it any assistance.

In the next year, however, Ch'in offered to give to it the territory of Han-chung, and to conclude a treaty of peace; but king Hwâi said, "I do not wish to get territory. I wish to get Chang Î, and with nothing else will I be satisfied." When Chang Î heard this, he said to his sovereign,[3] "Since I am counted in my single person equal to the territory of Han-chung, allow me to go to Ch'û." To Ch'û accordingly he went, provided abundantly with the same resources as before; and there, by large bribes to the high minister and director of affairs, Chin Shang (靳 尙), and wheedling speeches to Chăng Hsiû (鄭 袖), the king's favourite lady, it came about that he was allowed to return again to Ch'in.

Our subject, Ch'ü P'ing, now appears again on the stage. Though in disgrace at court, he had been sent on a mission to Ch'î. Returning to Ch'û just at this time, he remonstrated with the king, saying, "Why did you not put Chang Î to death?" The king regretted he had not done so, and sent a party in pursuit to apprehend and bring him back, but they failed to overtake him. Ch'ien adds here that after this

[1] These events all appear in the Kang-mû, under the years B.C. 313, 312.

[2] Meaning "Indigo Fields." A district of the department of Hsî-an still bears the name.

[3] This must be king Châo-hsiang (昭 襄), who had come to the throne in B.C. 306, and occupied it till 250.

several of the other States or kingdoms united in an attack on Ch'û, and inflicted on it a great defeat, killing also its general, T'ang-mêi (唐 昧).[1]

Amidst all the contentions and fightings of the States, negociations of a different kind went on. The young king of Ch'in obtained the hand of a princess of Ch'û, and invited, though with a sinister object, king Hwâi to visit him in Ch'in. Hwâi himself wished to accept the invitation, but Ch'ü P'ing protested vehemently against such a step. "Ch'in," said he, "may be compared to a tiger or a wolf, and is not to be trusted. Your Majesty had better not go." Tsze-lan, the king's youngest son, however, advised his father to go, saying "Why should you disappoint the good will of Ch'in?" and in the end king Hwâi undertook the journey. When he had gone through the Pass of Wû,[2] leading into Ch'in, an ambuscade, which had been set for the purpose, prevented his retreating by it. He was detained a prisoner in Ch'in, and urged continually to cede portions of his territory. To this demand he would not listen, and in 297, irritated by it, he fled to Châo, the capital of which was in the present department of P'ing-yang in Shan-hsî. They were afraid to receive him there. He was taken back to Ch'in, and died in it, as has been already mentioned, in B.C. 296.

His body was sent back in its coffin, and buried in Ch'û, where his eldest son, known as king Ch'ing-hsiang, as mentioned above, had already taken his place and made his younger brother, Tsze-lan, one of his chief counsellors. But the people could not forgive this prince, who had advised his father to go to Ch'in. Ch'ü Yüan also retained his feeling against him. From the time when he first fell into disgrace, Ch'ü had all along kept his attachment to king Hwâi, and was ever wishing him to reform, hoping that

[1] This event is given in the Kang-mû as having taken place in B.C. 301. The attacking States are there given as Ch'in, Han, Wei, and Ch'î.

[2] 武 關, called also the Southern Pass to Ch'in. It was in the present Shen Châu of Ho-nan. The capture of king Hwâi when he had entered it was in B.C. 299.

if the sovereign came to himself, his ministers would also change their ways. The subjects which he was always revolving in his mind were—how the king could be preserved and the kingdom restored to prosperity. These are the subjects which constantly appear in the *Lî Sâo*. But after all nothing could be done. The king did not return from Ch'in, and it became clear that he could not be made to perceive the real state of things.

At this point in his narrative, Ch'ien again pauses and moralizes. "Rulers," he says, "whether wise or stupid, worthy or unworthy, all wish to get loyal officers, who shall be of service to themselves, and to promote such as will assist them in their government by their wisdom and talent. But the ruin of the State and the breaking up of the Family are closely connected. And when in successive reigns a sage ruler does not appear, then the naturally loyal become disloyal, and those who should prove themselves wise and talented do not do so. King Hwâi, not recognising the service of his loyal minister, was led astray in his harem by the lady Hsiû of Chăng, and was imposed on by Chang Î in his court. Through his treating Ch'ü Yüan coldly, and giving his confidence to the High Officer, Chin Shang, and to Tsze-lan, who became chief minister, the prowess of his soldiers decayed, and his kingdom was dismembered, six provinces were lost, and he himself died, a captive in Ch'in and an object of derision to all within the four seas. All this was the evil that sprang from his not knowing men. The Yî-ching says, 'The well has been cleared, but (its water) is not used. My heart is afflicted for this, for the water might be drawn out and employed. If the king were intelligent, both he and I would receive the benefit of it. When the king is not intelligent, how is it possible to obtain that benefit?'"[1]

After this homily, the historian returns to the story of Ch'ü Yüan, and concludes it thus: "When the chief minister heard of Ch'ü's dissatisfaction, he was enraged, and made

[1] See the Yî, Hexagram xlviii. l. 3, or the Symbolism of it, though Ch'ien's reading of the Symbolism is slightly varied.

the great officer Chin Shang complain of his conduct to king Ch'ing-hsiang, who also was angry, and finally gave orders that Ch'ü should be banished (to the wild region of the south). When he came to the (Mî-lo) stream,[1] he moved all about it, groaning and sobbing, with his hair dishevelled, and his whole appearance worn and withered. A fisherman[2] saw him in this condition, and asked him, saying, 'Are you not, sir, the great officer in charge of the three branches of our Royal House? What has brought you here, and to such distress?' Ch'ü Yüan replied, 'The whole world is foul, and I alone am clean. All others are intoxicated, and I alone am sober. Thus it is that I have been banished.' The fisherman said, 'The true sage is not ice-bound by anything, but is able to change with the changing world. If the whole world be in a state of confusion and defilement, why not follow its stream, and toss its waves about? If all others be drunk, why not drink the dregs of their spirit, and eat of the grains that are left behind? Why must you keep your jasper in your breast and hold your lustrous stone in your hand, and cause

[1] I extract the following from a note in the Kang-mû under B.C. 299: "Mî-lo is the name of a river in the department of Ch'ang-shâ, Hû-nan. Its source is in Ch'âng-hsî, from which it flows into the district of Hsiang-yin (湘陰). About 8 *lî* from the district city it begins its course through the district, after which it divides into two branches. One branch flows south, and is called the Mî stream; the other flows past the old city of Lo, and is called the Lo river. Holding on their separate courses to the pool of Ch'ü (屈潭), they there again unite, and flow westwards to the great river Hsiang (湘), which is a tributary of the great Chiang." It is added that Ch'ü Yüan, on the fifth day of the fifth month, threw himself into the Mî-lo river, and that the people of Ch'ü to this day, in lamentation for his death, present offerings of rice to him, in tubes of bamboo. All this appears in the Kang-mû under B.C. 299; but it does not follow that the suicide of our hero took place in that year.

[2] This fisherman is supposed to have been a recluse living in obscurity because of the badness of the time. In the account of the interview with him, Ch'ien borrows his text from the last of the "Elegies" ascribed to our author. Such is the tradition concerning it, but we may doubt if it be correctly so ascribed.

yourself to be sent into banishment?'[1] Ch'ü Yüan replied, 'I have heard that when one has newly washed his head he must fillip the dust from his cap (before he replaces it), and when he has newly bathed, he must shake his clothes (before he puts them on again). How can one whose person is clean and pure allow himself to be defiled by the filth around him? I would rather throw myself into this great stream and be buried in the belly of a fish. And how can I allow the whiteness of my purity to be hidden beneath the darkness and opposition of the world?'[2]

"He then made his piece called 'The Stone clasped to the Breast.' . . . . . Having done this, he took a (large) stone in his arms, threw himself with it into the Mî-lo, and was drowned."

So died Ch'ü Yüan, the nobleman and poet of Ch'û. All the higher classes of that kingdom must have been acquainted with the events of his history. Many, no doubt, sympathized with him and pitied his fate. In less than a hundred years after his death Chiâ Î (賈誼), a celebrated scholar, and tutor to the king of Ch'ang-shâ, one of the sons of Wăn, the second emperor of the dynasty of Han, when passing the pool of Mî-lo into which Ch'ü Yüan had thrown himself, cast into it a writing which he had prepared by way of condolence with the spirit of the outraged and persecuted patriot.[3] This, it is supposed, was the first instance of the special tribute to our subject, which has

[1] 懷瑾握瑜 is translated by Williams, "He is a man of great clearness and sagacity." Giles renders, not so happily as he generally does: "How with such jewels of hand and heart could he cause himself to be dismissed." I render 瑾 by "jasper" for want of a more exact term.

[2] The second half of this sentence, 蒙世之溫蠖, is very difficult. In the "Elegies" we read 蒙世俗之塵埃, which is easy. A note in Wang's edition of the 史記 for 溫蠖 gives 惛憒, which I have followed. Giles, keeping Ch'ien's text, renders it by "a butt for the world's folly."

[3] This forms the twelfth of the "Elegies," called 弔屈原, the fifth of those appended to the collection of the *Lî Sâo*.

been perpetuated to the present day in the festival of the Dragon Boats soon after the beginning of the fifth month.

Ch'ü's death, moreover, though it did not originate, has confirmed the feeling of the Chinese people generally that when a minister or high officer has sustained a defeat, or been disgraced by his sovereign, the proper course for him is to end his life by an act of his own. I was in Hong-kong when the city of Canton was taken, on the 29th December, 1857, by our troops and their French allies. A Chinese gentleman, with whom I was intimate, called on me next morning to ask whether the city had really been taken, and when told that it had been taken, and was now in our hands, he said, "And Yeh the Governor? Has he also been taken?" I replied that there was as yet no news to that effect, and he exclaimed, "And he will not be taken alive, you may depend on it. He must have made away with himself. There can be no doubt about it." When the next day I had to inform him of the capture of Yeh, and that he had been placed on board one of our ships of war, he had not a word to say, and went away evidently disheartened and ashamed. I could see that from that time Yeh's character sank in the estimation of the people. He ceased to be the hero whom they had feared and looked up to; had he not been afraid to put an end by his own hand to his now dishonoured life? That is in their estimation what Burns, with a very different meaning, calls "the second glorious part" which a patriot, warrior or statesman, can perform.

In my second Paper I will endeavour to give an analysis of the *Lî Sâo* poem, dwelling especially on the most peculiar portions of it. Ch'ü Yüan was not a Confucianist, and there is not any mention in his writings of the great sage. His affinities were more with Tâoism than with the doctrines of the Literati; but I do not think I have observed in his pieces any direct reference to Lâo-tsze. Such Tâoist writers as Lieh-tsze, Liû An, Han Fei, and Chwang-tsze frequently introduce both the one philosopher and the other. Chwang-tsze especially delights in making game of Confucius, but

Ch'ü is too much centred and concentrated in himself to wander much from his own experiences. With the history of ancient China, as it may be gathered from the classical books and the semi-historical narratives of the feudal times, he was well acquainted; and he confirms our faith in the chronological beliefs of Confucius and Mencius. But the home of his mind was in the folk-lore or fairy-lore of the Tâoist system, while at the same time he had many queer and absurd notions of his own, which remind us of the words of Waller to Charles the Second, "Poets, Sire, succeed best in fiction."

It has been seen that the last thing which our subject did before committing his act of suicide was to write his poem called "The Stone clasped to the Breast,"[1] and with a few stanzas from it I will conclude this article.

"How vast is the stream in this first month of summer!
How luxuriant the grass and the trees!
With wounded heart and constant grief
I press along to the regions of the south.

"My eyes are dazed by the landscape so strange,
So still, retired, and silent.
My wrongs are knotted into a constant sorrow;
It pains me and exhausts my strength.
I lay my head on my breast and search my mind;
I bow my will, and repress my fears.

"(My enemies) change white into black,
And turn the upside down;
The phœnix is kept in a cage,
While the fowls and ducks fly and dance.

"Like dogs they bark at me in troops,[2]
They bark at me as something strange;
To slander eminence like mine
Is indeed the way of vulgar men.

[1] Book IV. piece v.
[2] Compare Ps. lix. 6, 7.

"If I take the road, and retrace my way to the north,
All the day to the evening will be gloom.
I indulge my sorrow, and find pleasure in my grief,
To last till the great event come.

"How grandly the Yüan and Hsiang
Flow on in their separate courses!
Long is their course and hidden,
Distant is the way and difficult.

"All men receive the appointment of Heaven,
And each man has his definite lot.
With determined mind and enlarged will,
What have I to fear?

"I know that death is not to be declined;
I wish not to love my life.
Clearly I announce this to all superior men,
And show them the example of what they ought to do."

Such was Ch'ü Yüan's dying advice, enforced by his daring deed.

Art. III.—*Ssŭma Ch'ien's Historical Records.* By Herbert J. Allen, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from page* 295, Vol. for 1894.)

Chapter II.—*The Hsia Dynasty.*

Yü of Hsia "was styled Wênming."[1] Yü's father was Kun, whose father was the Emperor Ch'uanhsü, whose father was Ch'angyi, whose father was Huangti; so Yü was Huangti's great-great-grandson, and Ch'uanhsü's grandson. Yü's great-grandfather Ch'angyi and his father Kun were both unable to sit on the Imperial throne, being simply officials. In the time of the Emperor Yao[2] "the deluge assailed the heavens, and in its vast expanse encompassed the mountains, and overtopped the hills, so that the common people were troubled about it. Yao sought for one capable of controlling the waters. All the officials and presidents of the four mountains said, 'Kun might do it.' Yao said, 'Kun is a man who disobeys orders, and ruins his companions. He will not do.' The president of the four mountains said," Among his equals there is no one so worthy as Kun; I wish your Majesty would "try him." Upon which Yao, giving heed to the president of

[1] Wênming means literally 'accomplishments and orders.' In the 'Counsels of the Great Yü' (L. C. III. p. 52) the Emperor Yü is so named. That chapter of the Book of History is not further referred to by our historian; but we have all the other books of Yü and books of Hsia either transcribed, or referred to.

[2] This passage from the 'Canon of Yao,' which we have already had in the first chapter of the Historical Records, appears later in the transcript from the 'Yi and Chi.'

the four mountains, employed Kun to control the waters "for nine years," but the waters did not abate, "and the work was unaccomplished." Then the Emperor Yao sought a man in his stead, and secured Shun. Shun being employed in the public service was associated with the Son of Heaven in the administration. While on a tour of inspection, he saw that there was no evidence that Kun kept the waters under control, so "he imprisoned him for life on Mount Yu," and everyone in the Empire said that Shun's decision was a just one. Shun then appointed Kun's son Yü to the post, and directed him to continue his father's occupation. After Yao's death, the Emperor Shun[1] "asked the president of the four mountains if there was any one who could perfect and develop Yao's undertakings, and whom he could employ in an official capacity. They all said, 'There is lord Yü, the Minister of Works; he might perfect and develop Yao's labours.' Shun said, 'Ah yes! you, Yü, have regulated the water and the land, but in this office you must exert yourself.' Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and would have declined in favour of Hsieh, Prince Millet, or Kaoyao, but Shun said 'Go and attend to your duties.'" Yü was quick, earnest, and diligent, not deviating from virtue, kind, and lovable; his word could be depended on, his voice was musical, and his body, like a balance properly adjusted, moved unweariedly and solemnly in accordance with certain fixed rules. Yü, then in company with Yi and Prince Millet, having received the Emperor's orders, bade the princes and people raise a gang of men[2] "to make a division of the land, and following the line of the hills hew down the trees, and determine the characteristics of the high hills and great rivers." Yü was grieved in that his progenitor Kun had been punished on account of his work being incomplete, so, wearied in body and distressed in

[1] Parts of the 'Canon of Shun' (para. 12 and 17) are again quoted here.
[2] The first paragraph of the 'Tribute of Yü' (L. C. III. p. 92) is here quoted.

mind, he[1] lived away from his home for 13 years, passing the door of his house without daring to enter. With ragged clothes and poor diet he paid his devotions to the spirits until his wretched hovel fell in ruins in the ditch. When travelling along the dry land he used a carriage, on the water he used a boat, in miry places a sledge, while in going over the hills he used spikes. On the one hand he used the marking-line, and on the other the compass and square. Working as the seasons permitted, and with a view to[2] "open up the nine provinces," he made the roads communicable, banked up the marshes, surveyed the hills, told Yi and his band that paddy should be planted in low damp places, and directed Lord Millet and his band,[2] "when it was difficult to obtain food, or when food was scarce, to barter their surplus stock in exchange for what they had not," so as to put all the princes on an equal footing. Yü in this way worked for the mutual convenience of the respective districts as regards the distribution of the wealth and resources of the country.

Yü started from Ch'ichow.[3] He "commenced his work in Ch'ichow at Pot's mouth, and regulated the country about the Liang and Ch'i mountains. Having repaired the works at T'aiyuan he went to the south of Mount Yo. He was successful with his labours at Tanhuai, and went to the cross-flowing stream of Chang. The soil of the province was white clay. Its contribution of revenue was the first of

[1] In the 'Works of Mencius' (L. C. II. p. 127) the passage reads, "Yü was *eight* years away from his home, and though he thrice passed the door of it he did not enter."

[2] These passages appear in the transcript from 'Yi and Chi' below.

[3] We have now the rest of the Yü Kung (Tribute of Yü) transcribed in its entirety. Dr. Legge in the notes to his translation of this book says very rightly, "The name, the tribute of Yü, gives a very insufficient account of the contents. The determination of the revenue, and of the various articles of tribute was, indeed, very important, but the book describes generally the labours of Yü in remedying the disasters occasioned by the overflowing waters?" It seems indeed to be just a description of the mountains and rivers of the several provinces of China. Of course no one, not even the great Yü, could have performed the Herculean task he is by some credited with doing. Dr. Legge, in fact, says with regard to the second part of the book (p. 129), "we cannot suppose that Yü travelled again along the hills or the rivers, for in that case his toil would have been endless."

the highest class with some admixture of the second, while its fields were the average of the middle class. The Ch'ang and Wei rivers flowed in their proper channels, and the Talu plain was formed. The bird barbarians,[1] wearing skin dresses, kept close on the right to the granite rocks until they came to the sea. The Ch'i and Yellow rivers formed the boundaries of Yenchow. The nine branches of the Yellow river followed their courses, and Lei hsia was a marsh, in which the Yung and Chü streams were united. The mulberry region was supplied with silkworms, and then the people came down from the heights and occupied it. The soil of the province was black loam, its herbage luxuriant, and trees tall. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount, and after it had been worked for 13 years it was assimilated to the other provinces. Its tribute consisted of varnish and silk, and woven ornamental fabrics in baskets. You float along the Ch'i and T'a and so reach the Yellow river. The sea and the Tai mountain formed the boundaries of Ch'ingchow. The territory of Yü-i was defined, and the Wei and Tzŭ rivers flowed in their proper channels. The soil of the province was white loam, and on the sea-coast were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields, which were impregnated with salt, were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its tribute consisted of salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and productions of the sea of various kinds, with silk, hemp, lead, pine-trees,

[1] The bird barbarians are said to refer to a people living in the north-east who ate the flesh of birds and beasts, and wore their skins. A commentator says that these were the Mohos or Sushên, *i.e.* the Tungusic ancestors of the Manchus, who lived on the eastern seabord, north of the Ever White mountains. Their birds, beasts, trees, and all were white. They dwelt in the forests, but the country was so cold that they frequently inhabited deep holes in the ground. They kept pigs, ate pork, wore pigskins, and smeared themselves with lard several inches thick to keep off the winter's cold, were very dirty in their habits, but good archers, shooting with a bow four feet long, and using arrows 1 ft. 8 in. long tipped with stone. At their funerals they piled hundreds of dead pigs on their coffins to serve as food for the deceased. The wooden coffin was bound with cords, and on the top, which protruded from the ground, they poured a libation of wine until the cords rotted.

and strange stones from the valleys of the Tai. The wild tribes of Lai were shepherds, and brought in their baskets silk from the mountain mulberry. You float down the Wên, and so reach the Ch'i. The sea, the Tai mountain, and the river Huai formed the boundaries of Hsüchow. The Huai and I rivers were regulated. The Mêng and Yü mountains were made fit for cultivation. The waters of Tayeh formed a marsh, and the eastern plain became level. The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. The grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its tribute consisted of earth of different colours, the variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yü, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yi, and the floating musical stones from the banks of the Szŭ. The wild tribes of the Huai brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets were full of dark embroideries and pure white silken fabrics. You float along the Huai and Szŭ and so reach the Yellow river. The Huai river and the sea formed the boundaries of Yangchow. The P'êngli lake formed a reservoir of water, where the sun birds (*i.e.* the wild geese) settled. The three large rivers entered the sea, and the shaking marsh became quite still. Bamboos of different kinds were spread about, the grass grew luxuriantly, and the trees tall, but the soil was miry. The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its tribute consisted of gold, silver, and copper, jasper, pearls, bamboos of various kinds, ivory, hides, feathers, and hair. The wild people of the isles brought garments of grass; their baskets were filled with woven silks and cowries, and their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes, which were rendered when required. You follow the course of the Great river and the sea, and so reach the Huai and Szŭ rivers. Mount Ching and the south of Mount Hêng formed the boundaries of Chingchow. The

Great river and Han rivers paid their court to the sea. The nine rivers occupied all the middle of the land. The T'o and Ch'ien rivers flowed in their proper channels; and the land in the Yün and Mêng marshes was made capable of cultivation. The soil of this province was miry; its fields were the average of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its tribute consisted of feathers, hair, ivory, hides, gold, silver, copper, woods of the wild varnish, cudrania, triloba, juniper, and cypress trees, with grindstones, whetstones, stone arrowheads, and cinnabar, likewise the Ch'ün and Lu bamboos, and the wood of the redthorn, of which the three states brought the most noted specimens. The three-ribbed rush was put in cases which were wrapped up, while the baskets were filled with dark and purple silks and strings of coarse pearls. From the country of the nine rivers the great tortoise was presented. You float down the Great river, the T'o, the Ch'ien, and the Han rivers, cross over to the Lo, whence you reach the southern part of the Yellow river. The Ching mountain and the Yellow river formed the boundaries of Yüchow. The I, the Lo, the Ch'an, and the Chien streams flowed into the Yellow river, the Yungpo waters formed a lake, and the waters of the K'o marsh were conducted to the Ming reservoir. The soil of this province was clayey, while in its lower parts it was rich, and in clods. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. The tribute was varnish, silk, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and sackcloth. The baskets were filled with delicate embroidery and floss-silk, and stones for polishing musical stones were rendered when required. You float along the Lo until you reach the Yellow river. The south of Mount Hua and the Blackwater formed the boundaries of Liangchow. The Min and Po hills were cultivated. The T'o and Ch'ien rivers flowed in their channels, sacrifices were offered to the hills Ts'ai and Mêng on the plateaux, and the wild tribes on the Ho river were

successfully managed. The soil of the province was bluish black. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates above and below. Its tribute consisted of the best gold, iron, silver, steel, stone arrow-heads, musical stones, and nets woven from the hair of bears and foxes. From Hsiching you come along the river Huan, float down the Ch'ien, cross over to the Mien, enter the Wei, and ferry across the Yellow river. The Blackwater and the western bend of the Yellow river formed the boundaries of Yungchow. The Jo water flowed westward; the Ching, the Ch'i, and Chü streams formed a junction with the Wei, as also did the waters of the Fêng. The Ching and Ch'i hills were sacrificed too, and so were those of Chungnan and Tunwu all the way to 'Bird-and-Rat' hill. Successful measures were taken with the plains and swamps as far as the Tuyeh marsh. The people of Sanwei were controlled, and the Sanmiao tribes kept in good order. The soil of the province was yellow clay. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, while its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the second. Its tribute was jade, topazes, and white cornelian stones. From 'Stonepile' hill you float on to 'Dragongate' on the western branch of the Yellow river at its junction with the Wei river. The western Jung tribes from the Kunlun, Hsichih, and Ch'üsou mountains with their hair-cloth and furs were kept in order. Journeying over the nine mountains, you go from Ch'ien and Ch'i hills to mount Ching; passing the Yellow river, Pot'smouth, and Leishow you come to T'aiyo; from Tich'u and Hsichêng hills to 'King's house'; from T'aihung and Mount Ch'ang to the granite rocks and the sea; from Hsiching, Chuyu, and 'Bird-and-Rat'[1] hills to mount T'aihua; from 'Bear's-ear,' Waifang, and T'ungpo hills to Peiwei; you journey from Pochung to mount Ching; from Neifang to Tapieh, and from the south of Mount Min to Mount Hêng,

[1] This hill seems to be called subsequently 'Bird-and-rat-in-the-same-hole' hill.

and cross the nine rivers to the Fuchien plain. Following the course of the nine large rivers: from the Jo river you go to Holi, whence the superfluous water flows into the Rolling sands. You trace the Blackwater to Sanwei, where it enters the southern sea; you trace the Yellow river from 'Stone-pile' to 'Dragongate,' southward to the north of Mount Hua, eastward to Tich'u, again eastward to the ford of Mêng, eastward you pass the junction of the Lo river to Tapei, northward past the Chiang water to Talu, northward the stream is divided and becomes the nine rivers, reunited it forms the opposing river and flows into the sea. From Pochung you trace the course of the Yang. Flowing eastward it becomes the Han, further east it becomes the Ts'anglang water, passing the three dykes it goes to T'aipieh, southward it enters the great river, eastward whirling on it forms the P'êngli marsh, again eastward it forms the northern great river and enters the sea. From mount Min you trace the great river, which branching to the east becomes the T'o, again eastward it comes to the Li, passes the nine great rivers and comes to the eastern ridge, flows eastward, winds to the north, and joins the eddies, eastward it becomes the middle great river and enters the sea. Tracing the course of the Yün river—it flows to the east, becomes the Chi, enters the Yellow river, flows on and becomes the Yung; eastward it comes out to the north of Taoch'iu, further east flows into the Ko marsh, again north-eastward it unites with the Wên, and still further to the north-east it enters the sea. Tracing the course of the Huai from T'ungpo—to the eastward it unites with the Ssŭ and I rivers, and flowing to the east enters the sea. Tracing the course of the Wei from 'Bird-and-rat-in-the-same-hole' hill—it unites to the east with the Fêng, further to the north-east it flows into the Ching, to the east passing the Ch'i and Chü streams it enters the Yellow river. Tracing the course of the Lo from 'Bear's-ear' hill, on the north-east it unites with the Chien and Ch'an, further to the east it unites with the I, and to the north-east enters the Yellow river. So through-

out the nine provinces a similar order was effected: the four coasts were built over, the hills were cleared of their wood and sacrificed to, the streams had their sources scoured out, the marshes were well banked, and all within the four seas had access to the capital. The six treasuries of nature [1] were made the most of, and the various parts of the country exactly compared so that the receipt of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The three characters of the soil were classified, and the taxation fixed. The central government conferred lands and surnames. Revenue was paid to the Emperor's exalted virtue, which was set up as an example, and none opposed his Majesty's action." Now beyond the Emperor's capital "500 *li* constituted the Imperial domain. From the first hundred *li* they brought, as revenue, the whole plant of the grain, from the second the ears, from the third the straw, but the people had to perform feudal services, from the fourth the grain in the husk, and from the fifth the grain cleaned. Five hundred *li* beyond the Imperial domain constituted the domain of the nobles. The first hundred *li* formed the allotments to the feudal nobles, the second hundred those to the people employed by the State, and the other 300 those to the various princes. Five hundred *li* beyond the nobles' domain lay the peaceful domain. In the first 300 *li* they cultivated learning and the moral duties, and in the other 200 their energies lay in the direction of war and defence. Five hundred *li* beyond the peaceful domain was the domain of restraint. The first 300 were occupied by the I tribes, and the other 200 by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment. Five hundred *li* beyond the domain of restraint lay the wild domain. Three hundred *li* were occupied by the Man tribes, and the other 200 *li* by criminals undergoing the greater banishment. On the east reaching to the sea, on the west extending to the rolling sands, to the utmost

[1] K'ung-an-kuo states that the six treasuries of nature were water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and grain.

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limits of the north and south, Yü's fame and influence spread everywhere within the four seas, so the Emperor presented him with a dark-coloured sceptre, thus announcing to the empire the completion of his work."

The empire then being at peace and well governed, Kaoyao was made chief minister of state with a view to his ruling the people. The emperor Shun gave audience to Yü, Poyi, and Kaoyao, who addressed each other before the Emperor.[1] "Kaoyao, setting forth his counsels, said, 'If a man sincerely follows the path of duty and virtue, his counsellors will be intelligent, and those who aid him will act in harmony.' Yü said, 'Yes, but what do you mean?' Kaoyao said, 'Oh! he will be careful about his personal cultivation, and will think constantly about it. Thus he will pay due regard to precedence among the nine branches of his kindred, all the intelligent will exert themselves in his service, and so from what is at hand he may attain to what is far off.' Yü made obeisance at these excellent words, and said, 'It is so.' Kaoyao said, 'Oh! it all lies in knowing mankind, and in quieting the people.' Yü said, 'Alas! to attain to all this would be difficult even for the Emperor. He who knows men is wise; he who can put men into the posts for which they are fit, and can quiet the people, is benevolent, and the black-haired race will cherish him in their hearts. When a man can be thus wise and kind, why should he have anxiety about a Huantow? why to be removing a chief of the Miao tribes? why should he fear a man of specious words, good appearance, and artful ways?' Kaoyao said, 'Just so! there are in all nine virtues, and when we say that a man possesses these virtues it is as much as to say that he begins to do such and such things. They are liberality combined with dignity, mildness combined with firmness, bluntness combined with respect, aptness for government combined with caution, docility combined with

[1] Most of the 'Counsels of Kaoyao' is here transcribed, a few sentences near the close only being omitted. The historian never intimates in any of his extracts that he is drawing largely from the Book of History.

boldness, straightforwardness combined with gentleness, easy negligence combined with discrimination, resolution combined with sincerity, and courage combined with justice. If these are apparent, and that continuously, how fortunate it will be. He who daily displays three of these virtues could early and late support and educate a family. He who is strict and reverent in cultivating six of these virtues could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the State. When such men are received and found everywhere, the possessors of those nine virtues will all be employed, and men of eminence will hold office, and the various officers will be respectful and diligent, not teaching heretical, vicious, or strange doctrines. If such men and such officers do not exist it may be said that the affairs of Heaven are in confusion. Heaven punishes the guilty, and the five punishments can be severally applied for that purpose. Are my words sound, and can they be put in force?' Yü said, 'Your words are perfect, and can be successfully put in force.' Kaoyao said, 'As to that I do not know, but I aim at assisting in the path of duty.'"[1]

"The Emperor Shun said to Yü, 'Will you, too, make a brilliant speech?' Yü did obeisance and said, 'Ah! what can I say? I aim at being assiduous from day to day.' Kaoyao, teasing Yü, said, 'What do you mean by being assiduous?' Yü said, 'When the flood assailed the heavens, and in its vast expanse encompassed the mountains and overtopped the hills, so that the common people were overcome by the water, I travelled on dry land in a carriage, went about on the water in a boat, in miry places I used a sledge, while in going over the hills I used spikes. All along the hills I hewed paths through the woods, and together with Yi supplied the people with paddy and fresh meat. In order to drain the nine streams into the four seas, I deepened the channels and canals, and connected them with the rivers, and together with

[1] Here follows nearly the whole of the 'Yi and Chi' chapter of the Book of History.

'Millet' and the people in general when it was difficult to obtain food, and when food was scarce I bartered the surplus stock to make up for deficiencies, and removed the stores. Thus the people were quieted, and the various states properly governed.' Kaoyao said, 'Yes! this was good on your part.' Yü said, 'Ah! your Majesty, carefully maintain the Throne which you occupy, and be quiet in your behaviour, assist virtue, and the nation will grandly respond to your pure desires. It will thus be manifest that you await the decrees of the Supreme Being, and will not Heaven renew its favouring appointment by conferring blessings on you?' The Emperor said, 'Dear me! ministers! ministers! you constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. If I wish to aid and support the people, you help me to do so. If I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients—the sun, moon, and stars—which are embroidered on the robes and coloured silks, you see them clearly for me. If I wish to hear the six pitchpipes, the five notes, and the eight musical instruments on the adjustment of which depend good government or misrule, and the consequent rise or decline of the five duties, you hear them for me. If I do wrong, you have to correct me. Do not flatter me to my face and speak evil of me behind my back. Be reverent, ye four ministers, and all ye calumniating minions of officials. If the prince's virtue is honestly displayed all men will be pure.' Yü said, 'Yes! should your Majesty not act thus, but equally employ the good and bad, you will gain no credit.' The Emperor said, 'Do not be arrogant like Chu of Tan, who took his pleasure only in idleness and dissipation. He would make boats go where there was no water, introduced licentious friends into his family, and thereby cut off the hereditary honours of his house. I could not follow that line of conduct.' Yü said, 'I was married at T'ushan on the days *hsin* and *jên*, and on the days *kuei* and *chia* my son Ch'i was born. I did not treat him as a son, and therefore was able to complete my labours on the water and on land. I assisted in com-

pleting the five Tenures, extending over 5000 *li*. In the provinces I appointed twelve tutors, and in the regions beyond to the four seas I established five presidents. These all did their duty, and achieved great results, but the Miao tribes were obstinate, and refused to do their work. Think of this, your Majesty.' The Emperor said, 'That my virtue is the guide is the result of your orderly arrangements.' Kaoyao therefore, respecting Yü's virtues," bade the people carry out as a rule his plan of preferring admonition, but "also made use of punishments." Shun's virtues were very clear, whereupon "K'uei played some music; the spirits of Imperial ancestors, and hosts of nobles gave place to one another, and even birds and beasts wheeled about and danced. When the nine airs of Shun's music were played, the phœnixes came and put themselves in attitudes, the different beasts led each other on to dance, and the various officials were really in harmony. The Emperor upon this composed the following ode, 'Being set on high by the favouring appointment of Heaven, we must be careful at every moment, and in every particular.' He then sang as follows, 'When the members are happy, the head is exalted, and the various kinds of work are happily performed.' Kaoyao did obeisance with his head to his hands, and then to the ground, and with a loud voice said, 'Oh! think. It is yours to lead on and originate affairs. Pay careful attention to your laws. Be cautious.' He continued his song, saying, 'When the head is intelligent, the members are good, and all business will prosper.'" Shun "again sang as follows, 'When the head is vexatious, the members are idle, and all business is ruined.' The Emperor bowed and said, 'Yes, go and be reverent!'"

The whole nation upon this applauded Yü's brilliant musical performance, and the divine lord of hills and streams, [1] "the Emperor Shun presented Yü to Heaven

[1] This passage is found in Mencius (Bk. V. pt. 1, vi.), where, however, the name of Shun's son is not mentioned. There are, too, some discrepancies. Mencius has it that after Yi had been "presented to Heaven by Yü, *seven*

as his heir, and 17 years afterwards the Emperor Shun died. The three years' mourning being over, Yü retired before Shun's son Shangchün to the town of Yang," but the princes of the empire all left Shangchün, and went to Yü's court, and Yü accordingly occupied the Imperial throne. Facing the south he gave audience to the nation. His dynastic appellation was (Hsia hou) Prince of Hsia, and his surname Ssŭ. The Emperor Yü sat on the throne, and recommended Kaoyao for promotion, transferring also the administration of affairs to him, but Kaoyao died, and his descendants were enfeoffed with the principalities of Yingliu and Hsü. The prince then recommended Yi for the appointment of administrator of affairs. Ten years elapsed, when the Emperor Yü, having gone to the east on a tour of inspection, died at Huich'i, and the rule of the empire was given to Yi. "When the three years' mourning was over, Yi" resigned in favour of Yü's son Ch'i, and "retired to the south of Mount Chi." Yu's son Ch'i was worthy, and the nation fixed its desires upon him, but when Yü died, although the rule was given to Yi, he supported Yü but a few days, when the nation not being content "the princes all left Yi, and went to Ch'i's court saying, 'He is the son of our sovereign'" emperor Yü.

Ch'i then succeeded to the Imperial throne, and became Emperor Ch'i, the Prince of Hsia. The Prince of Hsia, Emperor Ch'i, was the son of Yü, his mother being the daughter of the lord of T'ushan. As the lord of Hu would not submit, Ch'i attacked him, and[1] "there was a great battle at Kan."

years elapsed, when Yü died"; also that "after the three years' mourning had expired, Yi withdrew from the son of Yü to the *north* of Mount Chi." This word, which is also applied to the founder of the Chow dynasty, is the name of the seventh asterism (γ, δ, ϵ, and β in Sagittarius), so called from its resemblance to a *chi* (winnowing tray or basket). We find it here as the name of a hill, and it was also that of a marquisate.

[1] Here follows a transcript of the whole of the 'Speech at Kan.' Dr. Legge observes in the concluding note to his translation of the chapter that the account is a clumsy imitation of Yü's expedition against the Sanmiao tribes in the 'Counsels of the Great Yü,' but there are so many imitations and repetitions in the Records that one soon tires of noticing them, and can but suppose that the historian's inventive faculty was faulty.

Just before the engagement the "speech at Kan" was delivered to the "six generals, who were summoned together; Ch'i said, 'Ah! ye who are engaged in my six armies, I have a solemn announcement to make to you. The chief of Hu violently sets at naught the five human relations, and idly casts aside the three obligations of duty. Heaven will on this account oppose him and cut off the span of his life, and I am now but reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven. If you on the left do not do your work on the left, and you on the right do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders shall be rewarded in the ancestral temple, but you who disobey my orders shall be slain before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will destroy both you and your children." He thereupon destroyed the chief of Hu, and the whole nation went to the court of the Prince of Hsia.

Emperor Ch'i died, and his son Emperor T'aik'ang (K'ang the 1st) came to the throne. The Emperor [1] "T'aik'ang lost his kingdom; his five brothers waited for him on the north of the Lo river, and composed the song of the five sons." [2]

K'ang the 1st died, and his brother K'ang the 2nd came to the throne, that is the Emperor K'ang the 2nd. In the time of the Emperor K'ang the 2nd, [3] "Hsi and Ho, indulging in wine and dissipation, neglected the seasons, and let the calendar get into confusion. Yin went to punish them, and the 'punitive expedition of Yin' was composed."

[1] From the Preface to the Book of History, para. 7.

[2] The 'Song of the Five Sons,' and the 'Punitive Expedition of Yin' are the names of two other short documents of the Shuching. The calendar getting into confusion is said to refer to a solar eclipse occurring in the fifth year of the reign of the Emperor Chungk'ang or K'ang the 2nd, which, according to the common scheme of chronology, was in the year B.C. 2155, but Professor De Lacouperie gives the rectified date as 1904, while it is 1948 B.C. in the Bamboo annals. The date of the eclipse cannot, however, be satisfactorily verified, and the doubts as to the antiquity of this part of Chinese history are therefore confirmed.

[3] From the Preface to the Book of History, para. 8.

K'ang the 2nd died, and his son Emperor Hsiang came to the throne.

Emperor Hsiang died, and his son K'ang the 3rd came to the throne.

Emperor K'ang the 3rd died, and his son Emperor Chu came to the throne.

Emperor Chu died, and his son Emperor Huai came to the throne.

Emperor Huai died, and his son Emperor Mang came to the throne.

Emperor Mang died, and his son Emperor Hsieh came to the throne.

Emperor Hsieh died, and his son Emperor Puhsiang came to the throne.

Emperor Puhsiang died, and his brother Emperor Chiung came to the throne.

Emperor Chiung died, and his son Emperor Chin came to the throne.

Emperor Chin died, and Emperor Puhsiang's son K'ungchia, that is Emperor K'ungchia, came to the throne. Emperor K'ungchia was fond of enquiring into spiritual matters, and indulged in dissipation, and the virtue of the princes of Hsia having degenerated, the chiefs rebelled. Heaven sent down two dragons, a male and a female. K'ungchia could not feed them, and could not obtain a dragon-keeper. After the decline of T'aot'ang (Yao) one of his descendants, Liu lei, learnt to train dragons, and he was chosen out of the dragon-keepers to wait on K'ungchia, who gave him the title of dragon-tamer, which was inherited by the descendants of the Shiwei.[1] The female dragon died, and he served it up

[1] These characters, which mean 'pig-sty,' may be used derogatorily for the Shiwei 室韋 tribes, which were to the east, west, north, and south of Turphan. One of the eighteen tribes joining Yelutache in 1125 A.D. was called the Great Yellow Shiwei (see Situation de Holin en Tartarie. T'oungpao, vol. iv. p. 76). In Plath's Mandchurie, p. 80, we find that 'the Shiwei lived to the north of the Amur and of the Moho, and 3000 *li* from the Khitan country. You cross the river Cho, pass the mountain Toutsu, which

as a meal for the Prince of Hsia, but the latter having sent some one to look for it, he became frightened and ran away.

K'ungchia died, and his son Emperor Kao came to the throne.

Emperor Kao died, and his son Emperor Fa came to the throne.

Emperor Fa died, and his son Emperor Li Kuei,[1] that is Chieh, came to the throne.

is 3000 *li* in circumference, reach the Kioli river, and then come to the land of the Shiwei.' One of the most southerly branches of this stock were the Khitans, who came originally from the north of Liaotung (cf. Parker's History of the Wuhwan Tunguses, *China Review*, vol. xx. p. 100).

[1] Li or Chieh Kuei is the 17th and last emperor of the Hsia dynasty, which the 'General Mirror of History' shows us lasted 439 years, but with the exception of K'ungchia and the last emperor, where some few details of character are given, our historian merely gives the names of the last fourteen without any record of events or length of reigns whatever. This is the more surprising when, according to Dr. Legge, "the documents of the Shuching which follow the Tribute of Yü, commencing with the speech at Kan, delivered in B.C. 2197 by Yü's son and successor, may all be received as veritable monuments of antiquity, and are contemporaneous with the events which they relate."

The meanings of the names of the emperors are worth noting, for it will then be seen how many are connected with astronomy or the calendar—a very pregnant fact. They are as follows:—

(1) The great Yü or Hsia how. Kung yü and Hsia how were the names of two scholars contemporary with Ssŭma Ch'ien. The characters used for writing Kung yü are the same as those for 'Tribute of Yü,' but reversed.

(2) Ch'i or Ch'i ming = opening brightness, is the name for the planet Venus, so called because it 'opens the brightness' of the day (L. C. IV. 2, v. 9).

(3) T'aik'ang, or K'ang the 1st, literally 'great peace,' but 康 is used for 亢 the second of the twenty-eight asterisms, answering to ι.κ.λ.μ. in Virgo constellation.

(4) Chung K'ang or K'ang the 2nd.

(5) Hsiang, the 'Counsellor,' is the name of a single red star, answering to seventy-three of Flamsteed between δ and ε of the Great Bear (Schlegel, p. 528). The interregnum of forty years during this reign referred to in different schemes of chronology is not referred to by our historian.

(6) Shao K'ang = K'ang the lesser, or K'ang the 3rd.

(7) There seems an uncertainty as to the right character to be used for the Emperor Chu's name. Ssŭma gives first 宁, which means the space between the throne and the Emperor's retiring room behind it, and then 予 which means 'I.' The 'General Mirror of History' gives 杼, which means a shuttle. It is likely that 矛, which means a lance, and the star β in Böotes, is the one which should be used.

Reign of the Emperor Chieh. Ever since the time of K'ungchia the barons had frequently rebelled. Chieh of Hsia did not strive after virtue, and the wars injured the people. Unable to endure their wrongs they summoned T'ang to their aid, but he was imprisoned in the tower of Hsia; being afterwards released. T'ang cultivated virtue, and the princes all went over to him, so T'ang led an army to attack Chieh of Hsia. Chieh fled to Mingt'iao, and was eventually driven out and slain. Chieh observed to someone, 'I regret that I did not take the opportunity of killing T'ang in the tower of Hsia, and then I should not have been brought to such a pass.' T'ang, being seated on the Imperial throne, superseded Hsia, and gave audience to the people. T'ang enfeoffed the descendants of the Hsias. Until the time of the Chow dynasty they held the principality of Chi.

(8) Huai=the Sophora Japonica tree; also the essence of the asterism 虛 tumulus composed of α in Equuleus and β in Aquarius.

(9) Mang=bearded grain, a solar term falling about the 6th June.

(10) Hsieh=ooze out. Read 'I'=a tributary of the Huai river.

(11) Pu-hsiang=no surrender. Hsiang lou (降 婁) is a star in Aries.

(12) Chiung=a door-bar.

(13) Chin=a hovel.

(14) K'ung chia=Cave A. Chia is a cyclical character, and the first of the 'Ten stems,' and being used in notation may be said to be equal to 1, or A.

(15) Kao or Hao=vast, glorious. Great Hao is the name for the first moon, as Small Hao is for the ninth moon.

(16) Fa=to shoot; spring.

(17) Li Kuei, or Chieh Kuei. Li=a shoe, and Chieh=cruel. Kuei is the last of the 'Ten stems' and therefore equivalent to the letter 10 or J.

Thus most of the names of the Emperors of this dynasty seem to be connected with astronomical or calendaric signs, and this fact will be more evident in the case of the names of the emperors in the succeeding dynasty of Shang.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. IV.—*Kami Vocabularies.* By Bernard Houghton, M.R.A.S.

The remarkable divergences and alterations which a very slight difference in locality causes to exist in the tongues of the Tibeto-Burman hill-tribes have been frequently adverted to, and are, in fact, one of the stock examples of the birth and growth of dialectic change in language. In truth, it must be admitted that in no part of the world are the conditions more favourable to such growth than in the mass of mountains which extends from the Himalayas to Cape Negrais, and which forms the habitat of many of the most interesting of these tribes. Favoured by an abnormally heavy rainfall, the dense jungles which everywhere cover these hills would successfully defy the efforts of even civilized people for their destruction. As it is, except for temporary clearings for cultivation, and somewhat more permanent ones immediately round the villages, these forests remain practically intact, forming, together with the extraordinarily broken character of the ground, one of the most powerful obstacles conceivable to intercourse between the various villages. Such intercourse, therefore, except when it partakes of a raid or foray, is usually on a very limited scale; nor, as a matter of fact, was anything more extended desired by the villagers until quite recently. As McCabe says of the Nagas: "They have remained isolated on their hill-tops, only deigning to visit their immediate neighbours when a longing for their heads has become too strong to be resisted." Trade and commerce being practically unknown, and their political system, if it may be so called, being essentially clannish and unfavourable to the development of a strong central

power, the condition of affairs has been as favourable as possible to dialectic generation. Added to this, it should be noted as amongst most untutored and barbarous people, their words are not articulated so distinctly and incisively as with educated persons, whilst the low tone of voice habitual to those living in the forests, and the inherited tendency to clip their words and towards laziness of pronunciation, which prevails amongst most tribes of the Tibeto-Burman stock, have all contributed to prevent anything fixed or stable in the different dialects. Small wonder, then, that the varieties of speech should be so great in these regions, or that the few Europeans who have produced vocabularies and dialects of the languages of these tribes should all have found it necessary to caution their readers against supposing that the forms and words found therein should have acceptance over any large tract of country. All that can be done in such a case is to learn the dialect prevailing in the most important and thickly populated part of the tribal country, and when going elsewhere to use with caution all except the commoner words and phrases in it.

It follows, therefore, *a fortiori*, that whilst brief vocabularies of the languages of these people enable us to determine roughly their ethnical position, (so far as the latter can be said to depend on philological evidence,) a much fuller and more careful study is necessary before we can be in a position to determine exactly their linguistic position, and, to some extent, the influences to which they have been subjected in their past history. The result of the collection of different forms which the same word takes in the tribal speech would, as a general rule, be to strengthen carefully made comparisons such as those of B. H. Hodgson, but the fact of the existence of this extraordinary state of flux, (so to speak,) in these languages should warn us against too rash comparisons, if such a warning were needed, which ought not to be the case.

The subjoined vocabularies of the Kami or Khami language will show to some extent the difficulty, or rather

the impossibility, of accepting any one as the standard form of such languages as this. They will, however, be chiefly interesting in throwing some light on the phonological changes which take place in this family, as we have here to compare not the words of widely separated tribes of doubtful relationship, but those of people living in neighbouring villages, and calling themselves by one name. From the permutations which have thus admittedly taken place in the same language, it may be possible to argue with more certainty on those used by different tribes now widely sundered from each other. The comparative philology of these languages is, in fact, in still so elementary a state that no further apology is, I think, needed for the presentation of what would ordinarily be a *surplus de richesses* in the words of one language.

The first of these vocabularies has been procured by Maung Hla Paw Zan, an Extra-Assistant Commissioner in the Akyab district, (under the orders of A. M. B. Irwin, Deputy Commissioner). The words were not altogether taken down according to the accepted system of transliteration, but no difficulty has been experienced in effecting the necessary alterations. The internal evidence shows that on the whole this list has been carefully made, whilst it is the best preserved Kami of the four, *i.e.* the words show comparatively few changes induced by laziness of speech, etc.

The second was made by Mg. Tha Bwin, Myook of Sandoway, whilst I was there, the words being taken from a Kami youth from the Akyab district. Mg. Tha Bwin is a very intelligent specimen of the subordinate Civil Service of Burma, and I am inclined, considering his aptitude for taking down words correctly, to regard this list as the most correctly taken down of the four, though the words show more traces of dialectic degeneration than those in the first one. (This list is marked T.-B.) A considerable additional number of words, collected by Mg. Tha Bwin, beyond those required for purposes of comparison, are inserted at the end, as they are all words in common use, and no extended vocabulary of Kami has yet been published.

The third and fourth lists are taken from the essay "On the Indo-Chinese Borderers," by Brian Houghton Hodgson, being furnished to him by the late Sir Arthur (then Captain) Phayre. The latter one is called "Kúmi," and it is stated that the Kúmis are divided into two divisions—Kami or Kimi and Kúmi, called by the Arakanese Awa[1] Kúmi and Aphya Kúmi. There would seem to be some mistake about this division, which is not mentioned in the Census Reports, nor in recent accounts of the Hill Tracts of Arakan; nor have I, when in Arakan, been able to hear of any such people as the Kúmis. The Burmese, who have a happy nack in giving nicknames, have metamorphosed Kami into *k'wē-myī* = dog's-tail, and by this name the tribe is widely known in Arakan and Burma. It is probable that "Kúmi" is a mere corruption of this latter word. The internal evidence also in the vocabularies would show that the second, or "Kúmi" list, is practically the same as the first, or Kami one, with certain differences due apparently to Chin and Mro influence. I have, therefore, merely alluded to the first list as P. 1 and the second as P. 2, being convinced that no real subdivision, such as "Kúmi," exists in the tribe. In the last Census Report the latter are put down as numbering 14,126 souls within the limits of Burma properly speaking. It is probable that this number is, owing to defective enumeration, somewhat under the mark.

From a philological point of view, the Kamis fall under the Chin-Lushai group of the Tibeto-Burman family. From the vocabulary made by Mg. Tha Bwin, it will be seen that the language possesses at least two tones,[2] corresponding to those in Burmese, and it is possible that the rising tone also exists in it. Although the gutturals χ and γ occur, as well as the labio-dental *f* (the latter rarely), words can only end in a vowel, a nasal, or the consonants *k* and *t*,—*p*, *l*, and *s*, though still final in Lushai, being not now so in Kami. The

[1] *Awa* means the mouth of a river, *aphya* its source.

[2] The light tone is represented in the lists by the figure 1 and the heavy one by 2.

"spiritus lenis" is met with (rarely) at the end of words, as is also the case in Lushai and S. Chin, and similarly to the latter language we find the indistinct initial nasal *m'*. The chief phonetic rules observed in comparing the different lists are well known to obtain in the different languages of this branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. They are as follows:

The serviles *ka*, *ga*, *ta*, and *a* are interchangeable, as are also *ma*, *m*, *pa*, *ba*, *p*. *A* and *ā* (serviles) are frequently dropped, and serve, I believe, mainly to facilitate the enunciation of the initial letter. The consonants *k'*, *χ*, and *h* are often interchanged, the last two being, in fact, merely softenings of the first, whilst the semi-vowels *y* and *w*, whether initial or following a consonant, are easily weakened into *i* and *e* or *u* and *o* respectively. The nasals *n*, *ṅ*, and *m* interchange when final, but as regards *m*, at any rate, not when initial.

English.	Kami.	Remarks.*
Air	kalī; (T.-B.) lē; (P. 1) ga-lī; (P. 2) alī	
Ant	sima, syēma, malim; (T.-B.) mlin; (P. 1) ba-lin; (P. 2) pa-lin	There are, of course, several different kinds. Cf. Southern Chin *mliñ*, used for both red and black ones.
Arm	akwēba, kubun; (T.-B.) kaun-tā	Compound of the word for "hand" and that for "arm" proper. Both have many analogies. Cf. "shoulder."
Arrow	t'ē; (T.-B.) t'ë; (P. 1) lī; (P. 2) li-tā-i	(P. 1) = "bow" not "arrow."
Bamboo	k'u, dat; (T.-B.) χawë	Cf. perhaps Kachin *kawa*.
Bird	kava; (T.-B.) tava; (P. 1) kava, tava; (P. 2) ta-wa	*Ka, ta*, prefixed to a common root for "fowl"; *l.c.*
Bitch	unweai	*Nwē* is, apparently, a feminine affix. *Ai* seems doubtful.
Blood	āt'ī; (T.-B.) at'ī; (P. 1) at'ī; (P. 2) at'ī	
Boat	malauń; (T.-B.) mloń; (P. 1) mlauń; (P. 2) plauń	

* These refer to the first series of words unless otherwise stated.

Bone	āk'u; (T.-B.) ak'u[1]; (P. 1) ahū; (P. 2) ahū	Has affinities in Karen, Murmi, Newar, etc. Probably the same root means "horn" in other languages of the family.
Boy	nadë	
Bridge	mahauṅ	
Buffalo	mana; (P. 1) manā; (P. 2) pān-no	
Bullock	k'a-bwē	
Burman	aukθa; (T.-B.) auksa-k'i	Probably Burmese="man of the low country."
Kami or Kwemyi	K'ami	
Chinaman	(Burmese)	
Chin	Malaing	
Arakanese	Ma-angyi	
Lushai	Lushai, Naule sapi	
Cat	mibwē; (T.-B.) min-bai; (P. 1) mīm-bo-i; (P. 2) min-cho	
Child	nadë-sapi; (T.-B.) lā-dë[2]	
Cloud (rain)	k'wani	
Cow	k'abe-nwē; (T.-B.) χa°-be-na-ē; (P. 1) k'a-bo-i; (P. 2) sirā	(P. 1) probably="bullock" not "cow."

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
Cock	ā-bwī	
Crow	va-ā; (P. 1) wa-ā; (P. 2) ō-ā	Cf. "bird" above.
Dah*	kyē; (T.-B.) kē-zapi	
Daughter	*θā*-nu; (T.-B.) sā-nu[2]	
Day	ma-ni; (T.-B.) van-ni; (P. 1) ma-ni; (P. 2) kani-twun	The use of *ma* (="sun"?) in this word is rather unusual. Cf. Sgaw Karen *mu-ni*, Red Karen *må-nö*.
Dog	a-wi, ē-la; (T.-B.) ū-i; (P. 1) ū-i; (P. 2) ū-ī	The former of these has many analogies, the latter (*ē-la*), so far as I am aware, none.
Ear	ka-na-kiṅ; (T.-B.) ag-nā; (P. 1) a-ga-nā; (P. 2) ka-no	*Kiṅ* obviously=*kauṅ* in Burmese *nā-kauṅ*.
Earth	ka-lē-na; (P. 1) kalai-hoṅ; (P. 2) ka-lauṅ	
East	ka-ni-shë	Probably="sun-rise."
Egg	ā-dwi; (T.-B.) du-i[2]; (P. 1) du; (P. 2) dū-i	="fowl's water," a curious idiom, which has been noticed by B. H. Hodgson in other cognate languages.

* Sword or chopper.

Elephant	su-sat, ka-syē; (T.-B.) su-sai; (P. 1) ka-sai; (P. 2) ka-sāi	
Eye	am-mi; (T.-B.) ami[1]; (P. 1) ami; (P. 2) mē	Cf. words for "eye" and "face" in Red Karen.
Face	mi-mai; (T.-B.) ami-mai	
Father	pa-ai; (T.-B.) pā-ë; (P. 1) pa-ai; (P. 2) ampo	
Field	lë (Burmese coll.)	
Fire	man; (T.-B.) më; (P. 1) mā-ī; (P. 2) ˈmā-i	The nasal at the end of this word is very unusual, and is possibly due to the influence of Naga dialects. Cf., however, Arakanese *mēn*.
Fish	mwe; (T.-B.) mo-e; (P. 1) mo-ī; (P. 2) ˈño	This, again, is an unusual word, possibly the stem meaning "snake" in the cognate languages.
Flower	ā-pak; (T.-B.) apon[1]; (P. 1) apā; (P. 2) ka-shyauñ	
Foot	ā-kˈut; (T.-B.) kˈō; (P. 1) akˈo; (P. 2) kˈå	Cf. "hand" in this, and S. Chin, etc., etc.
Fruit	ā-tˈat; (T.-B.) atˈe[1]	
Girl	mi-padi-pi, kin-padi-sapi; (T.-B.) ta-leki	
Goat	sabë, su-bë; (T.-B.) so[1]-bēk; (P. 1) tso-bē; (P. 2) mī-ē	

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
Hair	ā-suṅ; (T.B.) asaun; (P. 1) ashām; (P. 2) shām	
Hand	ā-ku, ā-koi; (T.-B.) akut; (P. 1) akū; (P. 2) ka	Cf. "foot."
Head	ā-lu; (T.-B.) alu; (P. 1) alū; (P. 2) alu	
Hen	ā-pwi	
Hog	auk-la; (T.-B.) ok-zapi; (P. 1) o; (P. 2) a-au	*Auk* is probably a corruption of *vak*.
Horn	āt-kyi; (P. 1) atta-kī; (P. 2) a-ki	
Horse	ta-ſūt, sa-ſūt, sa-p'u; (T.-B.) cha-p'u; (P. 1) ta-p'ū; (P. 2) kauṅ-ṅu	Observe the use of the consonant *f*. The last form occurs also in Sak.
House	en, iṅ; (T.-B.) en[1]; (P. 1) īn; (P. 2) ūm	
Husband	na-pa; (T.-B.) na-pu	
Iron	siṅ; (T.-B.) sīn; (P. 1) shain; (P. 2) ta-'mū	Cf. Burmese *san*.
Ladder	ka-lait	
Leaf	la-k'un; (T.-B.) la-k'an; (P. 1) la-hāṅ; (P. 2) ṅām.	*La* is the root.
Leg	ā-k'au, ā-k'ūt	Cf. "hand" and "foot."
Light	ā-vun-dë; (P. 1) a-vāu-dagā	This is probably a verbal form="it is light." Cf. Naga for "fire."

Maize	mu-ka-ku-bå, mu-ka-ta-ban	
Man	kʿa-mi; (T.-B.) kʿa-mi; (P. 1) kamī; (P. 2) kumī	The name of the race.
Monkey	ka-lat; (T.-B.) klë; (P. 1) kalë; (P. 2) kala	
Moon	la; (P. 1) lā; (P. 2) ʿlo	
Mosquito	ka-suṅ, kra-sa-kun; (P. 1) kān-sa-kā; (P. 2) chān-rāṅ	
Mother	na-oit; (P. 1) na-ūi; (P. 2) am-nū	Cf. S. Chin, etc., *nü* and its affinities.
Mountain	ta-kum, ta-kʿwan; (T.-B.) ta-koṅ; (P. 1) ta-kūn; (P. 2) mo-i	Cf. S. Chin *pu-kawn*="the ridge" (of a mountain). It is curious that all these hill tribes have different words for 'mountain.'
Mouth	aum-kʿa; (T.-B.) am-kʿā; (P. 1) ama-kā; (P. 2) li-bauṅ	Cf. S. Chin *wå-kʿo.*
Name	amīn; (T.-B.) mi; (P. 1) amīn; (P. 2) amin.	
Night	ma-kʿōn; (T.-B.) vai-dün; (P. 1) ma-kʿūm; (P. 2) wa-dūm	Cf. Red Karen *man-kʿi*, an analogy not easily explained.
North	ka-va-si	Possibly=the source of the river(s). Cf. S. Chin *sit.*

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
Nose	an-nā-taran; (T.-B.) nā-baun	*Nā* is, of course, the root.
Oil	ʿsī; (P. 1) shī; (P. 2) sa-rau	
Paddy (rice in the husk)	sā	Cf. Burmese *cha* in *cha-bʿā*, etc.
Patso (man's garment)	ka-ni	Cf. *ʿni*, the loin-cloth worn by Chin women.
Plantain	kwa-ti-tʿat; (P. 1) ka-tī; (P. 2) kū-ti	*tʿat*="fruit."
Rice (boiled)	bōk, or bū; (T.-B.) bu	Cf. Lushai *bū*.
Rice (unboiled)	sa-nik; (T.-B.) san-ni	
River	yē-ma; (T.-B.) tava; (P. 1) ka-vā; (P. 2) ka-wū	*Yē-ma*=in Burmese "great water," *tava* or *kava* being the indigenous word.
Road	lun; (T.-B.) laun; (P. 1) lāṅ; (P. 2) lām	
Salt	ma-loi; (T.-B.) mo-lwē; (P. 1) ma-loi; (P. 2) pi-lo-i	Apparently derived from the Abor or Miri.
Shoal	wa-ma-lun, ka-va-malum	Cf. S. Chin *mlauṅ*.
Shoulder	let-a bun, ku-bun	The occurrence of *let*, undoubtedly connected with the Burmese *lak*, coll. *let*, etc., is noteworthy.

Skin	ā-pʿu; (T.-B.) apē-ē[1]; (P. 1) a-pʿā; (P. 2) pē	
Sky	kʿu-suṅ; (T.-B.) kʿau-sani; (P. 1) kʿå, kʿū; (P. 2) kanī	Two separate roots. *Kʿu* has numerous analogies; *suṅ* I take to be allied with the Naga *saṅ*="sun."
Snake	me-kʿwi; (T.-B.) m'kʿwē; (P. 1) ma-kʿū-ī; (P. 2) pū-wi	
Son	sā-pa; (T.-B.) sā-pa[2]	
South	ka-va-ta-kʿu	See "north," *supra.*
Spear	sa-kʿi; (T.-B.) sa-kʿi.[1]	
Star	ā-si; (P. 1) a-shī; (P. 2) ka-sī	
Stomach	ā-yauk; (T.-B.) a-yōḥ	
Stone	ka-lun, ka-lun-ke; (P. 1) ka-lūn; (P. 2) lūn-shauṅ	
Sun	ka-ni; (T.-B.) ka-ni; (P. 1) ka-nī; (P. 2) ka-ni	
Taungya (hill cultivation)	lak, lauk-ṅan	Has several affinities in the neighbouring dialects.
Thigh	ā-pat; (T.-B.) a-pʿë	
Tiger	ta-ke-i; (T.-B.) ta-ke-i; (P. 1) ta-kā-i; (P. 2) ta-kā-i	

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
Tooth	a-pʿā; (T.-B.) afa; (P. 1) afʿā; (P. 2) ho	
Tree	ti-kauṅ; (P. 1) a-kūn; (P. 2) din-kauṅ	*Ti* is the root.
Vegetables	un; (T.-B.) ån, kʿaun	
Village	vun, vaun; (T.-B.) van[1]	Cf. Lushai *veṅ*.
Water	twi; (T.-B.) tü; (P. 1) tū-ī; (P. 2) tū-ī	
West	ka-ni-ka-du	Probably = "sun-set."
Wife	na-pwi; (T.-B.) ni[1]-pu	Cf. Lushai, *no-puī*, Manip. *nupi* (feminine affix).
Woman	ni-pe-di; (T.-B.) nu-pa-di	
Yam	kʿā, kʿa-bi-dwe; (T.-B.) ta-kʿa-dui; (P. 1) kʿā; (P. 2) ho.	
I	kai; (T.-B) kë; (P. 1) kā-i; (P. 2) kā-ī	
Thou	nin; (T.-B.) nangʿ; (P. 1) nān; (P. 2) naṅ	
He, she, it	twe-nan, nun-na-padi; (T.-B.) ha-në; (P. 1) ha-na-i; (P. 2) hu	
We	kai-si	
Ye	nun-si	
They	ha-nun-si	Should be apparently *ha-ni-si*.
My	kai-in; (T.-B.) kë	

Thy	hanin-in	Query *nin-in*?
His, hers, its	hanin-in	
Our	kai-si-in	
Your	nun-si-in	
Their	ha-ni-si-in	
One	han-tå; (T.-B.) han[1]; (P. 1) hā; (P. 2) hā	Has analogies in S. Chin, etc.
Two	ka-nī; (T.-B.) nī[2]; (P. 1) nī; (P. 2) ʿnū	
Three	ka-tōn; (T.-B.) tʿōṅ; (P. 1) ka-tūn; (P. 2) tūm	
Four	ma-li; (T.-B.) mlē; (P. 1) malī; (P. 2) palū	
Five	bun-ṅā; (T.-B.) ba-ṅā[2]; (P. 1) pāṅ-ṅā; (P. 2) pān	Cf. Magar *ba-ṅā*, Lushai *pa-ṅā*.
Six	taru; (T.-B.) turu; (P. 1) ta-ū; (P. 2) tarū	Cf. Tib. *drūk*, etc.
Seven	srī; (T.-B.) sēri; (P. 1) sarī; (P. 2) sarū	Cf. Lushai *pu-sarī*.
Eight	te-ya; (T.-B.) kayā; (P. 1) kayā; (P. 2) tayā	
Nine	te-kå; (T.-B.) ta-kå; (P. 1) tako; (P. 2) takå	
Ten	ka-su; (T.-B.) kʿā-sok; (P. 1) ha-suh; (P. 2) hå	
Eleven	ka-su-ka-la-ha	
Twelve	ka-su-ka-la-nī	

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
Twenty	pe-so; (P. 1) kū-suh; (P. 2) apum-rē	This must be the Mōn *pa-sau*, and is interesting as showing that at some period of their history the Kamis must have come under the influence of some of the Mon-Annam family. The numerals 20, 30, 40, and 50 in (P. 2) seem all derived from some language of that family, though much corrupted.
Thirty	k'we-ton; (P. 1) kū-i-t'ūn; (P. 2) m'p'ā-i-rē	
Forty	k'we-mali; (P. 1) kū-i-malī; (P. 2) wū-pa-lū-ri	
Fifty	k'we-bun-nā; (P. 1) kū-i-pāṅ-ṅā; (P. 2) wī-pā-ri	
Hundred	tayā (Burmese); (P. 1) tarā; (P. 2) chūm-wā-ri	
In	a-kauṅ-in; (P. 1) yā	
On, upon	k'wa-sa-ni; (P. 1) akauṅ-be	
Now	ā-vyē; (T.-B.) avë[2]; (P. 1) avā-i; (P. 2) wā-i-mē	Observe the alternation between *w* and *v*.
Then	tu-ne-ni-ya; (P. 1) ho-nā-i-gān	
When	hani-ya-më; (P. 1) hā-ni-kān; (P. 2) mā-na-kā	
To-day	va-ni; (P. 1) wai-nī; (P. 2) wa-i-ni	Cf. Lushai *voiña*.

To-morrow	ta-kå-bë; (T.-B.) sa-kʻon-bë; (P. 1) cha-kʻon; (P. 2) kwi-dām	
Yesterday	ya-du-man-za-daung; (P. 1) ya-dūm	
Here	ne-kå; (T.-B.) në-bë; (P. 1) hī-āyā; (P. 2) hī-bāṅ	
There	ha-wë; (P. 1) hā-bʻē	
Where	na-wë; (P. 1) nā-nā-bē; (P. 2) mā-mo	
Above	a-kun-iṅ; (P. 1) akauṅ-bē; (P. 2) i-klūn	
Below	a-ton-iṅ; (P. 1) tiṅ-bē; (P. 2) i-klot	
Between	a-sa-lauk; (P. 1) tʻin-bē, u-tʻin-ā; (P. 2) si-lā	
Without	un-o; (P. 1) akʻām-bē; (P. 2) a-ṅām	
Outside	apyin-ʻma (Burmese)	
Within	bu-taiṅ, ē-tʻūn; (P. 1) atʻūm-bē; (P. 2) atʻūm	
Far	kʻun-le-vi-ka; (P. 1) kʻān-la; (P. 2) pi-lū-pā-i	These are, apparently, "it is near," "it is far."
Near	li-di-sa-ka; (P. 1) nai; (P. 2) ki-sā	
Little	sa-di-tå; (P. 1) tsai-dū-to; (P. 2) atʻān	
Much, many	aum-tak; (P. 1) pā, oṅ-jē; (P. 2) no-i	
Houses	iṅ-aum-tak	="houses—many," as in Burmese, etc.
How much?	pai-ye-tå-më; (P. 1) ha-yē-to	
Thus	tu-kwe-sa	
How?	na-kadi; (P. 1) nā-ha-bē	
Why?	na-kadi; (P. 1) ta-ū-sā-nē	

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
Yes	hu-sa-ka; (P. 1) ta-ko-kā; (P. 2) nå	
No	na-ōk; (P. 1) na-u-ka; (P. 2) na-o	Final *a* dropped.
Which?	na-ni-më; (P. 1) na-nā-i	
Who?	nun-apa-ni; (P. 1) apā-i-mē	*Apa-ni* is probably the real word.
A good man	kʻami kuhai	Shows that the qualifying word follows the noun.
It is good	(P. 1) hū-ī; (P. 2) hå-i	
„ bad	hai-ō-ka; (P. 1) shå; (P. 2) hå-ī-o	
„ cold	ma-din-ka; (T.-B.) m'dīn-det; (P. 1) dē, di; (P. 2) si-wā-i	
„ hot	mi-ka-o; (T.-B.) bē; (P. 1) bī; (P. 2) bi	
„ raw	ak-ka-si, a-θa-kiṅ; (T.-B.) kā-s; (P. 1) kā-shī; (P. 2) kāṅ-hai	
„ ripe	ug-nin-ka; (P. 1) mīn; (P. 2) ʻmūn	
„ sweet	twē-ka; (T.-B.) tū-det; (P. 1) tū; (P. 2) tū-ī	
„ sour	tʻå-ka; (P. 1) tʻo; (P. 2) a-tʻo	
„ bitter	ka-ri-ka; (T.-B.) kʻā[1]-det; (P. 1) kʻā; (P. 2) a-kʻo	
„ handsome	ka-nan-ga (ka); (P. 1) a-non; (P. 2) ho-i	
„ straight	toi-ka; (T.-B.) tan[1]-zim-det; (P. 1) to; (P. 2) tʻa	

It is crooked	ta-kå-vi-ka; (T.-B.) tā-kå[1]-det; (P. 1) ta-ko; (P. 2) a-kʿwē	*Kå* is a variety of a very widespread stem.
„ black	ma-nūn-ka; (T.-B.) kā-nu; (P. 1) ma-nūn; (P. 2) ka-nūm	
„ white	ma-lūn-ka; (T.-B.) kā-lün; (P. 1) a-lūn; (P. 2) kan-lūm	
„ red	ka-hin-ka; (T.-B.) ē-ga-det; (P. 1) ē; (P. 2) kan-lain	
„ green	ma-ē-sūn; (T.-B.) ka-lun-ē; (P. 1) ma-ain-sin; (P. 2) kan-hain	
„ long	eg-sut-krat-ka; (P. 1) sā; (P. 2) a-sauk	
„ short	ugga-dwē; (T.-B.) ug-dai; (P. 1) dō-i; (P. 2) do	
„ large	ugga-le-pwi-ka; (T.-B.) ug-let; (P. 1) leṅ; (P. 2) lēn	
„ small	ā-sa-pi; (T.-B.) sit-kʿa-man; (P. 1) spi; (P. 2) atʿām	
„ round	ta-ku-lu-ka; (P. 1) pū-lūn	
„ flat	tapat-kon-ka; (P. 1) pʿā-da; (P. 2) kam-po	
„ fat	tapu-yu; (P. 1) lēn; (P. 2) len	
„ thin	kʿon-si-ka-ka; (T.-B.) aχon-si-det	

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
He is weary	ma-sa-vi-sa-ka; (P. 1) mā-sā; (P. 2) akom	
„ thirsty	twi-yā-kin-ka; (T.-B.) tü m'kʿaun-det; (P. 1) tū-ī ma kʿāṅ; (P. 2) tū-an-hai	*Twi*="water"; *ā* is probably a post-position meaning "to," "for," etc., *y* and *w* being inserted euphonically, exactly as in S. Chin.
„ hungry	bū-wā-lauṅ-vi-ka; (P. 1) būk ma kʿaṅ; (P. 2) bē-on lām	Bū="rice."
He eats	sa-de; (P. 1) tsā; (P. 2) tsā	
„ drinks	ni-ka; (T.-B.) nēn-det; (P. 1) nai; (P. 2) nai	
„ sleeps	ē-ta-ka; (T.-B.) ī-vi-ka; (P. 1) i; (P. 2) ī	
„ awakes	tʿa-ra-ka; (P. 1) tʿā; (P. 2) an-tʿā	
„ laughs	ma-nü-ka; (T.-B.) mun-nu-det; (P. 1) mu-nwī; (P. 2) ām-ʿnwi	
„ cuts (a taung ya)	kai-lak-ka	
„ weeps	kʿa-ti, kʿa-vi-ka; (T.-B.) kʿa'-det; (P. 1) kʿā; (P. 2) awū	
„ speaks	hāk-ti, pē-bi-ka; (P. 1) ta-pē; (P. 2) tʿo-i	
„ is silent	ri-on-dat, twē	

He comes	ni-voi-di, vwē-da; (T.-B.) vē-det; (P. 1) vā; (P. 2) yau	
,, goes	le-dë, lu-vi-du; (P. 1) la; (P. 2) lā	Cf. Old Burmese *lā*.
,, gets up	tʿa-dë, tʿa-vi-du	
,, sits down	ka-nå-dë, ka-nwe-dat; (P. 1) ka-nū; (P. 2) tat	
,, walks	laung-ki-hi-dë	
,, runs	le-ve-ka, kʿa-kʿwi-dat; (P. 1) aʿwī; (P. 2) lai	
,, gives	na-pō-di, ṅa-pe-dat; (P. 1) na-pū; (P. 2) pai	
,, takes	la-ti, la-ve-dat; (P. 1) lā; (P. 2) lo	Cf. Manipuri *lau*, etc.
,, seizes	naing-ti, ne-bu-dat	
,, strikes	ma-le-ti, re-bu-dat; (T.-B.) yō-det; (P. 1) ma-lē; (P. 2) pu kʿau-oratʿum	
,, thrusts	kʿūn-ti, kʿin-dat	
,, kills	de-han-ma-le-ti; (T.-B.) tå-χō-det; (P. 1) duʿrum-ma-lē; (P. 2) pu-kʿau	
,, builds	sa-ti	
,, brings	ma-hi-ti; (P. 1) ma-hā-ī; (P. 2) lo	
,, ties	kʿon-ti, ka-ai-ti	Cf. S. Chin *kʿun*.
,, takes away	la-hi-vi; (P. 1) lā-hā-i; (P. 2) londē	
,, lifts up	ta-kʿaing-dë; (P. 1) ta-kʿun; (P. 2) ka-tan	
,, puts down	ma-ba-dë	

English.	Kami.	Remarks.
He carries (on the shoulder)	ta-pu-kaing-la-hye	
„ hears	si-na-t'at-be-sa-ka; (P. 1) t'ā-i; (P. 2) t'ā-i	
„ understands	si-na-t'at-twan-sa-ka; (P. 1) ka-nā-i	
„ tells	hu-ti; (P. 2) t'ō	Cf. Burmese *hu*, etc.
It rains	k'u ni-ti; (T.-B.) k'au ni-det	*K'u* or *k'au*="sky."
I give	kai-ṅape-dë	*Dë*, *dat*, or *ka* are, apparently, the terminations of the present tense.
I gave	kai-ṅape-vedakå	
I shall give	kai-ṅape-makaing	
I can give	kai-ṅape-makaing	
I do not give	kai-ṅape-kau-ō	
I did not give	„	
I shall not give	„	
Do not give	pepe-nōk	The reduplication of the root is noteworthy. Cf. Hodgson, "The Languages, etc., of Tibet."
The man who gives	ā-pēk-de k'ami, hanin-la ṅapyo-dat	As regards the addition of *k*, compare the construction in S. Chin.
The man who does not give	hanin-la ṅapyō-ō dat.	

English.	Kami.
Abuse	nā-yå.
Ache (as head)	(alu) m'kā.
Alone	laun ton m'ke-i.
Ancle	k'ō-sit-sēt.
Ashes	mā-ai.
Aunt	ño-ta.
Back (the)	le-tün.
Back-bone	naun k'u.[1]
Bathe	kau-hu.
Beads	ma-χau, (amber) me-ī.[1]
Beard	a'mū.[2]
Bed	ī-na-maton.
Bite (v.)	sau.
Blind (be)	ami[1]-mu.
Body	ākō.
Born (be)	kā-pun.
Borrow (v.)	kyi.
Bottle	pilaṅ.
Bow (n.)	lē.
Brass	si-k'ön-nā; (brass dish) po-kā.
Bread	takoi.
Break (v.)	k'o.
Broom	en-p'e.
Brother (elder)	ya-ë.
Brother (younger)	nāpi.[1]
Brother-in-law	māpi.[1]
Brow	lu-katai.
Buy	χan.
Charcoal	më-za-k'o.
Cheat	lēn-cun.
Cheek	te-ta be-ang.
Cheroot	så-di.

English.	Kami.
Chest (breast)	t'aun-ta.
Chicken	ā-zit-pi.[1]
Chin	so,[1] so-bau.[2]
Citron	sok'ī t'ë.
Clan	amu.[2]
Claw (v.)	kåmi-sēñ.
Climb (v.)	mapau.
Coat	k'o-o.
Comb	mat'i.[1]
Corner	at'iki.[1]
Cotton	mak'a-pon.
Crab	ta-ë.
Cubit	mündå.
Cut (v.)	tabē.
Dance	m'lan.
Dark (it is)	vin kau-ret.
Deer	saχi.[1]
Difficult (it is)	k'ā-gā; k'on.
Door	k'o-t'o.[1]
Dry (be)	k'ōt.
Dust	saga d'ek-pon.
Earring	dai-gün.
Elbow	akå-saku.[1]
Entrails	ut-χi.[1]
Eye-ball	ami[1]-du.
Eye-brow	ami[1]-takå.
Eye-lash	ami[1]-mu.[2]
Eye-lid	ami[1]-pē.
Fat (n.)	t'auk.[1]
Feast (to)	bu shon.
Feather	mu.[2]
Fight (to)	γō.
Finger	(fore) kau-mu, (third) kau-sari, (little) kau-sa.

English.	Kami.
Fireplace	katā-pet.
Fish-hook	sut-ko.
Flesh	ānan.
Flint	kʿōn-son.[1]
Floor	kan.
Fly (n.)	ma-tʿaut.
Food	ason.[1]
Friend	āpo-pʿau.[1]
Frown	χi-sā.
Gathered	ka-pün su.[1]
Good (be)	hü.
Grandfather	pū[2] ū.[2]
Grave	ta pun.
Gun	le-pon.[1]
Half	aχē-χu.[1]
Happy (be)	ā-dan.
Heart	amlun.
Heel	kʿō-mu-tü.
Hips	ta-kʿuttun.
Hole	āχau.
Horse-fly	so-mo.
Joint	kʿi-tan.
Juice (sap)	ɣain.
Jump	ka-pë.[1]
Jungle	dë-tʿun.
Kernel	atā-ni.[2]
Kiss	m'non.
Lazy (be)	tʿa-li.
Lead	ta-kʿan.
Leech	to-pān.[1]
Length	abüng.
Liar	pyē-sa.[1]

English.	Kami.
Lip	amanu ma-së.[2]
Loss	yā-hå.
Louse	χēt.
Maiden	taleki.
Medicine	kasi.[1]
Mud	dek-kok.
Nail (of the hand)	kom-siṅ.
Narrow	aj-pi.[1]
Navel	lë-lan.
Neck	ada-haun.
Needle	sui-puṅ.
Nest	adu-bu.[1]
New	kau t'ā.
Noon	kani-ka hün-dāgā.
Oar	pan-dan.
Old (be)	ka.
Orphan	k'u-sa.
Pain (to)	nā.
Palm (of hand)	akut-mya.
Petticoat	magā nē-ēnon.
Pigeon	mak'u.[1]
Pinch (v.)	masi.
Place (n.)	ma-tōn.
Poor (be)	saun g'ë.
Porcupine	samyi.
Pot	k'ān aun.
Prawn	kai suum-tu.
Pregnant (be)	ayoh-m'χā.
Pretty (be)	kanu.
Profit	k'wai.
Price	avon.
Pumpkin	tu-tu t'et.

English.	Kami.
Quarrel (v.)	kalē-tē.
Rain (n.)	kʿau.
Rainbow (to be a)	sakʿi lē-lo-ke.
Rat	myu.[1]
Rice-seed	sa.
Ring (finger)	kau-si-pu.[1]
Root	yön.
Rope	kʿu-nan.
Rust	sin-e.[1]
Scar	takaun.
See	takʿaun.
Shadow	χa-di
Sink (v.)	min.
Sister	sisa.
Slave	ta-nā.
Sleepy (be)	ī-amu.
Smell (n.)	amü.
Smoke	më χō.
Song	aloṅ.
Soul (the)	mokʿā.
Spirit (evil)	siʿsi.[1]
Spirits (liquor)	agon.[1]
Spoon	zan.[1]
Squeeze (v.)	ta-min.
Stag	son-shi.
Stop	ha-e ka-do[1]; önga[1]-ma.[1]
Strong (be)	(as spirits) ā-dan.
Sunset	kani düm-do.[1]
Sweat	kauku tü.
Sweep (v.)	më[2] de.[1]
Swim (v.)	tü-ka-lin-ka-hå-det.
Tail	āmai.
Tale (story)	tau[1]-tēn.
Tall	ag-ʿson.

English.	Kami.
Tear (v.)	sa-ē.
Thief	të-kʿu.
Thigh	apʿë.
This	nan.
Thorn	aχīn.
Thread	makʿa-kau.
Throat	atoi-magaugṅ.
Thumb	kau pu.[2]
Thunder (v.)	kʿå m'γi.
Tobacco	sau-kʿau-ë.
Toe	(big) kʿō pu, (first) kʿō-mu, (third) kʿō-sarī.
To-morrow (day after)	sakʿon-toi-bë.
Tongue	amlai.
Turtle	tāli.
Vein	tʿa-χü.
Voice	atā-hok.
Wages	apau.[2]
Waist	akēn.
Warm (be)	bē-u.[1]
Wasp	kaletχai.
Water (make)	mayō[2] myo.
Weave (v.)	pʿet-kē.
Well (n.)	tü-tweṅ.
Widow	χau-më-i.
Wish (v.)	nen.
Word	pë.[1]
Work	amün.
Wound	kē-dāmā.
Wrist	kau-sit-sēt.
Year	sa-ni-tå.
Yesterday	yadun.
Young	azpi.

Art. V.—*On the Stress-Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.* By G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E.

[The following contractions have been used in this article:—IAVs. = Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars; Skr., Sanskrit; Pr., Prakrit; Ap., Apabhraṁça; M., Marāṭhī; G., Gujarātī; H., Hindī; B., Bihārī; Bg., Baṇgālī; P., Pañjābī; S., Sindhī; Ts., Tatsama; sTs., Semi-Tatsama; Tbh., Tadbhava; ZDMG., *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; H.C., Hēmacandra's Prakrit Grammar.]

The IAVs. closely follow the rules of the Sanskrit stress-accent (as distinct from the ancient musical accent) which have been noted by Prof. Jacobi in ZDMG. xlvii. 574 and ff. The only difference is that the IAVs. do not usually throw the accent further back than the antepenultimate if the word ends in a long syllable. The general rules are as follows:—

(1) The stress-accent falls on the penultimate if it be long. Examples—Skr. and Ts. *kírti* 'fame'; G. *janói* 'a sacrificial thread'; M. *gídh(a)* 'a vulture'; *káṇā* 'one-eyed'; S. *rahấū* 'a dweller'; H. *asū́jhā* 'invisible'; *kisấn(a)* 'a husbandman'; B. *choṭákkā* 'small.'

(2) If the penultimate be short, the accent falls on the antepenultimate, provided that be long. Examples—Skr. and Ts. *kírtan(a)* 'a report'; M. *vāḷan(a)* 'inclination,' *kấpaṛ(a)* 'clothes'; H. *bándhan(a)* 'binding.'

(3) In any other case it is thrown back as far as possible—the limits being, in Sanskrit and Tss., and in IAV. words ending in a short vowel, the last syllable but three; and in IAV. words ending in a long vowel, the antepenultimate. Examples—Skr. *kúṭilatā́* 'deceitfulness,' as a Ts. *kúṭil'tā*; M. *kár'vat(a)* 'a saw'; sTs. *pár'bat(a)* 'a mountain'; B. *pár'sat(a)* 'touching'; H. *tín'kā* 'a straw,' *bál(a)* 'force': but H. *pahū́c'nā* (not *páhūc'nā*) 'to arrive'; H. *nikál'tā* 'issuing.'

Sometimes, however, even an IAV. word, which has the accent on the antepenultimate, may retain the accent on the same syllable, when it becomes the last syllable but three by the addition of a secondary suffix. This is by no means universal; pronunciation varying with different people. Thus, H. *títalī* 'a butterfly,' long form, properly, *títáliyā*, but also sometimes *títaliyā*.

(4) If the accent does not fall on the first syllable of a word, that syllable has a secondary accent. Thus, Skr. *kùlā́nāṁ* 'of families.' So IAV. *ràhā́ū*, *chòṭákkā*, as above; sTs. *àdhī́n(a)* 'dependent on.'

(5) A tendency is observable from the earliest times to elide a short vowel following the accented syllable: thus, Skr. *bhāginī* or *bhāgnī*; Skr. *pùgaphála*, Pr. **púgphala*, *pópphala*; Skr. *súrabhi*, Pr. **súrbhi*, *súbbhi*; Skr. *lávaṇa*, Pr. **lávṇa*, **láuṇa*, *lṓṇa*; Skr. *jī́vita*, Pr. **jī́ia*, *jī́a*. In the IAVs. the process is still carried on, but the neutral vowel is substituted for *a*, *i*, or *u*, instead of that vowel being altogether elided. Thus, M. *kár'vat* 'a saw'; S. *bigáḍ'nu* 'to be spoiled'; B. *ghór'vā* 'a horse'; Skr. *dùrbálakaḥ* 'weak,' Pr. *dúbbalaō*, H. *dúb'lā*.[1]

The elision of *i* and *u* is more rare in the IAVs., and is restricted to special cases.

Examples are—

Skr. *bhāginī* 'sister'	Pr. *báhiṇī*	H. *báh'nī*, *báhan*, or *báhin*. Other dialects *báhin*, but M. and B., to preserve the *i*, throw the accent on it and lengthen it, *bahī́n*.
bádhiraḥ 'deaf'	*báhirō*	H. *báh'rā* or *báhirā*.

[1] Jacobi gives as parallel from the Romance languages—Latin, *vèrecúndia*; French, *vèrgógne*; Italian, *vèrgógna*; Spanish, *vèrgüenza*.

Skr. *práthamaḥ* 'first'	Ap. *paḍhāvillau*	H. *páh'lā*, but M. *páhilā*, G. *páhelā*, and so on.
vidyut 'lightning'	*bijjuliā*	H. *bij'lī*, but other IAV. *bijulī*.

Cases sometimes occur of the *a* being weakened to *i* or *u* instead of the neutral vowel. The *i* change is most common in Sindhī, and the *u* in Baŋgālī. Examples—

pippalaḥ 'a pīpal tree'	*pippalō*	S. *pipiru*.
viralaḥ 'rare'		S. *birilō*.
páñjaraṁ 'a cage'	*páñjaraṁ*	S. *pĩjirō*.
ágniḥ 'fire'		sTs., Bg. *águn(i)*.
çálmalī 'a silk-cotton tree'	*simbalī*	Bg. *simul*.

(6) In compound words, the first member retains its own stress-accent as a secondary accent, the stress-accent of the second member being the stress-accent of the word: thus, H. *pàn'sálā* 'a watering-place'; M. *phùl'málī* 'a florist'; B. *à-sṹjh(a)* or *à-sújh'vā* 'invisible.' This secondary accent I mark when necessary with the sign for a grave accent, but shall generally omit it.

This rule about compound words explains such apparently anomalous forms as the B. *dèkh'láhũ* 'I saw,' and the many similar verbal forms in that language, in which the accent falls on the penultimate or final syllable of the word. They are really compounds of the past participle [*dékhal(a)*], and old forms of the √*ah* 'to be,' *áhũ* meaning 'I am,' and so on.

The tendency to drop the final vowel of the first member of the compound [as in *dékhal(a)* + *áhũ*] dates from the earliest times. Thus, Skr. *kùmbha-kárah* 'a potter'; Pr. *kùmbha-árō* or *kùmbhárō* (against the usual custom, H.C. i. 8), IAV. *kumhár(a)*; Skr. *nàvamálikā* 'jasmine'; Pr. **nàvmáliā*, **nàümáliā*, *nõmáliā*; Skr. *pràtivéçaḥ*, Pr. *pàésō* or *pàḍivésō*, H. *paḍós(a)*. A long vowel in such a position is first shortened and then elided: thus, Skr. *dvàcatvāriṁçat*; Pr. **bàyāyālísaṁ*, *bàyālísaṁ*; H. *byàlís(a)*.

(7) If the accent falls on a short vowel there is a tendency to lengthen it; thus, Skr. *ápagā* or *ā́pagā* 'a river'; *músala* or *mū́sala* 'a club'; so also—

prátipad 'first day of a fortnight'	*pádivayá* or *pā́ḍivayā*	M. *pā́ḍ'vā*, but H. *páḍibā*, B. *párab.*
hástinī 'she elephant'	*hátthiṇī*	M. (with change of accent) *hattī́ṇ*, but H. etc. *háth'ni.*

(8) On the other hand the accent has a tendency to shorten a preceding long vowel; *e.g.* Skr. *āgā́raṁ* or *agā́raṁ* 'a house'; Skr. *àtikúpyaḥ* or *akúpya* (for *aikúpya*) 'very base'; so in IAV.—

kāsī́saṁ 'green vitriol'	*kāsī́saṁ*	H. *kasī́s.*
ādhī́naḥ 'dependent on'		sTs. *adhī́n.*
dèvā́layaḥ 'temple'	*dēvā́laō*	P. *devā́lā.*

So M. *bhī́k(a)* 'begging,' *bhikā́rī*, G. *bhikhā́rī* 'a beggar'; M. *kā́m(a)* 'work,' *kamā́ū* 'that which earns.' Again, Skr. gen. *karṇásya* 'of an ear'; Pr. dat. *kaṇṇássa* or *kāṇā́ssa* 'to an ear'; M. *kānā́s(a)* (कानास) 'to an ear,' in which the first *ā* is written long, but is pronounced short like the *a* in the Italian *bállo*. So also M. *bhī́k(a)*, dat. *bhikī́s(a)*; *pī́k(a)* 'a ripe crop,' dat. *pikā́s(a)*; *hā́t(a)* 'a hand,' dat. *hātā́s(a)* as in *kānā́s(a)*.

(9) When a word begins with two long syllables, the second of which has the stress-accent, the secondary accent on the first syllable often attracts the first accent to itself, and the syllable which would ordinarily bear the stress-accent is shortened. Thus, Skr. *ànī́ta* becomes in Pr. *ā́ṇia*, Skr. *pànī́ya*, Pr. *pā́ṇiya*, and so on. So—

dèvā́layaḥ 'temple'		H. *dēval*, M. *dēvaḷ.*
kāyásthaḥ 'a man of the writer caste'	*kāyátthō*	B. *kā́yath.*
vātū́laḥ 'mad'	*vāū́lō*	M. *bā́vaḷā*, B. *bā́uṛā*, S. *bā́virō.*

(10) This even happens when the first syllable is short; *e.g.* Skr. *àlíka* 'false,' Pr. *áliya*; Skr. *màdhúka* 'name of a tree,' Pr. *máhua*; so—

çìríṣaḥ 'a kind of tree'	*sírisō*	H. *síris.*
dvàtíyakaḥ 'second'	*dútiyaō*	H. *dútiyā.*
gàbhíirakaḥ 'deep'	*gáhiraō*	H. *gáhirā.*
bàlivárdaḥ 'a bullock'	*bàillō*	IAV. *bäil* or *báil.*

(11) In Sanskrit and Prakrit there was also a secondary accent on the penultimate of a word. Thus, in *kúṭilàtā* the *a* in the penultimate has more accent than the *i* in the antepenultimate. Sometimes this secondary accent was so strongly felt that it swallowed up the main stress-accent, and itself became the main accent, with the usual result of lengthening the accented syllable. Thus, while on the one hand we have *jálpàka* 'talkative,' *párvatìka*[1] 'a range of mountains,' we have also *jàlpáka*, *pàrvatíya*, or *pàrvatéya* 'a mountaineer': so also we have *ráthìka*, or *ráthìna* 'possessing a chariot,' and *grámìka* 'a villager,' but also *gràmíya*, *gràméya*, and *gràmíṇa*; *dévìkā* 'a goddess,' and *dèvíkā* 'a queen'; *déçìka* and *dèçíya* 'native'; *saúkhìka* and *saùkhíya* 'pertaining to enjoyment'; *vártìra* or *vàrtíra* 'a quail'; *nàkṣátrìya* 'belong to an asterism,' but *nàgaríya* 'belonging to a town'; *kárira* and *kàríra* 'the shoot of a bamboo.' Again, *vátula*, or *vàtúla* 'inflated'; *úlùpin*, or *ùlúpin* 'a guinea-pig'; *várṣùka* 'rainy,' but *vāvadúka* 'loquacious'; *jágaràka*, but *jàgarúka*, not *jágaruka* 'waking.'

In Pr. this is specially common in certain pleonastic terminations. One is *-la* or *-lla*. Thus, *vijjùlā* 'lightning,' *páttàlaṁ* 'a leaf,' *píàlaṁ* 'yellow'; but *pàllavílla* 'a shoot,' *mùhúlla* 'a face,' *hàtthúlla* 'a hand.' So Skr. *dèvakúlaṁ*, Pr. *dèúllaṁ*; Skr. *sárvàtaḥ*, Pr. *sàvváttō*; Skr. *ékàtas*, Pr. *èkáttō*; Skr. *ányàtaḥ*, Pr. *ànnáttō*. So also the suffix *k*:

[1] With reference to many of the following examples, it is hardly necessary to point out the close connection between the terminations *ika* and *iya*.

thus, Pr. *hiàkaṁ*, or (Mg.) *hàḍákkaṁ* 'heart.' According to *Mārkaṇḍēya*, xii. 16, the rule is made general in Māgadhī Prakrit, in which any vowel before the suffix *ka* may be lengthened. Thus, Skr. *lāvāṇyakaḥ*, Mg. Pr. *làúṇṇàkē*, or *làuṇṇákē* 'lovely.'

This second accent on the penultimate reappears in several of the IAVs. The Apabhraṁça Prakrit termination *-àku* becomes (by elision of the *k*) *àü*, and then *ò* or *à*. So the termination *ìkā* becomes *ìā* or *ìyā*, and thence *ì*. In two Western Vernaculars, *i.e.* Gujarātī, and especially Marāṭhī, curiously enough the Māgadhī Prakrit custom has obtained, and this secondary accent has swallowed up the main accent of the word, and becomes itself the main accent, with the usual consequence of shortening the preceding syllable.[1] So that *àku* and *ìkā* become *áku*, *áu*, and *íkâ*, *íā*, and then *á* or *ó*, and *í*, preceded by a short vowel. Thus—

Skr.	Ap. Pr.	IAV.
kū́pàkaḥ 'a well'	*kúvàü*	G. *kùvó*, but H. *kúā*.
cū́ḍàkaḥ 'a bangle'	*cúḍàü*	G. *cùṛó*, M. *cùṛá*, but H. *cúṛā*.

[1] At the time of reading this paper exception was taken to this statement by two gentlemen, whose knowledge of M. and G. was far greater than that possessed by me, and whose authority I at once admit. I allude to Dr. Bühler and Sir Raymond West. I do not, at the present stage, feel at liberty to alter what I have written. My statement is based on the words of Dr. Bhandarkar, on p. 117 of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. vol. xvii. pt. ii. He says: "There is a rule, which in M. is almost universal, and in G. often observable, in virtue of which the accent, or the whole weight of the sound of a word, falls on the final *ā* or *ē* of nouns in the former, and the final *ō* or *ū* in the latter; and the preceding vowels are rendered short, while in the original Sanskrit and Hindī they are long." He then gives as examples—M. *kiḍā*; M. *khiḷā*; G. *kuvō*; M. *citā*; M. *cuḍā*, G. *cuḍō*; M. *cunā*, G. *cunō*. He gives further examples on p. 141 of the same article. On the point of the question of the correct pronunciation of these two languages, Dr. Bhandarkar's evidence is entitled to great respect, and further inquiry as to the exact meaning of his words is necessary. Till then I leave my words as they stand, in the hope that, attention having been drawn to the matter, careful inquiry may be made by observers on the spot. In any case, my main argument is not affected. As regards M., Molesworth's dictionary gives *kīḍ* and *kiḍā*, *citā*, *cuḍā*, *cūṇ*, and *cunā*, all of which exactly bear out Dr. Bhandarkar's remarks.

Skr.	Ap. Pr.	IAV.
cū́rṇàkaḥ 'lime'	*cúnnàü*	G. *cùnó*, M. *cùnā́*, but H. *cū́nà*.
cítràkaḥ 'a leopard'	*cíttàü*	M. *cìtā́*, but H. *cī́tà*.
kī́ṭàkaḥ 'a worm'	*kī́ḍàü*	M. *kìṛā́*, but H. *kī́ṛà*, S. *kī́ṛò*.
çikṣitaḥ 'learned'	*sikkhìü*	M. *çìkhā́*, but H. *sī́khà*.
miṣṭàḳaḥ 'sweet'	*miṭṭhàü*	M. *mìṭhā́*, but H. *mī́ṭhà*.
sū́cìkaḥ 'a tailor'	*sū́cìü*	M. *sùcī́*, but H. *sū́cì*.
vī́ṭìkā 'a betel-roll'	*vī́ḍìā*	M. *bìṛī́*, but H. *bī́ṛì*, S. *bī́ṛò*.

Again, in other terminations—

hástìnī 'she elephant'	*hátthìṇī*	M. *hàtṭīṇ*, but H. *háthìnī*.
bhágìnī 'a sister'	*báhìṇī*	M. *bàhī́ṇ*, B. *bàhī́n*, but H. *báhìn*.

And so in all other similar feminines in M. So also M. *mùā́* 'dead,' but H. *mū́à*.

But a similar change occurs in other languages; thus—

dyū́tàkaṁ 'gambling'	*jū́àū* or *jùā́ū*	P. *jū́à*, but S.H. *jùā́*.
dī́pàkaḥ 'a light'	*dī́vàü* or *dìvā́u*	P. *dī́yà*, but H. *dìyā́*, S. *ḍìyó*.
àbhyáñjìtaḥ 'anointed'	*àbbhijjìü*	H. *bhī́jà*, but M. Bg. O. A. *bhìjā́* 'wet.'
yúktàkaṁ (?) 'a pair' (?)	*júttàü*	H. *jū́tā* 'a (pair of) shoes,' but M.Bg.O. *jùtā́*.
àbhyántàrē 'within'	*àbbhintàrahí*	H. *bhī́tàr*, but M.B.O.A. *bhìtár*.

(12) The shortening and elision of the vowel following the accented syllable, as in *dēval(a)* and *dúb'lā*, has had one very important result. It follows that when a word

ends in a short vowel, that vowel, under the influence of the stress or the secondary accent on the penultimate, has a tendency to disappear.

Taking Tadbhava words first—These come to the IAVs., though the Apabhraṁça Prakrit, and nouns pass into the IAVs. in the form of the nominative singular. Nearly every Apabhraṁça word, and the nominative of every noun in that language ended in *a*, *i*, or *u*, or in one of these vowels nasalized. If one of these final vowels be preceded by a consonant, under the influence of the accent, it disappears in the modern tongues. Thus—

Skr. Nom. Sg.	Pr.	Ap. Nom. Sg.	IAV.
ghṓṭaḥ 'horse'	*ghṓḍō*	*ghṓḍu*	*ghṓḍ* (*ghōṛ*).
párkaṭī 'fig-tree'	*pákkaḍī*	*pắkàḍi*	*pắkaḍ* (*pākuṛ*).
bắhuḥ 'arm'	*bắhū*	*bắhu*	*bāh*.

The same applies to the cases in which a verbal form ends in a short vowel. Thus—

Skr.	Ap. Pr.	
páṭhasi 'thou readest'	*páḍhàsi*	M. *páṛhas* (or *paṛhes*).

It will be seen that under the influence of the accent there has been a regular weakening of the final vowel at each of the last two stages. Prakrit has *ghṓḍō* with the final *ō* long, Apabhraṁça weakens it to *u*, and the IAVs. omit it altogether. There is a tendency in some dialects to preserve the final vowel. It is especially the case in Bg., and in the literary styles of most of the IAVs. This is due to the influence of purists who endeavour to preserve the Skr. pronunciation. In Baṇgālī and its sister languages, it is also due to other special reasons which need not be discussed here. On the other hand, some languages are fond of shortening and eliding a final long vowel of a Ts.

Thus, in Bihārī the word for 'woman' is indifferently *nārī* (purist), *nāri*, or *nār* (poetical and vulgar). In Sindhī and Kāçmīri the final short vowel of Tadbhavas is preserved, but it is only very faintly pronounced. We meet the process, in fact, at an older stage, and can watch the vowel in the very act of disappearing.

In Tatsamas the result is the same. The noun is also used in its nominative form, and a final visarga is omitted, as that letter has ceased to exist in the IAVs. We thus get—

Skr.	Intermediate Stage.	IAV.
bálaḥ 'strength'	*bála*	*bál* or *bála*.
mátiḥ 'mind'	*máti*	*mát* or *máti*.
vástuḥ 'thing'	*bástu*	*bást* or *bástu*.

The above remarks only refer to prose pronunciation. In prose these vowels, though they have *disappeared*, are not elided, for they are still there, and again reappear in poetry, which always preserves the older forms of the language. Thus—

IAV.	Is Pronounced in Prose.	Is Pronounced in Poetry.
घोड़	*ghṓṛ*	*ghṓṛa*.
पाकड़	*pā́kaṛ*	*pā́kàṛa* or *pā́kàṛi*.
बाँह	*bā̃h*	*bā̃ha* or *bā̃hu*.
पड़स	*páṛhas*	*páṛhàsa*.
बल	*bál*	*bála*.
मति	*mát*	*máti*.
वस्तु	*bást*	*bástu*.

ART. VI.—*Nejamesha, Naigamesha, Nemeso.* By Dr. M. WINTERNITZ.

ONE of the sculpfures discussed by Dr. Bühler in his highly interesting paper on *Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura* (Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii. part xiv. pp. 311 *seqq.*) bears the perfectly legible inscription *bhagavā Nemeso*, "divine Nemesa." Dr. Bühler (*l.c.* p. 314) refers these words to the goat-headed figure just above them, identifying this Nemesa with *Hariṇegamesī* or *Naigameshin*, a divine being mentioned in Jaina legends as presiding over the procreation of children. In support of this explanation Dr. Bühler refers (p. 316) to "the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*, which in the *Gṛhyasūtras* and the medical *Saṃhitās* are the names of a deity with a ram's head, particularly dangerous to children." "There can be no doubt," Dr. Bühler adds, "that the *Naigamesha* or *Nejamesha* of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease, and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging *Naigamesha*-*Naigameshin* of the Jainas are in reality identical."

Now, though I do not wish to deny a connection between, or even a possible original identity of the two divine beings, *Nejamesha* and *Naigamesha*, I may be allowed to point out that there is an essential difference between the *Nejamesha* as described in Vedic writings, and the *Naigamesha* of the medical Saṃhitās, or the *Naigameya* of the Mahābhārata.[1]

[1] I am inclined to think that *Naigameya* in the Mahābhārata is merely a false reading for *Naigamesha*, for it is hardly possible to establish an etymological connection between the two forms, and yet it is impossible to separate the two beings. See Petersburg Dictionary, *s.v.* Naigameya, and Bühler, *l.c.* p. 316.

We meet with *Nejamesha* for the first time in one of the Khilas of the Rigveda,[1] where we read:—

Néjamesha párā pata súputraḥ púnar ā́ pata |
asyai me putrákāmāyai gárbham ā́ dhehi yáḥ púmān ||
yátheyáṃ pṛthivī́ mahyùttānā́ gárbham ādadhé |[2]
evám tám gárbham ā́ dhehi[3] *daçamé māsí sū́tave ||*
Vishṇoḥ[4] *çréshṭhena rūpéṇāsyā́ṃ nā́ryāṃ gavīnyā́m |*
púmāṃsam putrám[5] *ā́ dhehi daçamé māsí sū́tave ||*

"O Nejamesha! fly away, and fly hither again bringing a beautiful son; to my wife here who is longing for a son grant thou an embryo, and that a male one.

"Just as this wide Earth here, lying stretched out, conceives the embryo (of plants), so grant thou that embryo which is to be born in the tenth month.

"Place thou a male child, to be born in the tenth month, into the womb of this woman,[6] (a child endowed) with Vishṇu's most beautiful form."

These three verses seem to be intended here to form one hymn, and Nejamesha seems to be the deity invoked in all the three verses. The Mantras would have to be spoken by a husband desirous of male offspring. But it is more than doubtful whether the three verses belonged together originally. The various readings *evám tvám gárbham ā́ dhatsva* in verse 2, and *vishṇo* in verse 3, seem

[1] Khila 30, 1 in Max Müller's Rigveda (second edition), vol. iv. p. 540; Aufrecht, vol. ii. p. 687.

[2] This line occurs, Av. v. 25, 2; vi. 17, 1, with the various reading mahī́ bhūtā́nām for mahyùttānā́. The Mantrapāṭha i. 12, 4 reads in the same verse mahī́ tíshṭhantī.

[3] Mantrapāṭha i. 12, 4 has the important variant evā́m tvā́m gárbham ā́ dhatsva.

[4] Mantrapāṭha i. 12, 6 has the vocative víshṇo, which is also supported by Av. v. 25, 10–13.

[5] This is the reading of Av. v. 25, 10. The Khila MSS. have púmāṃsam putrā́n, and dā́çāsyām putrā́n. The Bombay edition of the Rigveda by Rājā-Rāmaçāstri and Çiva-Rāmaçāstri, has also púmāṃsam putrā́n. Mantrap. *l.c.* has púmāṃsaṃ gárbham.

[6] It is not necessary to correct asyā́ṃ nā́ryāṃ to asyā́ nā́ryā, the reading of Av. v. 25, 10. (See Stenzler's note to his translation of Āçv. Gṛhy. i. 14, 3.) We can explain it as meaning literally 'into this woman, namely into her womb.'

far more plausible than the readings of the Khila MSS. If we separate the three verses, we should translate differently:—

(1) "O Nejamesha! fly away, and fly hither again bringing a beautiful son; *to me here who am longing for a son* grant thou," etc.

(2) "Just as . . . . the embryo (of plants), *so shalt thou conceive an embryo* to be born in the tenth month."

(3) "*O Vishṇu!* place thou a male child, to be born in the tenth month, into the womb of this woman, (a child endowed) *with a most beautiful form.*"

In that case the first Mantra only would be addressed to Nejamesha, and it would be a prayer used by a woman who wishes to have a son. The other two Mantras are ordinary *garbhādhāna*-Mantras spoken by the husband.[1]

This Khila occurs after Rigveda x. 184, and the Ṛgvidhāna iv. 23 states briefly that both the hymn '*vishṇur yonim*' (x. 184) and the Khila '*nejamesha*' are to be employed if a woman who has attained to maturity does not conceive. As Rv. x. 184 can only be meant for a prayer of the husband, the rule of the Ṛgvidhāna seems to imply that both hymn x. 184 and the Khila are to be recited by the husband. I give the passage from Dr. R. Meyer's edition of the Ṛgvidhāna:—

pushpaṃ dṛshṭvā tu yā garbhaṃ na gṛhṇīyād vayonvitā |
'vishṇur yoniṃ' 'nejamesha' yoniṃ spṛshṭvā tato japet ||

These three Mantras are prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras as prayers to be used for certain ceremonies connected with conception and pregnancy. According to Āçv. Gṛhy. i. 14, 3 and Çāṅkh. Gṛhy. i. 22, 7, these Mantras are to be used with certain burnt oblations offered at the *Sīmantonnayana* or Parting of the Hair. This is an important rite, performed in the fourth or seventh month after conception, and probably intended to secure male offspring.

[1] See also Stenzler's German translation of the Āçvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, p. 39 (note to i. 14, 9).

The same three Mantras, though not as one hymn, occur again in the *Mantrapāṭha*,[1] the Prayer-book of the Āpastambins, i. 12. Here we find first the three verses of Rv. x. 184, followed by the verse *yátheyám pṛthivī́*, etc. (Khila 30, 2) and another similar verse, after which we have *vishṇo çréshṭhena*, etc. (Khila 30, 3) and *Néjamesha párā pata*, etc. (Mantrap. i. 12, 7), followed by six other *garbhādhāna*-verses, the whole forming a prayer which, according to Āpast. Gṛhy. 8, 13, is recited by the husband at the time of cohabitation (*ṛtu-samāreçane*). Here there can be no doubt that only the one verse *Néjamesha párā pata*, etc., is addressed to the god Nejamesha.

We meet again with the same three verses in the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra*, and here they are not only given in the same order in which they occur in the Khila of the Rigveda, and in the Gṛhyasūtras of Āçvalāyana and Çāṅkhāyana, but they are distinctly meant to be addressed to the god Nejamesha. According to the Mān. Gṛhy. ii. 18, a certain sacrifice, the *shaḍāhutam*, is to be performed at the beginning of every fortnight during a whole year by a person who is desirous of having a son. But if, after the lapse of one year, this ceremony proves of no avail he should have recourse to the *Naijamesha Sthālīpāka*, the Pan-cake offering in honour of Nejamesha. Having cooked a pan-cake for Nejamesha, the Sūtra says, he should offer it according to the rite of the *shaḍāhuta* sacrifice (*naijameshā sthālīpākā çrapayitvā yathā shaḍāhutam*), with the three verses, *Néjamesha párā pata*, etc.[2]

A similar passage occurs in the Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra 38, but here only the one verse, *Néjamesha párā pata*, etc., is given.[3]

[1] I hope to publish an edition of this text in the 'Anecdota Oxoniensia' Series shortly, nearly the whole of the text being in type.

[2] I am indebted to Professor Knauer, of Kiew, who is preparing an edition of the Mānava Gṛhyasūtra, for kindly communicating to me the passage given above from this important text.

[3] See Prof. Jolly's article, '*Das Dharmasûtra des Vishnu und das Kâṭhaka-gṛihyasûtra*' (*Sitzungsber. der philos.-philol. Classe der bayerischen Akademie der Wiss. vom 7. Juni*, 1879), p. 80.

We see, then, that in the Mantra '*Néjamesha párā pata*,' Nejamesha is referred to as a (winged?) deity who is supposed to grant children, especially sons, to parents longing for them. In the Gṛhyasūtras, too, Nejamesha is a son-granting deity, and never a demon dangerous to children ('Ein best. den Kindern gefährlicher Unhold,' Petersburg Dictionaries). We meet in the Gṛhyasūtras with a great number of names of demons causing children's diseases, such as Çaṇḍa, Marka, Upavīra, Çauṇḍikeya, Ulūkhala, and many others,[1] but neither Nejamesha nor Naigamesha is among them.

The Vedic Nejamesha, therefore, comes in this respect nearer the Jaina deity than the Naigamesha of the medical books. On the other hand, Nejamesha is not described as goat-headed or ram-headed.

A goat-headed or ram-headed divine being is *Naigamesha* as described in the medical Saṃhitās. In the Suçruta Naigamesha appears as one of the nine Grahas or demons causing children's diseases (Uttaratantra, Adhy. 27). He is described (*ibid.* Adhy. 37) as 'a ram-faced demon (*graha*) created by Pārvatī, carrying off little children, a most intimate friend of the god Guha':—

Naigameshas tu Pārvatyā sṛshṭo meshānano grahaḥ |
kumāradhārī devasya Guhasyātmasamaḥ sakhā ||

The disease caused by Naigamesha is fully described, and remedies are given against it. And it is interesting to observe that among these remedies there is also an offering (*bali*) to be made to Naigamesha, who is here (Uttaratantra, Adhy. 36) called 'goat-faced,' and is invoked like a real deity:—

ajānanaç calākshibhrūḥ kāmarūpī mahāyaçāḥ |
bālam pālayitā devo Naigamesho 'bhirakshatu ||

'The protecting god Naigamesha, the goat-faced, with

[1] See Pāraskara Gṛhy. i. 16, 23 *seq.*; Āpastambīya Gṛhy. 18, 1, with Mantrapāṭha, ii. 16, 1–11; Hiraṇyakeçin Gṛhy. ii. 3, 7.

quivering eyes and brows, he who changes his form at will,[1] the highly famed, may protect the child!'

The above-mentioned Guha is a name of Skanda, who, according to the Mahābhārata, is the father of all the Grahas or demons who are so dangerous to little children. And if there could be any doubt as to the identity of the *Naigameya* of the Mahābhārata and *Naigamesha*,[2] it would be removed by this passage from the Suçruta; for the Naigameya of the Mahābhārata is most intimately connected with Skanda, the god of War. According to MBhār. ix. 44, 36, Skanda, by his Yoga power, assumed at the same time four different forms, *viz.* those of Çākha, Viçākha, and Naigameya, besides his own. According to MBhār. i. 66, 24, these three are the younger brothers of Agni's son Kumāra, *i.e.* Skanda[3]; and in MBhār. iii. 231, 7, Viçākha and Naigameya are given as other names of Skanda or Kārttikeya.

Skanda himself is the father of all the demons who seize little children. For when struck by Indra's thunderbolt, there arose out of Skanda's body a great number of beings, followers of Skanda, terrible to look at, all those terrible beings who steal little children, whether born or in the womb. And female children, too, of great power, were born in consequence of that blow with the thunderbolt (MBhār. iii. 227, 1–3). The latter are the Piçācīs, who are also extremely dangerous to little children. These are clearly identical with the Vṛddhikās, those female deities who live on human flesh, and are born in trees, and must be worshipped by people desirous of offspring (MBhār. iii. 230, 15 *seq.*).

This is interesting as showing how closely connected the two ideas are of a deity dangerous to children, and a

[1] Hariṇegamesi, too, has the power of transforming himself.—*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxii. p. 228.

[2] See Bühler, *l.c.* p. 316, and Petersburg Dictionary, *s.v.* Naigameya. Naigameya is called *chāgavaktro bahuprajaḥ*, 'goat-faced and rich in offspring,' MBhār. iii. 225, 28.

[3] See Wilson, Vishṇu-Purāṇa (London, 1840), p. 120, where Pṛshṭhaja seems to be mistaken for a proper name.

deity helpful in the procreation of children. And there is, in this respect, not the least difficulty in connecting the Vedic Nejamesha with the Naigamesha of the Suçruta and the Naigameya of the Mahābhārata. Nor is there any difficulty in connecting these Brahmanical deities with *Hariṇegamesi*, the Jaina deity who exchanges the embryos in the wombs of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā and the Kshatriyāṇī Triçalā, and with *Nemeso* of the Jaina inscription on the Mathura sculpture discovered by Dr. Führer.

In fact, the Jaina god shares his character as a son-granting deity with the Vedic Nejamesha, while his being represented as ram-headed or goat-headed points to the later Naigamesha,[1] whose name also is more closely connected with the Jaina name.

It is perhaps not the least important lesson to be derived from the coincidence pointed out by Dr. Bühler, that we learn how impossible it is to separate Vedic or Brahmanic mythology from the mythological conceptions surviving in Jaina—and I may add, Buddhist—literature.

[1] Another point of contact has been mentioned by Dr. Bühler. The Jaina Naigameshin is Indra's general, just as Skanda, of whom—according to one version—Naigameya is only another form, is the field-marshal of the gods. In one passage, MBhār. iii. 231, 7, Naigameya is given as one of the 51 names of the War-god.

ART. VII.—*On the Khámtis.* By P. R. GURDON, M.R.A.S.

THE habitat[1] of the Bor Khámtis, who are said to number 20,000, is in a valley high up the Irrawaddy, in latitude 27° and 28° east of Sadiya. The Khámtis that we know in Assam are those that have emigrated from "Bor Khámti" and have settled in Assam after the breaking up of the kingdom of Pong by Alomphra. These settlers established themselves early in this century on the "Tenga pani" (a river in the vicinity of Sadiya), with the permission of the Ahom kings. Before proceeding further, it will be interesting to note that this Khámti movement is the second instance of Tai emigration that we have on record. Some considerable time previously the Ahoms, who spoke a language much akin to the Khámti tongue, and who are also of the Tai race, made an irruption over the Pátkoi range and invaded and conquered Assam. The Khámtis, who had apparently been given hospitality by the Ahoms because they were almost kinsmen, before long rose against the Ahom king, and ejected the Ahom governor of Sadiya or "Sadiya Khówa Gohain." The Khámti chief took the governor's place and retained it. The Ahom king, not being strong enough to oust the Khámti usurper, had to recognize him. During the rule of this chief the local Assamese were reduced to slavery, and they were not released till our own Government interfered in 1839. Out of revenge the Khámtis rebelled against our Government, and the Sadiya garrison, including its commander, Col. White, was surprised and cut up. This led

[1] This seems to agree with Mr. Cust's language map. The larger patch of Khámti is, I conclude, "Bor Khámti," and the smaller patch the Khámti settlement at Sadiya.

to reprisals on our part, and the Khámtis were attacked, defeated, and scattered abroad. During the following year many of them returned to their home in Bor Khámti. Those that remained divided into four parties, and settled in different parts of the Lakhimpur district. In 1850 a fresh colony, numbering 300 to 400 persons, came and settled in Assam. The total number living in the province in 1891 was 3040,[1] against 2883 in 1881. Mr. Gait, the Provincial Census Superintendent, says "the real increase is slightly greater, as the 1881 figures include the Phakiáls." The Phakiáls are a kindred tribe, and I will note about them further on. The Khámtis live in fairly large villages, the houses of which are built on platforms several feet above the ground. The houses are reached by means of a ladder, which is often the notched trunk of a tree. The houses themselves are comfortable, substantially built, with good roofs. Men, women, and children, apparently, all live together in the same room, but there are partitions for the married people. The costume of both men and women is picturesque. Although perhaps not quite so showy as the Burmese, the costumes are very similar. The men's dress is a blue cotton jacket and a sort of kilt of checked cloth or silk, which looks like a plaid. The women's dress is the same, only that they wear a cloth tightly bound round the chest and tied under the arms, instead of a jacket. The Khámtis that I have seen looked strong and robust. They had faces of the usual Chinese type, with high cheek-bones, and small peculiarly shaped eyes, and with scanty beard. They did not appear as dark as the Ahoms, and they certainly looked cleaner and neater. The men wear their hair in a sort of top-knot, whereas the Ahoms wear it in a knob, shaped like a door-knocker, at the back of the head. The Khámtis suffer terribly from goitre, but this is not uncommon both in the plains as well as the hills. The Tairóngs, Aitanias, and Naras, who are the kinsmen of the Khámtis, are great

[1] Census of 1891.

opium-eaters, and are as well much addicted to liquor. They distil a fairly strong spirit from "gúr" (molasses), which they often try to sell without a license to the tea-garden coolies, and so get mulcted in fines under the Excise Law. The Khámtis of the Náraynpur colony in the North Lakhimpur subdivision are an interesting settlement. The late Mr. Stack described this colony at some length in the Assam Census Report of 1881. Mr. Stack says the Khámtis are nominally Buddhists, but the common people worship both Gautama, or "Kodoma" as they call him, and Debi or Durga. The Náraynpur colony is surrounded by Hindu villages, and I do not think that it can escape the subtle proselytising influence of Hinduism long. The Ahoms have almost entirely become Hindus now—only a few of the "Deodháis" (old Ahom priests) even remember the *name* of their ancient god "Chúng," which was said to have been a brass image which was worshipped with mystic rites. Whether this "Chúng" was "Gautama" or not it is now difficult to ascertain; but perhaps it was. The Ahoms have now entirely dropped their ancient faith as well as their language. The Khámtis keep Thursday holy as the birthday of Buddha, although they are not aware of the year of his birth. Their priests wear yellow robes, as do their Buddhist brethren in Burma. I noticed this also in the Tairóng and Nara villages I have seen. The holy books, as well as brass and stone images of Buddha, are kept in a prayer house (now called bápu[1] ghar), generally a little distance from the village. Women are not allowed to enter the "bápu ghar," but the priest at the Tairóng village I went to did not object to the male unbeliever, although my wife was told to stand outside the house. Sir W. Hunter says that the majority of the Khámti laity, as well as the priesthood, can read and write, and that the chiefs pride themselves upon their manual dexterity in working in metals and in ornamenting their shields of buffalo or rhinoceros hide with gold and lac.

[1] Assamese বাপূ (bapú)=priest.

The women also are said to be skilled in embroidery. Where did the Khámtis get all this civilization from? Was it from China?

I should now like to make a few remarks about the Tairóngs, Naras, and Aitanias, who, as I have already mentioned, we in Assam regard as the kinsmen of the Khámtis.

The Turúngs or Tairóngs have been generally regarded as Sháns. The Khámtis call the Sháns "Tailóng" (great Tais). Tailóng has probably become corrupted into Tairóng, and finally into Turúng. Some three or four villages of Tairóngs are to be found in the Sibsagar district. The Tairóngs themselves claim to be Sháns, and to be far above even the Khámtis, who, in their turn, look down on the Tairóngs (at least the Jorhát colony). Quite recently I came across a book in a Tairóng village, a page of which I sent to Mr. Gait, the Census Superintendent, thinking that it was Shán. Mr. Gait sent the page to Mr. Needham, at Sadiya, who declared it to be pure Khámti, both as regards idiom and character. These Tairóngs had another book, which appeared to be Burmese. Strange to say these Tairóngs themselves spoke Singpho, the explanation of this being as follows: The Tairóngs, who originally lived somewhere in the direction of the Upper Irrawaddy, started for Assam to join some Naras who had preceded them thither. Unfortunately for them they had to pass through the Singpho country (*vide* Mr. Cust's language map). As they passed through the country they were taken captives by the Singphos. They remained as captives for five years according to their own account, but probably for longer, as they quite forgot their own language and adopted the language of their captors. It is strange that even to this day the Tairóngs speak nothing but Singpho. After a time the Tairóngs were rescued by Captain de Neufville, and were brought by him in safety to Assam. The Tairóngs intermarry with the Naras, who are rather more numerous than the former. The Naras apparently speak Khámti or Shán, I am not certain which, but they understand Singpho. The Naras have some six or eight villages

altogether in the Sibsagar district. They are indistinguishable from the Tairóngs in appearance. Mr. Cust, writing about the Khámtis, says[1]: "The original name of the tribe appears to have been Nara, and to have had two subdivisions, '*Aikham*' or Khámti to the north, and '*Aiton*' to the south." If this be the case probably the Naras are Khámtis, and the Aitonias, of whom there are, I think, three villages in the Golaghat subdivision, are Khámtis also. There are also some Aiton villages, I believe, in Lakhimpur. With reference to Mr. Cust's remarks on "Aiton," p. 122, I agree, at present, in thinking that Aiton is not a separate language but a dialect of Khámti. I will, however, make enquiries about this when I return to Assam. There are some people in the Sibsagar district, inhabiting two villages, I think, called Dóanias. These people also, I think, are allied to the Khámtis, notwithstanding the idea that prevails that they are a relict of the Burmese invasion of Assam. The Assamese call them Dóanias from the word দোআনিয়া (*dóaniya*) meaning "interpreter." Possibly these people may have acted as interpreters for the Ahoms with the Burmese. It would be interesting to make enquiries about these people also. Possibly the Phakiáls of Jeypur, in Lakhimpur, who were in 1881 returned as Khámtis at the census, may prove to be Khámtis also; but this is more doubtful. Before leaving the subject it should be stated that Ahom and Khámti are connected. I have selected thirty-two words at haphazard from Hodgson's vocabularies for the purpose of comparison. Out of thirty-two, eighteen words are identical in Ahom and Khámti. In most of the remainder it will be observed that the only difference is the phonetic change or some prefix—for instance, the Ahom word *bán* (village) becomes *mán* in Khámti. The Lao and Siamese word for village is also *bán*, and the Khyeng is *nám*. Take the Ahom word, *laling*, for monkey. In Khámti the prefix *la* is dropped.

[1] "Modern Languages of the East Indies," p. 122.

In Shán the word is *lein*, and in Siamese *leun* or *ling*. The Ahom and Khámti numerals are almost identical, *e.g.*:

	Khámti.	Ahom.
1.	lüng	ling
2.	sång	sang
3.	sám	sam
4.	sí	si
5.	há	há
6.	hók	ruk
7.	chet or t'set	chet or t'sit
8.	pet	pet
9.	kau	kau
10.	sip lüng	sip.

The remarkable similarity between the five languages—Khámti, Shán, Ahom, Lao, and Siamese—will be seen from the accompanying table.

English.	Khámti.	Shán.	Ahom.	Laos.	Siamese.	Remarks.
Ant	mót	mot	nyuchu	mót puak	mót	
Bird	nók	h'nót	nuktú	nók	h'not nok	
Bone	núk	sot	tau	duk	katot kaduk	
Cat	miau	myoung	men	meau	may mean	(Annamitic) meo.
Crow	ká	ka	ká	ká	ka	
Dog	má	ma	má	má	ma	
Earth	languin	sen	din	din	tein-phendin	
Elephant	chang tsang	tsan	tyáng	tsang	htsaun chang	Chinese—(Canton) tseong (Shanghai) siang.
Father	pó	pau	po	po	lipau po	(Khyeng) pau.
Fire	fai	fai	fai	fai	thwa fai	Chinese—(Canton) fo.
Hand	pha mü	mi	kha	mü	mo mü	
Hog	mú	mú	mú	mú	mú	Chinese—(Canton) chü.
House	hün	hien	ren	heun	rau reuan	
Man	pá chai [1]	kon putrihn	kun	khon	hpuhtso khon	
Monkey	ling	lein	laling	wok ling	leun ling	
Tiger	sü	htso	sú	seu	tso sü	
Village	mán	maun	bán	ban	paun ban	(Khyeng) nám.
One	lüng	nein (noung ?)	ling	nung	nung nèm	(Mru) loung.
Two	sång	h'tsoung	sang	song	sang, tsoung, song	Chinese—san (Nankin), san (Pekin), sám (Canton), san Shanghai, san (Amoy).
Three [2]	sám	h'tsan	sam	sám	sám, tsan	
Four	sí	h'tse	si	sí	si tse	Chinese—sze or si.
Five	há	há ha	há	há	há hgná	Burmese—(spoken) nga.
Six	hók	hoht or hok	ruk	hok (hoht ?)	hok	
Seven	chet or t'set	t'sit	t'sit or chet	t'set	t'sit or chet	Chinese—(Canton) ts'at, (Amoy) ch'it.
Eight	pet	tet	pet	pet	pet tet	Chinese—(Canton) pat.
Nine [2]	kau	kaut	kau	kau	kau or kaut	Chinese—(Canton) kau.
Ten	sip lüng	t'seit	sip	sip	sip htseit	
Twenty	sau or sau lüng	htsoung	sau	sau nung	ye sip ya-t'sit	
Fifty	ha sip	ha-htsiet	há sip	há sip	há sip or hatsit	
Hundred	pák lüng	hpat	pak	hoi	roi and ráe nung	Chinese—(Canton) pák.
Cow	ngo	wo	hu	ngoa	ngwau, -woa, ngoa	Chinese—(Canton) ngau. Burmese—(written) nwa, (spoken) nwau.
Plantain	kóy kue	kwa	kui	kue	klue kalwai	Chinese—(Canton) tsŭi.

[1] Hunter gives kun khun.

[2] See Hunter, p. 21.

The question remains, what is the source from which these five languages and the language of South-western China is derived? Perhaps some of our Burmah officers or missionaries may be able to throw light on the subject.[1] The character is an adaptation of the Pali, which has been used in the formation of the characters of many other languages. Some of these are Burmese, Karen, Sinhalese, Pegu, and perhaps Telugu, Kanarese, and Tulu. It would be interesting to know how the Khámtis came to adopt the same character as the Sinhalese?

In conclusion I would call attention to the excellent grammar of the language published by Mr. Needham. It is well arranged for the object in view, *i.e.* to help frontier officers and others to learn Khámti.

[1] See Sir W. W. Hunter, "Non-Aryan Languages of India," etc., pp. 20, 21, on the influence of Chinese, in the formation of these languages.

ART. VIII.—*Mythological Studies in the Rigveda.* By A. A. MACDONELL, M.A.

II. *The mythological basis in the Rigveda of the Dwarf and Boar Incarnations of Viṣṇu.*

VIṢṆU, the supreme god of one of the two great divisions of the Hinduism of the present day, is already a leading deity in the Rigveda, though he plays a less prominent part there than Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, or Soma. His essential character as the Preserver in Hinduism is displayed in his Avatārs or incarnations, by means of which he appears on earth as the friend and helper of humanity in distress. "For the defence of the good and the suppression of the wicked," he is made to say in the Bhagavadgītā (IV. 7-8), "for the establishment of justice, I manifest myself from age to age." The Brāhmaṇas know nothing of the theory of Avatārs,[1] which are not mere transitory manifestations of the deity, but the real presence of the supreme god in mundane beings.[2] In the great Epics, however, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the theory is already fully recognised.[3]

The origin of this theory, though ultimately to be traced to the frequent identification of one god with another in the Rigveda, is more closely connected with the development of this idea in the Brāhmaṇas, in which the gods are identified with substances also, and Viṣṇu in particular is constantly identified with the sacrifice. Even in the Rig-

[1] See Barth, *Religions of India*, Engl. tr. p. 166.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 170.
[3] The belief in the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu had become an ordinary dogma of Hinduism by 1014 A.D. See Bhandarkar in *Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, vol. i. pp. 425-6.

veda itself there is one passage[1] where reference is made in the following words to a form of Viṣṇu different from his ordinary one: 'Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another form in battle.' The development of the theory of incarnations may also have been assisted by the survival in the Vedic religion of a primitive belief, universally prevalent in the savage stage, in the power of metamorphosis,[2] by which men, and consequently gods also, could change themselves or their neighbours into beasts.[3]

However, though the doctrine of the Avatārs is not to be found in the Veda, the enquiry as to how far the origin of any of these creations of later mythology can be traced in Vedic literature is both interesting and important.

Traces of the Hindu Viṣṇu's general character as the Preserver are already to be met with in the Rigveda. He is beneficent (I. 156, 5), is innocuous and bountiful (VIII. 25, 12), a protector (I. 22, 18; III. 55, 10), an innocuous and generous protector (I. 155, 4), a preserver of embryos (VII. 36, 9). He is said to have traversed the earthly regions for Manu or man in his distress (VI. 49, 13),[4] to have traversed this earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu (VII. 100, 4), to have traversed the earthly regions for wide-stepping existence (I. 155, 4), and with Indra to have taken vast strides as well as stretched out the worlds for our existence (VI. 69, 5. 6). In his footsteps all beings abide (I. 154, 2), and he sustains heaven and earth and all beings (*ibid.* 4).

As regards the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the sources of four of them are to be found in Vedic literature.

The earliest form of the myths of his tortoise and fish Avatārs occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, though in neither case is Viṣṇu there mentioned as connected with the tortoise or the fish.

[1] VII. 100, 6.
[2] Thus in RV. VII. 104, 18 demons are spoken of as flying about at night, having assumed the form of birds (*vayo ye bhūtvī*).
[3] Cp. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, vol. i. pp. 38 and 117.
[4] *Manave bādhitāya*, explained by Sāyaṇa as *asurair himsitāya*.

In the Purāṇas it is Viṣṇu who assumed the form of a tortoise, with the beneficent purpose of recovering objects of value lost in the deluge. With this view he placed himself in the form of a tortoise at the bottom of the ocean of milk as a pivot for a mountain to spin on, while the gods and Asuras were engaged in churning that ocean.[1]

Comparing this account with that of the Brāhmaṇa period, we find that in ŚB. VII. 5, 1, 5,[2] it is Prajāpati who before creating offspring assumes the form of a tortoise, and that in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, I. 23, 3, the fluid part of the creative Prajāpati becomes a tortoise moving among the waters.[3] Here it is not yet Viṣṇu, the supreme god of the later period, but Prajāpati, the chief of the pantheon of the Brāhmaṇas,[4] who assumes this form; and the purpose he has in view is the creation of the world, not the recovery of lost objects. That the creator should be supposed to have assumed the form of an amphibious animal like the tortoise[5] is natural owing to the notion in the Brāhmaṇas that the universe in the beginning was all water.[6]

The Matsya, Bhāgavata, and Agni Purāṇas describe how Manu, the ancestor of the human race, was preserved from destruction in the deluge by a fish, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, which by means of its horn drew his ship across the ocean to its resting-place. The tale told in the Mahābhārata is similar, but the fish is there an incarnation of Brahmā Prajāpati. The story in the ŚB. (I. 8, 1, 1) is essentially the same, except that it is simply a fish that delivers Manu from the deluge.[7] Nothing is said about it being an incarnation of any deity. But it is natural that both the

[1] Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 3, 16; see Muir, OST. vol. iv. p. 27.
[2] Cp. Muir, I. p. 54, and IV. p. 27.
[3] Cp. Muir, I. p. 32.
[4] Cp. Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 41.
[5] In the passage of the ŚB. just quoted, the tortoise is said to be called *kūrma*, because he made (*akarot*) what he created.
[6] *Āpo vā idam agre salilam āsīt*: TS. VII. i. 5, 1; TB. I. i. 3, 5.
[7] The myth of the deluge occurs in the Avesta also, and may be Indo-European: see Lindner, *Die iranische Flutsage*, in *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 213-6. The majority of scholars have, however, hitherto regarded this myth as derived from a Semitic source: cp. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 276, note 3.

tortoise and the fish should have become in the later period appropriated to Viṣṇu as the preserver of mankind.

The mythological germ of two other incarnations of Viṣṇu can be traced right back to the Rigveda; and it is moreover there closely connected with Viṣṇu as well.

Viṣṇu's Vāmana or Dwarf Incarnation.

The essential element of this myth is the three steps taken by Viṣṇu in order to preserve the world from the domination of the Asura or demon Bali.

The form of the legend as narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa[1] is in substance as follows: "Bali, son of Virocana, having conquered Indra, the chief of the gods, enjoyed the empire of the three worlds. Then Indra and the other gods begged Viṣṇu to assume the shape of a dwarf and ask a boon of Bali, who, when performing sacrifice, was willing to bestow on suppliants whatever they requested. Viṣṇu, accordingly appearing as a dwarf before Bali, asked for what he could cover with three of his own paces. On this being granted he assumed a miraculous form and occupied with the first step the whole earth, with the second the air, and with the third the sky. Then removing his enemy to the lower regions, he restored the empire of the three worlds to Indra."

The legend related in the Mahābhārata, where Viṣṇu likewise traverses earth, air, and sky with his three steps, as well as in the Purāṇas, is substantially the same.[2]

Working backwards we come to a similar tale in the ŚB.,[3] where Viṣṇu already figures as a dwarf. In substance it is briefly as follows: "The Asuras on overcoming the gods began dividing the earth. The gods, placing Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, at their head, came to them and said, 'Let us also have a share in the earth.' The Asuras replied that they would give the gods as much as this Viṣṇu could

[1] I. 32 ff; cp. Muir, IV. pp. 133-5.
[2] See Muir, IV. pp. 135-156.
[3] I. ii. 5; see Muir, IV. pp. 122-3; cp. also Eggeling's note in SBE. vol. xii. p. 59.

lie on. Now Viṣṇu was a dwarf.[1] The gods accepted the offer, thinking 'the Asuras have given us much indeed, as they have given what is equal in size to the sacrifice.' Thus by sacrificing with Viṣṇu they acquired the whole earth." No mention is here made of the three steps of Viṣṇu; but in ŚB. I. ix. 3, 9, Viṣṇu is said to have gained their all-pervading power for the gods by taking his three strides.

The following is a curious variation of the above story occurring in TS. VI. ii. 4: "This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, while the gods only had as much as a man can see while sitting. When the gods asked for a share in the earth, the Asuras said, 'How much shall we give you?' The gods replied, 'As much as this she-jackal can go round in three steps.' So Indra, assuming the form of a she-jackal, stepped round the earth in three strides. Thus the gods obtained the earth."[2]

Here we have the three steps, but it is Indra, not Viṣṇu, who takes them. This substitution is without doubt due to the intimate association of the two gods in the Rigveda. Thus in RV. VI. 69, where Indra and Viṣṇu are celebrated together as a dual divinity, it is said (v. 5) that they both took wide strides in the exhilaration of Soma.[3]

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VI. 15) it is related that Indra and Viṣṇu, engaged in a conflict with the Asuras, agreed with the latter that as much as Viṣṇu could stride over in three steps should belong to the two deities. Viṣṇu accordingly strode over these worlds, the Vedas, and speech. Here we have the three steps of Viṣṇu as well as his close association with Indra.

Coming finally to the RV., we find that Viṣṇu's main characteristic there is that he took three steps. This action is expressly referred to twelve or thirteen times in the RV.

As there is some division of opinion regarding the interpretation of these three steps, it seems worth while here to

[1] Cp. TS. II. i. 3, 1, where Viṣṇu in the conflict of the gods and Asuras, having seen a dwarf and having taken him for his own divinity, conquered the three worlds. Cp. also TB. I. vi. 1, 5.

[2] See Muir, IV. p. 40.

[3] *Indrāviṣṇū tát panayāyyaṃ vāṃ sómasya máda urú cakramāthe.*

examine the question with some attention. What, then, was originally intended by the three strides of Viṣṇu? The naturalistic interpretation generally favoured by European scholars[1] takes them to represent the rising, culminating, and setting of the sun.[2] This view was also held by the ancient Indian scholar Aurṇavābha (quoted by Yāska in Nirukta XII. 19), who thought that Viṣṇu's steps were planted 'on the hill where he rises (*samāroha*ṇa), on the meridian (*viṣṇupade*), and on the hill where he sets (*gaya-śirasi*).'[3] The alternative interpretation holds the three steps to represent the sun as he traverses in his diurnal course the three worlds of earth, air, and heaven,[4] the triple division of the universe familiar to Vedic cosmology.[5] This view was held by Śākapūṇi, another predecessor, who is quoted by Yāska in the same passage, and who thought that the three footsteps were placed 'on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' as terrestrial fire, as lightning, and as the sun respectively, according to Durga's comment. The commentator on VS. V. 15 (=RV. I. 22, 17) practically agrees with this view, describing Viṣṇu as Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya.[6]

This explanation also prevails throughout the younger Vedas[7] and the Brāhmaṇas[8]; and, as we have already seen, it is that of the Epics and the Purāṇas.

We have yet to examine the evidence of the RV. itself.

[1] For instance, Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns*, SBE. XXXII. p. 133; Kaegi, *Rigveda*, note 213 (Arrowsmith's translation); cp. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 228.

[2] Hardy, *Vedisch-Brahmanische Periode*, p. 33, thinks that Viṣṇu halts twice during the day, morning and evening, then assuming the functions of the moon(!) as his third step.

[3] A trace of this notion is to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 40, 57 (cp. Muir, IV. p. 440). As Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 228, observes, this view cannot be made to agree with several passages of the RV., nor can any at all definite connection with morning, noon, and night be found there. Oldenberg, who does not touch on the alternative view, is inclined to think that Viṣṇu is conceived as taking three strides merely owing to the favour shown to the number three in mythology.

[4] Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, II. p. 414, thinks that a satisfactory explanation can only be obtained from the conception of the three places of Agni, of which one is the sun.

[5] Cp. Roth, ZDMG. 1882, p. 68; Wallis, *Cosmology of the Rigveda*, p. 114.

[6] Cp. Nirukta, VII. 5.

[7] VS. II. 25, xii. 5, xxiii. 49; TS. I. vii. 5, 4; II. iv. 12, 2.

[8] S'B. I. ix. 3, 9; VI. vii. 4, 7.

Viṣṇu is more than a dozen times spoken of as 'wide-going' (*urugāya*) or 'wide-striding' (*urukrama*), and is ten times also stated to have taken[1] three steps,[2] or to have stepped[3] three times,[4] and his three steps are besides twice mentioned, without reference to striding. He is also once said to abide in three stations.[5]

Classifying these passages, we find it stated that Viṣṇu—

(1) Took three steps (I. 22, 18; VIII. 12, 27).

(2) Strode with three steps through this world (*idam*): I. 22, 17, or traversed with three steps this wide extended sphere (*sadhastham*): I. 154, 3.

(3) Traversed the earthly regions (*pārthivāni rajāṃsi*), and fixed the upper sphere (*uttaraṃ sadhastham*) while stepping thrice (I. 154, 1).

(4) Stepped widely over the earthly *scil.* regions (*pārthivāni*) with three strides (I. 155, 4); thrice traversed the earthly regions (*rajāṃsi pārthivāni*): VI. 49, 13.

(5) Thrice traversed this earth (*etām pṛthivīm*): VII. 100, 3. 4.

(6) Strode three (steps) (thither) where the gods rejoice (VIII. 29, 7).

All that we can gather from the above statements as to the locality of the steps is, that Viṣṇu traversed the earthly regions, the earth, or the world, which in (2) may be the same as the earth, but in (3) includes the upper region (=heaven). The last passage (6), however, gives some additional information as to the goal of Viṣṇu's steps. It occurs in a hymn describing in each of its verses a different deity, who is made recognisable by his most distinctive characteristics, his name never being mentioned. Now it is certainly not a salient characteristic of Viṣṇu that he strode thrice 'where the gods rejoice,' according to the usual translation.[6] But

[1] Generally a form of *vi-kram* (eight times).

[2] *Tríṇi padāni* (four times).

[3] Once 'stepped widely,' *uru kramiṣṭa*; twice 'traversed' (the earth), *vi-mame.*

[4] *Tríḥ* (twice), *tredhā* (twice), *tribhíḥ padebhíḥ* (once), *tribhír vigāmabhíḥ* (once).

[5] *Tríṣadhastha* (I. 156, 5), an epithet otherwise applied only to Agni and Soma.

[6] *Tríṇi éka urugāyó ví cakrame yátra devā́so mádanti.*

it may be said to be distinctive of Viṣṇu's highest step that it is the abode of the gods, of pious souls, and of Soma.[1] The place, moreover, where the gods rejoice is the height of heaven,[2] and in none of the above passages is Viṣṇu described as taking his three steps in heaven. *Yatra* must, therefore, here mean 'thither where,' as it does in several cases with verbs of motion,[3] and we must render 'Viṣṇu strode with his three steps to the place where the gods rejoice,' *i.e.* to the third station which is most characteristically his.[4]

Two other passages, in which there is no reference to striding, describe Viṣṇu's three steps and make it clearer what they mean. In I. 155, 5 (which immediately follows the verse stating that he strode through the earthly regions with his three strides) the poet says: 'Two steps of him the sunlike the busy mortal sees, but no one ventures to approach the third, not even the soaring winged birds'; and in VII. 99, 1 the god is addressed with the words: 'We know both thy regions of the earth (*rajasī pṛthivyāḥ*); thou, divine Viṣṇu, knowest the highest.' The comparison of these two passages makes it clear that the highest step is the third.

There are five other passages in which the highest step of Viṣṇu is mentioned. In V. 3, 3 we read that 'Agni guards the secret name of the cows[5] (with=) in the highest step of Viṣṇu'; while in X. 1, 3 Viṣṇu is said to know Agni's highest (place), and to guard (it) the third.

[1] See below, p. 173.

[2] See Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[3] See *yatra* in Grassmann's Lexicon.

[4] The place *whence* Viṣṇu strides is referred to in I. 22, 16: 'May the gods preserve us from the place whence Viṣṇu strode over the seven places of the earth' (*ato devā avantu no yato Viṣṇur vicakrame pṛthivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*; SV. *pṛthivyā adhi sānavi*, 'over the surface of the earth'). This would refer to the region of the dawns, where the pious dead are sometimes supposed to dwell (cp. X. 15, 7, 'seated in the lap of the dawns'). In V. 87, 4 the wide-striding god, it is said, strode from the great common abode, and issues from his own abode on the ridges (*adhi snubhiḥ*) when he has yoked his steeds.

[5] *I.e.* guards the clouds, the mystic name of which is 'cows'; cp. 'the many-horned swiftly-moving cows' in the mansions of Viṣṇu (I. 154, 6); see below, p. 174.

These two passages show that the highest step of Viṣṇu[1] is connected with the highest and third place of Agni,[2] which is the sun.

The verses I. 22, 20. 21 are more explicit: here Viṣṇu's highest step is likened to an eye (*i.e.* the sun)[3] fixed in heaven; and this highest step singers are said to light up (the sun being like a sacrificial fire in heaven). It is thus evident that the highest place of Viṣṇu is where the sun is in the meridian.

In I. 154, 5 the poet prays: 'May I attain to that dear abode (*pāthaḥ*)[4] of his, where pious men rejoice: in the highest step of the wide-striding Viṣṇu—for such a kinsman is he—there is a spring of honey.'

Here it is also clear that the highest step of Viṣṇu, his beloved resort,[5] where the pious dead abide,[6] and where the celestial Soma is concealed,[7] is in the highest heavens.

The next verse (I. 154, 6) goes on to say: 'We desire to go to those mansions of you two,[8] where[9] (are) the many-

[1] In III. 55, 10 it is said: 'Viṣṇu, the guardian (*gopāḥ*), protects the highest abode (*pāthaḥ*), maintaining the dear immortal dwellings'; cp. I. 154, 5, where pious men rejoice in the dear abode (*priyam pāthaḥ*) of Viṣṇu.

[2] Cp. I. 72, 2. 4.

[3] The sun is frequently called the eye of heaven, *e.g.* in I. 164, 14.

[4] Cf. III. 55, 10, quoted in note 1.

[5] *The* place of the sun in his strength would naturally be regarded as the meridian; hence the zenith is called *viṣṇupada*, *the* step of Viṣṇu (Nirukta, XII. 19).

[6] The highest heaven is their regular abode; cp. Oldenberg, p. 228.

[7] VI. 44, 23; cp. Oldenberg, p. 183.

[8] *Tā́ vām vā́stūni uśmasi gámadhyai.* Roth, Nirukta, *Erläuterungen*, p. 19 (quoted by Muir, IV. p. 74), thinks that the use of the dual here is a proof that verses have been inserted in wrong places and that the verse is addressed to Mitra-Varuṇa (the reading of this verse in VS. 6, 3 has a singular pronoun: *Tā te dhāmāni uśmasi*). But this seems an unnecessary assumption. Why should the dual *vām* not refer to Viṣṇu (to whom the words *urugāyásya vṛṣṇaḥ* obviously apply, as in v. 3 of the same hymn) and Indra, his frequent associate, as both are addressed in the next two verses (I. 155, 1. 2)? The verse is also closely related in sense to the preceding one, besides being in the middle of a group of three hymns (I. 154–6) specially devoted to the praise of Viṣṇu. Under these circumstances an indirect reference to Viṣṇu's friend Indra seems quite natural.

[9] Cp. *vícakrame yátra devā́so mádanti* (VIII. 29, 7) = we wish to go thither where is the third step of Viṣṇu.

horned, swiftly-moving cows.[1] Here that highest step of the wide-stepping bull[2] shines down greatly.'[3]

Other references to the distinctive abode of Viṣṇu are the statements that he dwells beyond this lower region,[4] that he is mountain-dwelling,[5] and that Indra drinks Soma with him or with Trita Āptya.[6] The latter trait would refer to the highest heavens, where the celestial Soma is supposed to abide.[6]

That the three steps are those of a sun-god, whose character has become obscured, is supported by the following traces. Besides being wide-stepping or wide-striding, Viṣṇu is also swift (*eṣa*) or swift-going (*eva-yāvan*). Coupled with this constant idea of motion is that of regularity. Thus, in taking his three steps he observes ordinances[7]; like other deities typical of regular recurrence, he is the ancient germ of order[8] (like Agni or Soma), an ordainer (*vedhas*),[9] who is both ancient (*pūrvya*) and recent[10] (*navyas*) like Agni, Sūrya, and Uṣas. Like another sun-god, Savitṛ,[11] he is said to have traversed the earthly regions.[12] The last verse of I. 155, which speaks of Viṣṇu as setting in motion, like a revolving wheel, his ninety steeds (=days) with their four names (=seasons),[13] seems to refer to the solar year of 360

[1] These cows are doubtless the same as those which Agni guards in the third step of Viṣṇu (see p. 172, note 5). The cows are the clouds, which are called many-horned (=many-peaked) to keep up the metaphor; note also the use of *vṛṣan* in the same verse.

[2] In v. 3 Viṣṇu is called 'the mountain-dwelling, wide-stepping bull.' The epithet *girikṣit* here probably refers to the conception of Viṣṇu's characteristic abode being in the highest heavens, whence he would look down from the tops of the cloud-mountains in the zenith. Cp. Oldenberg, p. 230, footnote. Viṣṇu is in TS. III. iv. 5, 1 spoken of as the lord of mountains (*parvatānām*).

[3] Cp. I. 22, 20 (quoted above), where the highest step of Viṣṇu is like an eye fixed in heaven. Both passages naturally refer to the sun in the meridian.

[4] *Asya rajasaḥ parāke*, VII. 100, 4.

[5] VIII. 12, 16.

[6] VI. 44, 23; cp. Oldenberg, p. 183.

[7] *Dharmāṇi dhārayan*, I. 22, 18.

[8] *Pūrvya ṛtasya garbhaḥ*, I. 156, 3.

[9] I. 156, 4.

[10] I. 156, 2.

[11] *Yaḥ pārthivāni vimame . . . rajāṃsi devaḥ savitā*, V. 81, 3. Oldenberg, p. 65, thinks Savitṛ is an abstraction of the notion of instigation (*des Antreibens*).

[12] I. 154, 1; VI. 49, 13. The same expression (*vi-mame*) is used of Varuṇa, 'who measured out the earth *with the sun*' (V. 85, 5).

[13] The four seasons of the later Rigvedic period; cp. Zimmer, AIL. p. 41.

days.[1] In AV. V. 26, 7 Viṣṇu is besought to bestow heat (*tapāṃsi*) on the sacrifice. In ŚB. XIV. i. 1, 10 Viṣṇu's head becomes the sun. Thus we infer from the traces preserved in the Vedas that Viṣṇu was originally a sun-god, that he was conceived as taking three steps because he traversed in his diurnal course the three divisions of the universe—earth, air, and heaven—and that his third and highest step was regarded as his distinctive abode.

The leading secondary characteristic of Viṣṇu is his close association with the warlike Indra. This association is probably partly owing to Viṣṇu, because he takes vast strides, being regarded as a deity of mighty energy, capable of tracking the drought demon to his remotest lurking-place, and partly due to his assuming as solar fire qualities, strictly speaking, peculiar to the god of Fire, Agni, in his lightning form.[2] It is doubtless from this latter aspect that Agni is so often joined with Indra in his conflicts against the demons, and is extolled with him as a dual divinity in more hymns than with any other god. So Viṣṇu also comes to be coupled with Indra both as a great Soma-drinker and as a conqueror of foes, a whole hymn (VI. 69) being dedicated to their joint praise in this character. Accordingly Viṣṇu is several times called Indra's intimate friend or comrade,[3] and is especially associated with him in the slaughter of Vṛtra[4]; both are said to have triumphed over the Dāsa, to have destroyed Śambara's ninety-nine castles, and to have conquered the hosts of Varcin.[5] Indra, about to slay Vṛtra, says: 'Friend Viṣṇu, stride more widely

[1] Cp. I. 164, 48: 'the twelve fellies, the one wheel, the three naves—who understands that? In it together are fixed, as it were, 360 moving and not moving spokes'; and v. 11 of the same hymn: 'the twelve-spoked wheel of eternal order rolls around the sky, and wears not out; in it stand, O Agni, 720 twin sons.' Cp. Zimmer, AIL. p. 368.

[2] Conversely the epithet distinctive of Viṣṇu, *urugāya*, seems to be applied to Agni in III. 6, 4; cp. Muir, IV. p. 77.

[3] *Sakhi*, *yujya*; I. 22, 19; I. 156, 4; IV. 18, 11; VIII. 89, 12.

[4] VI. 20, 2.

[5] VII. 99, 4. 5.

forth,'[1] and Viṣṇu is stated to have made his three strides for Viṣṇu,[2] or by his energy (*ojasā*).[3]

Summing up the main features of the myth of Viṣṇu's three steps in the Rigveda, we find that—

(1) Viṣṇu is associated with Indra in his fight with the demons, Vṛtra and others, who keep possession of the waters.

(2) Viṣṇu, by taking his three steps in conjunction with Indra, vanquishes these demons, the result being the release of the waters.

(3) Viṣṇu takes his strides for man (*manu*) in his distress, or to bestow the earth on him as a habitation.

The later Vedic literature preserves these essential features modified as follows :—

(1) Viṣṇu and Indra, or the gods in general, are in conflict with the demons or Asuras, who obtain possession of the earth.

(2) Viṣṇu, as a dwarf, by taking his strides overcomes the demons and obtains possession of the worlds.

(3) Viṣṇu takes his strides to regain possession of the earth for the gods.

For the sake of greater clearness it is worth while to point out the modifications which have been introduced in this second stage.

1. The object of the conflict with the demons is no longer the waters, but is the earth.

2. The gods are no longer uniformly victorious in this conflict, but have been vanquished by the demons. In order to recover their supremacy they are now compelled to have recourse to stratagem. That the Asuras may be induced to give up to them as much as could be covered by three strides, Indra is in one story very naturally made to assume the form of a small and cunning animal, while in the other Viṣṇu becomes a dwarf so as to remove all suspicion. The

[1] IV. 18, 11 = VIII. 89, 12.
[2] Vālakhilya, 4, 3.
[3] VIII. 12, 27.

introduction of the dwarf is thus a most natural development of the myth. The view of A. Kuhn[1] that the dwarf 'represents the sunlight which shrinks into dwarf's size in the evening,' seems therefore to be both fanciful and unnecessary.

3. Viṣṇu here takes his steps, not for the benefit of man but for that of the gods.

Comparing with the second stage of the myth, its latest development in the Epics and Purāṇas, we find that here—

(1) Indra has been conquered in his conflict with the demon Bali, who obtains the dominion of the three worlds.
(2) Viṣṇu, urged by Indra and the other gods, assumes the form of a dwarf, takes his three strides through the three worlds, and restores the dominion to Indra.
(3) Viṣṇu takes his three strides in order to restore the dominion of the three worlds to Indra.

The only modifications introduced in this latest stage as compared with that which precedes, are the following: Indra alone is now in conflict with an individual demon, and the dominion of the three worlds is now represented as belonging to Indra alone and not to the gods in general.

From the above comparisons it becomes clear that the three essential features of the myth in the Epics and Purāṇas, no less than in the Brāhmaṇas, are already contained in the Rigveda, *viz.*:—

(1) Viṣṇu is associated with Indra in conflict with demons.
(2) Viṣṇu overcomes the demons by taking three strides.
(3) Viṣṇu in so doing gains possession of the earth.[2]

[1] *Ueber Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung*, p. 128.

[2] Muir, vol. IV. p. 122, has pointed out that the story related in the S'B. I. ii. 5 (quoted above, p. 168), contains the germ of the story of Viṣṇu's Dwarf Incarnation. I have here endeavoured to show that the main elements of the myth are already to be found in the Rigveda.

Viṣṇu's Varāha or Boar Incarnation.

Beginning as before with the post-Vedic period, we will consider the Purānic accounts of this myth first.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, enumerating twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu, says I. 3, 7: 'With a view to the creation of this (universe), the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar.'

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I. 4, 1 ff.) relates the same myth to the following effect: 'The divine Brahmā, called Nārāyaṇa, lord of creatures (Prajāpati), discovering by inference that the earth lay within the waters, assumed another form. As he had formerly taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc., so now assuming the form of a boar (*vārāhaṃ vapuḥ*), he entered the water. Then tossing up the earth with his tusk, he raised it, and it rested on the waters without sinking because of its great expansion. Before he raised the earth, Pṛthivī recognised in him Viṣṇu, a form of the supreme Brahmā.'

The Rāmāyaṇa in the Bengal edition (II. 119, 3. 4), describing the origin of the world, says: 'All was water only, through which the world was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, the imperishable Viṣṇu. He, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world.' The Bombay edition in the corresponding passage reads: 'thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities,' thus making no mention of Viṣṇu.[1]

In the Linga Purāṇa, which is a Śaiva work, and has, therefore, no interest in magnifying Viṣṇu, it is simply Brahmā who is described as becoming a boar (I. 4, 59 ff.): 'In the night when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking and beholding the universe void, Brahmā resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar,

[1] Cp. Muir, IV. pp. 33–4.

this eternal (god), taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before.'

Turning to the later Vedic period, we find that the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (x. i. 8) speaks of the earth having been raised by a black boar with a hundred arms.[1] The boar is not here stated to be a form assumed by any deity, but the attribute *śatabāhu* seems to point to a miraculous or divine character.

In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (I. i. 3, 5 ff.),[2] it is Prajāpati who is described as having in the form of a boar raised the earth. "This (universe) was formerly water, fluid. With that (water) Prajāpati practised arduous devotion (*aśrāmyat*), saying, 'How shall this (universe) be (developed)?' He beheld a lotus-leaf standing. He thought, 'there is something on which this (lotus-leaf) rests.' He as a boar, having assumed (that) form, plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a piece of) it, he rose to the surface. He then extended it on the lotus-leaf. Inasmuch as he extended it, that is the extension of the extended one" (the earth).

The passage of the TS. (VII. i. 5, 1) which the foregoing quotation explains, relates the myth more concisely. 'This universe was formerly water, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved. He saw this (earth). Becoming a boar, he took it up. Becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped (the water from) it. It extended. It became the extended one (*pṛthivī*).'

The ŚB. (XIV. i. 2, 11) states that a boar raised the earth, but does not say anything about his having been a form of Prajāpati. 'Formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar called Emūṣa (*emūṣa iti*) raised it up.[3] Its (the earth's) lord Prajāpati therefore,' etc.

This same boar is again mentioned in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, as well as in the corresponding passage of the

[1] Cp. *Indische Studien*, I. p. 78.
[2] Cp. Muir, I. p. 53.
[3] Cp. S'B. III. 9, 4, 20.

Kāṭhaka, but in these two texts he does not appear in the cosmogonic character in which we have hitherto found him. In the Kāṭhaka his name is expressly stated to be Emūṣa,[1] while in the TS. he is described as stealing what is valuable (*vāma-moṣáḥ*).

The myth is related in the TS. (VI. ii. 4, 2–3) as follows: "The sacrifice, assuming the form of Viṣṇu, disappeared from among the gods. He entered the earth. Him the gods, joining hands, searched for. Him Indra passed over above. He (Viṣṇu) said, 'Who is this who has passed over me above?' (Indra answered), 'I am a slayer in a castle'; then (he asked), 'Who art thou?' (Viṣṇu replied), 'I am a carrier off from a castle.' He (Viṣṇu further) said, 'Thou hast said, a slayer in a castle; this boar, the plunderer of wealth (*vāma-moṣáḥ*), keeps the goods (*vittaṃ vedyam*) of the Asuras on the other side of the seven hills. Slay him if thou art a slayer in a castle.' He (Indra), plucking up a bunch of Kuśa grass and piercing through the seven hills, slew him. He (Indra then) said, 'Thou calledst thyself a carrier off from a castle; carry him off.'[2] He (Viṣṇu), the sacrifice, carried him off as a sacrifice for them.[3] Inasmuch as they obtained (*avindata*) these goods of the Asuras, this is one reason for the altar being called *vedi*."[4]

The same story, with slight variations, is quoted by Sāyaṇa, from the Caraka Brāhmaṇa,[5] in his comment on RV. VIII. 77, 10: "Viṣṇu is the sacrifice. He hid himself from the gods. The other gods did not find him, but Indra knew (his whereabouts). He said to Indra, 'Who art thou?' To him Indra replied, 'I am the destroyer of castles and Asuras; but who art thou?' He said, 'I am a carrier off from a castle; but if thou art the destroyer of castles and Asuras, then this boar, a plunderer of goods

[1] *Emūṣo nāmāyaṃ varāhaḥ.*
[2] *Tam āhara.*
[3] *Tam ebhyo yajña eva yajñam āharat.*
[4] Cp. Muir, IV. pp. 39–40.
[5] Probably a Brāhmaṇa of a lost *S'ākhā* of the Black Yajur Veda. Cp. Max Müller, ASL. p. 369.

(*vāma-muṣa*), dwells on the other side of twenty-one citadels of stone.[1] In him abides the valuable wealth (*vasu vāmam*) of the Asuras.[2] Him slay.' Indra, having broken through those citadels (*puraḥ*) of his, pierced his heart. And what was there, that Viṣṇu carried off." [3]

The important points in the myth related in the last three quotations are the following:—

(1) Indra as the slayer and Viṣṇu as the carrier off are closely associated.
(2) A boar called Emūṣa, the plunderer of wealth (*vāma-moṣá, vāma-muṣa*), guards this wealth on the other side of seven hills.
(3) Indra pierces the hills and slays the boar.
(4) Viṣṇu carries off the goods of the Asuras as a sacrifice for the gods.

Let us now turn to two mutually illustrative passages in the RV., which will prove to be closely connected with the preceding myth.

The seventh stanza of RV. I. 61, an Indra hymn, runs as follows:—

(1) *Asyéd u mātúḥ sávaneṣu sadyó*
maháḥ pitum papivā́ñ cā́ru ánnā
muṣāyád Viṣṇuḥ pacatā́m, sáhīyān
vidhyad varāhā́m tiró ádrim ástā.

'As soon as at the libations of his (Indra's) mother the great Viṣṇu had drunk the draught, he stole pleasant food (and) a cooked mess, while the mightier one (Indra) pierced the boar, shooting through the mountain.'

[1] *Ekaviṃśatyāḥ purām pāre 'śmamayīnām*, the identical words of the Kāṭhaka, except that *pāre* here comes last; cp. RV. IV. 30, 20: *śatam aśmamayīnām purām Indro vyāsyat*. Weber, in his edition of the TS. (*Indische Studien*, xi. p. 161), quotes the corresponding passage of the Kāṭhaka as far as the boar is concerned. The version there is: 'this boar, named Emūṣa, remains with all the valuable goods of the Asuras on the other side of twenty-one citadels of stone.'

[2] The Kāṭhaka has *yat kiṃ cāsurāṇām vāmaṃ vasu tena tiṣṭhati*.

[3] Cp. Muir, IV. pp. 92–3.

The second passage is the tenth stanza of VIII. 77, also an Indra hymn :—

(2) *Víśvét tấ Viṣṇur ábharad*
urukramás tuéṣitaḥ
śatám mahiṣān kṣīrapākám odanám,
varāham I'ndra emuṣám.

'All these things the wide-striding Viṣṇu, urged by thee (Indra), brought—a hundred buffaloes (and) a brew cooked with milk, while Indra (slew) the fierce boar.'

Before proceeding to consider these two passages in detail, it is important, for purposes of interpretation, to point out the parallelisms they contain :—

(1) *mahaḥ . . Viṣṇuḥ = Viṣṇur . . urukramaḥ ;* (2) *Asya* (*Indrasya*) *mātuḥ saraneṣu sadyo pitum papivān = tvā-iṣitaḥ ;* (3) *muṣāyat = ābharat ;* (4) *cāru annā, pacatam = śatam mahiṣān, kṣīrapākam odanam ;* (5) *sahīyān = Indraḥ ;* (6) *varāham = varāham emuṣam ;* (7) *tiro adrim astā, vidhyat* = the omitted verb which governs *varāham emuṣam.*

In (1) the word *mātúḥ* has puzzled most interpreters. Roth, Benfey, Sāyaṇa, Muir, Griffith assume for this passage a masc. word *mātṛ*, variously supposed to mean 'measurer,' 'maker,' 'carpenter,' and make it agree with *asya*. Ludwig even emends the word to *bhrātuḥ*. Both these assumptions are, however, quite unnecessary. The notion of his mother giving Soma to Indra occurs in other passages of the Rigveda. Thus in III. 48, 2. 3 we read : 'On the day when thou wast born, thou didst from love of it drink the mountain-grown juice of the Soma-plant. Of old, the youthful mother who bore thee satiated thee with it in the house of thy mighty father. Approaching his mother, he desired sustenance ; he beheld the sharp-flavoured Soma on her breast.' With this may be compared VII. 98, 3 : 'When born, thou didst drink the Soma-juice to (gain) strength ;

thy mother declared thy greatness';[1] and III. 32, 9. 10: 'As soon as born thou didst drink the Soma; as soon as born, O Indra, thou didst drink Soma for exhilaration in the highest heaven.' It is, therefore, not surprising to find allusion made to his mother's 'pressings' or libations of Soma, which Indra drinks to strengthen him for the fray with Vṛtra. The notion of Viṣṇu also having drunk a draught (*pītum papivān*) at these libations is quite in keeping with his association with Indra in the Vṛtra fight,[2] and in the drinking of Soma.[3] By *asya* Indra of course is meant, this being an Indra hymn, all the fifteen verses of which begin with *asmai* or *asya*, referring to Indra. I take *mahāḥ*, with Grassmann, as a nominative agreeing with *Viṣṇuḥ*[4] (not as a gen. of *mah* with *asya*), both owing to its position in the sentence and to its correspondence with *Viṣṇur urukramaḥ* in (2). The words *cāru annā* are taken by Grassmann and Ludwig as in apposition to *pītum*, while Muir, Griffith, and Sāyaṇa supply 'and' (the latter also *bhakṣitavān*, 'having eaten'). The parallelism of (2) has induced me to connect them with the next pāda[5] as the object of *muṣāyāt*, *cāru annā* corresponding to *śatam mahiṣān* and *pacatam* to *kṣīrapākam odanam*. Sāyaṇa, Wilson, Benfey, and Grassmann assume an adjectival meaning for *viṣṇu* in this passage, making it an epithet of Indra. But this assumption is sufficiently refuted by the occurrence of the distinctive attribute *urukramaḥ* with *Viṣṇuḥ* in (2), where Indra is also mentioned in contrast with Viṣṇu. The two stanzas under consideration are the only ones mentioning the name of Viṣṇu in the two Indra hymns in which they respectively occur. But there is nothing exceptional in this when these two deities are regarded as so closely associated. It would certainly be less exceptional than the single mention of Viṣṇu in the

[1] Indra's mother is also referred to six or seven times in RV. IV. 18; cp. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, II. pp. 51–54.
[2] RV. VI. 20, 2, etc. (see above, p. 175).
[3] VI. 69.
[4] In V. 87, 1 (=SV. i. 462) Viṣṇu is called great (*mahe Viṣṇave*).
[5] With regard to the sense overriding the *caesura*, see Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, II. 91, and *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 540.

whole of the Marut hymn, I. 85.[1] *Sahīyān*, in connection with what follows, alludes to Indra with sufficient distinctness. Viṣṇu is 'great,' but in the Vṛtra fight Indra is 'the mightier'; for the slaughter of Vṛtra is Indra's specific deed, while Viṣṇu figures only as his helper.[2] Here, just as in VI. 68, 3, where Indra and Varuṇa are praised as a dual divinity, the slaughter of Vṛtra is attributed to Indra alone. That the two gods were in this myth understood, by the writers of the TS. and TB. passages quoted above, to be performing different acts, is clear from the distinction made between Indra as 'the slayer in a castle' (*durge hantā*), and Viṣṇu as 'the carrier off from a castle' (*durgād āhartā*).[3] Again, the comparison of another verse of the RV. shows that it is Viṣṇu who steals the food=100 buffaloes in (2). Thus in VI. 17, 11 we read, 'Pūṣan Viṣṇu[4] cooked 100 buffaloes for thee, O Indra; three lakes ran Vṛtra-slaying exhilarating Soma-juice for him' (Indra).[5]

But what reason have we to suppose that the Vṛtra-fight is here alluded to? There is a general presumption that it is referred to in I. 61, 7, because both the preceding and the following stanza mention it. The sixth stanza speaks of Indra's bolt 'by which he found the vitals of Vṛtra';[6] and in the eighth stanza the wives of the gods sing the praises of Indra on the slaughter of the dragon (*ahihatye*). Moreover, the words of the fourth line in our seventh stanza can easily be shown to refer to the Vṛtra-fight. In X. 99, 6, where Indra is described as slaying the

[1] Cp. Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns*, SBE. vol. xxxii. p. 134.

[2] RV. VI. 20, 2; I. 156, 4. 5; I. 22, 19.

[3] Both Sāyaṇa and Ludwig, on the strength of the distinction made in TS. VI. ii. 4, 2. 3, understand *sahīyān* to mean Indra.

[4] The collocation Pūṣan Viṣṇu occurs also in RV. I. 90, 5; V. 46, 3; VI. 21, 9; VII. 44, 1; X. 66, 5. Cp. VII. 35, 9.

[5] *Páca cha'ám mahiṣā́n, Indra, túbhyam Pūṣā́ Víṣṇus, tríṇi sárāṃsi dhāvan vṛtrahaṇam madirám aṃśúm asmai.* In V. 29, 7 it is Agni, Indra's great ally, who performs a similar service: 'Agni for his friend cooked 300 buffaloes, and Indra for Vṛtra's slaughter drank three lakes of pressed Soma; and Indra, after eating the flesh of the 300 buffaloes and drinking the three lakes, slew the dragon.' Cp. also RV. X. 27, 2; 28, 3; 86, 14. Indra is thus a great eater as well as a great drinker.

[6] *Vájram . . vṛtrásya cid viddd yéna mármа.*

three-headed, six-eyed demon, the god Trita, strengthened by Indra's might, slays the boar [1] with iron-pointed shaft.[2] And in the 11th stanza of I. 121, an Indra hymn, there can be no mistake about the boar being Vṛtra: 'Thou, great (god), slewest with the bolt the boar Vṛtra, who kept guard over the streams.'[3] The words *tiró ádrim ástā*, 'shooting through or across the mountain,' is quite in keeping with the mythological language employed in describing the fight with the aerial demons. Thus Indra slays the dragon lying on the mountain,[4] or strikes Śambara down from the mountain,[5] while in another passage[6] we read: 'The mighty unmoved rock (*adrim*), which encompassed the cows,[7] thou didst force from its place, O Indra.' But the meaning of the passage is perhaps best brought out by the sixth stanza of VIII. 77, which occurs in the same hymn as (2): 'Indra shot forth from the mountains—he gained the ripe brew—his well-aimed arrow.'[8] The meaning of this verse Sāyaṇa explains thus: 'He struck the clouds in order to make water come out, producing ripe brew for men.' Here *pakvám odanám* is clearly the same as *kṣīrapākám odanám* in (2) and *pacatám* in (1).

[1] See my article on Trita, J.R.A.S., 1893, pp. 430–1.

[2] *Vipa varāhám áyoagrayā han.* Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, I. p. vii. note, would render 'with iron-pointed *prayer*,' but this is too far-fetched.

[3] *Tvám Vṛtrám āśáyānaṃ sirāsu mahó vájreṇa sisvapo varahum.* In X. 99, 6 (quoted above) the boar is clearly identical with the three-headed demon. Besides here and in I. 61, 7, VIII. 77, 10, *varāhá* occurs four times and *varā́hu* once in the RV. In X. 28, 4 it is used in the literal sense; in IX. 97, 7 Soma, rushing to the vats, is compared with a boar; lightnings, probably as tearing up the ground (cp. Zimmer, AIL. p. 86), are called boars in X. 67, 7 ('Brahmaṇas pati, with boars glowing with sweat, obtained the treasure'=the cows of Paṇi) and in I. 88, 5 (the golden-wheeled, iron-tusked boars rushing hither and thither on the path of the Maruts); and in I. 114, 5 the terrible god Rudra is called the 'ruddy boar of heaven' (*divó varāhám aruṣám*), perhaps lightning in its destructive aspect.

[4] *Parvate*, I. 32, 2.

[5] I. 30, 7; IV. 30, 14; VI. 26, 5; cp. Muir, V. p. 97.

[6] VI. 17, 5.

[7] *Pari gāḥ santam.*

[8] *Nír āvidhyad giríbhya á—dhāráyat pakvám odanám—Índro bundáṃ śúātatam.*

We have still to consider a few points in (2). This stanza occurs in an Indra hymn, which in general celebrates the might of Indra's weapons, and his vast powers of drinking Soma.[1]

'All these things' (*víśvā it tấ*) is explained in the third line to mean 'one hundred buffaloes and the brew of milk.' It is at the instigation of Indra that Viṣṇu brings the hundred buffaloes.[2] That they are the property of Vṛtra is indicated by *muṣāyát*[3] in (1). *Pacatám* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *paripakvam asurāṇām dhanam.* It probably alludes ultimately to the 'ripe' milk of the cows (=clouds) obstructed by Vṛtra. Milk itself is often spoken of as 'ripe,' and as having been placed in the 'raw' cows by Indra.[4] *Tvấ-iṣitaḥ*[5] is used because Indra in the previous stanza is addressed in the second person with *te.* Muir and Grassmann translate *I'ndraḥ* with 'O Indra,' and understand *varāhám* to be governed by *ābharat.* Ludwig and Griffith, supplying *ābharat* from the first line, take the meaning to be, 'Indra brought a boar.' The comparison of the fourth line in (1) shows that Sāyaṇa is right in supplying some such verb as *avidhyat*, 'pierced,' or *hanti*, 'slays.' The *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον emuṣám* has with great plausibility been explained by Roth (with whom Grassmann and Ludwig agree) as the perfect participle with weak base (and its accent) in place of *em-i-vāṃsam*,[6] from the root *am*,

[1] Thus in v. 3 he is described as having drunk thirty lakes of Soma at a single draught.

[2] Cp. I. 156, 4, where Viṣṇu, accompanied by his friend (*i.e.* Indra), opens the stable (of the cows).

[3] The same root is used in RV. III. 48, 4, where Indra is said, after overcoming Tvaṣṭṛ and appropriating (*ā-muṣya*) his Soma, to have drunk it. This seems to indicate that Tvaṣṭṛ withheld the Soma from Indra (who, as Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, III. 58, shows, was his son), and thus incurred the latter's hostility. Cp. *Vedische Studien*, II. p. 51.

[4] *E.g.* in I. 62, 9.

[5] Cp. Vāl. 4, 3, where Viṣṇu is said to have taken his three strides for Indra, and VIII. 12, 27, where he is said to have taken them by the energy (*ojasā*) of Indra.

[6] Sāyaṇa's explanation is that, by a Vedic substitution of *e* for *ā*, *emuṣam* stands for *āmuṣam* = *udakasya moṣakam* (*āmuṣam* presumably therefore = *ām-muṣam* for *āp-muṣam*). In the TS. passage, quoted above, the boar is spoken of as a *vāma-moṣá*, and in the TB. as *vāma-muṣa*. These epithets suggest that *emuṣam* was understood to contain the root *muṣ*, 'to steal.' The Kāṭhaka and the S'B. have, as we have seen, the corrupt form *emūṣa*.

'to be destructive,' with the contraction of the root, otherwise found only in the case of medial *a* (as in *ten-* from √*tan*). This explanation is supported by a few other accusatives, which show the weak base instead of the strong: *cakrúṣam* (RV. I. 137, 1; AV. IV. 13, 1) and *proṣúṣam* (ŚB. XII. v. 2, 8).

Sāyaṇa explains the general meaning of (2)[1] to be: 'After Indra had slain the boar, Viṣṇu, requested by Indra to bring his (the Asura Varāha's) property (*vāmaṃ vasu*), plundered it.'

After making the foregoing comments, we can now state the combined purport of our two stanzas thus:—'Viṣṇu, having drunk Soma, and, urged by Indra, carried off the property of the boar (=the demon of drought), *i.e.* cattle and milk (=clouds and rain), while Indra himself, shooting across the (aerial) mountain, slew the boar.'

This myth, if analyzed, yields the following essential elements:—

(1) Indra and Viṣṇu are closely associated, the former as slayer, the latter as carrier off of spoil.
(2) A boar, with the epithet *emuṣa*, is on the other side of a mountain with his property.
(3) Indra shoots across the mountain and slays the boar.
(4) Viṣṇu carries off the property of the boar.

The traits of the myth as related in the TS. and the TB. are practically identical with these. The only modification introduced is that Viṣṇu, as the sacrifice, carries off everything belonging to the Asuras, including the boar, as a sacrifice for the gods. Thus, Viṣṇu as the sacrifice, bringing the boar as a sacrifice, here already becomes mystically identified with the boar. In this connection it is of importance to observe that this story in TS. VI. ii. 4, 2, is immediately followed by that in which Indra assumes

[1] This stanza is commented on in Nirukta, V. 4, where the etymology of *varāha* (=*megha*) is given as *vara-āhāra*, 'bringing boons.'

the form of a she-jackal, in order to take three strides, and thus gain the earth from the Asuras.

In a subsequent passage of the TS. (VII. i. 5, 1), the boar also appears, as we have seen, in a cosmogonic character, as a form, not of Viṣṇu, but of the supreme being Prajāpati (as in the tortoise myth above), when the latter desires to raise the submerged earth.

Further, the boar which raised the earth is in ŚB. XIV. i. 2, 11 named Emūṣa, and in TA. X. i. 8 it is said to be black, and to have a hundred arms; though in neither of these two passages is it described as being the form of a god.

In the Rāmāyaṇa it is Brahmā or Viṣṇu who assumes the form of a boar, while in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas it is of course only Viṣṇu.

In this myth therefore we find Viṣṇu and the boar connected from the beginning, but they are at first quite distinct. It is, however, only after the destructive (*emuṣa*) boar, the baleful Vṛtra, slain by Indra in association with Viṣṇu, had developed into the cosmogonic boar, Emūṣa, that it became capable of further developing into one of the recognised incarnations of the Preserver Viṣṇu.

Thus we see that when the doctrine of the Avatārs of Viṣṇu became established in Hinduism through the fusion with him of the popular deity Kṛṣṇa,[1] four mythological conceptions derived from the Veda were ready to be appropriated as incarnations of Viṣṇu in his character of Preserver and Benefactor of the world.

It is quite possible that primitive beliefs, excluded from the more refined sacerdotal poetry of the Rigveda, but surviving in popular Aryan tradition, or borrowed by the latter from the aborigines, may have helped to vitalize some of the animal myths connected with Viṣṇu. Thus a widely diffused feature of savage cosmogonies is a belief in the creation of the world, or in the recovery of a submerged earth, by animals, such as the coyote, the raven, and the

[1] Cp. Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 166.

dove.[1] However this may be, it seems clear from the above investigation that the origin and development of the Dwarf and Boar myths connected with Viṣṇu are to be found within the compass of the literature of the Veda itself.

[1] Cp. Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, vol. i. pp. 238-9.

THE TENTH
INTERNATIONAL ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

GENEVA, 1894.

The Congress began with an informal meeting at the Hotel National on the evening of the 3rd September, and although the weather was bad a large company assembled.

On the following morning the formal opening meeting was held in the Great Hall of the University, which was well filled with the delegates of Governments, Universities, and other learned bodies, other members of the Congress, and some of the citizens of Geneva. Colonel Frey, the President of the Swiss Confederation, officially opened the Congress and welcomed the Members, after which States-Councillor Richard bade the Congressists a very hearty welcome on behalf of the State and city of Geneva.

M. Naville, President of the Congress, then gave an opening address, in which he thanked the Honorary Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and all who by sympathy and gifts had contributed to the promotion of the Congress. He claimed as a right that the Swiss nation should be reckoned among the great powers of Europe in the scientific world, and gave a rapid survey of the progress of Oriental studies in Geneva.

After the President's speech, representatives of various countries addressed the meeting—Prof. M. Maspero for France, Lord Reay for England, Prof. Windisch for Germany, Count A. de Gubernatis for Italy, and Ahmed

Zeki for Egypt. Telegrams were also announced from the King of Sweden, Archduke Rainer of Austria, and others, expressing congratulations.

On the proposal of Lord Reay a Committee was appointed to consider the request of the Royal Asiatic Society that the Congress should formulate a uniform and international system of transliteration of Oriental Alphabets.

M. Bénédite asked the Congress to protest against the destruction of the monuments at Philœ, and a Committee was formed to discuss this subject.

M. Richard thanked the speakers for their expressions of good will to the State and city of Geneva, after which the meeting closed.

The Sections were then constituted, and their meetings began the same afternoon.

Section I. (1) India.

President—Lord Reay; *Vice-Presidents*—Prof. A. Weber, of Berlin, and Hofrath Prof. G. Bühler, of Vienna; *Secretaries*—M. L. Finot, of Paris, M. G. de Blonay, of Grandson, and Prof. A. Williams Jackson, of New York.

Section I. (2) Aryan.

President—Prof. G. Ascoli, of Rome; *Vice-Presidents*—Prof. M. Bréal, of Paris, and Prof. J. Schmidt, of Berlin; *Secretaries*—M. L. Duvan, of Paris, and Prof. J. Wackernagel, of Basle.

Section II. Semitic.

President—Prof. E. Kautzsch, of Halle; *Vice-Presidents*—Prof. J. Oppert, of Paris, Prof. C. Tiele, of Leyden, and Prof. H. Almkvist, of Upsala; *Secretaries*—Prof. A. Bevan, of Cambridge, and Prof. K. Marti, of Basle.

Section III. Mahometan.

President—M. C. Schefer, of Paris; *Secretaries*—Prof. J. Spiro, of Lausanne, and Prof. R. Gottheil, of New York.

SECTION IV. EGYPT AND AFRICA.

President—Prof. M. Maspero, of Paris; *Vice-Presidents*—Prof. P. le Page Renouf, of London, and Prof. J. Lieblein, of Christiania; *Secretaries*—Dr. J. Hesse, of Fribourg, and M. G. Jequier, of Neuchatel.

SECTION V. FAR EAST.

President—Prof. G. Schlegel, of Leyden; *Vice-Presidents*—Prof. H. Cordier, of Paris, and Prof. C. Valenziani, of Rome; *Secretaries*—Prof. W. Grube, of Berlin, and Prof. E. Chavannes, of Paris.

SECTION VI. GREECE AND THE EAST.

President—Prof. A. Merriam, of New York; *Vice-Presidents*—M. J. Perrot, of Paris, and M. Bikélas; *Secretary*—M. de Crue.

SECTION VII. GEOGRAPHY AND EASTERN ETHNOGRAPHY.

President—Prof. A. Vambéry, of Buda Pesth; *Vice-Presidents* — Prince Roland Bonaparte and M. A. de Claparède; *Secretary*—M. E. Welter Crot; *Vice-Secretary*—M. M. Holban, of Geneva.

The following were some of the more important subjects brought under the consideration of the several Sections:—

Section I. M. Senart presented a facsimile of inscriptions found near Peshawar by Major Dean, several of which were in a character hitherto unknown. Prof. Oldenburg, a paper on "A New Representation of Vedic Religion." Dr. M. Schroeder, "On the Kathaka." Prof. A. Williams Jackson, "On the Doctrine of Eschatology, as set forth in the Avesta and Pahlavi Writings," proving by a passage in the Satapatha Brāhmana that this religious conception was the same among the Indian as among the Iranian Races. Prof. Leumann, On Avaçyaka Literature and on a facsimile of a MS. which he is about to publish. Prof. Bendall, "On some Inscriptions, recently found in Behar by Surgeon-Major Waddell,"

in Pali, written in a peculiar variety of Indian character, and Exhibition of an Illustrated Burmese MS. forwarded by Mr. H. Baynes. Count de Gubernatis, "On the Indian Origin of the representation of the Lucifer of Dante." Mr. M. Bhownaggree presented communications on Zoroastrianism, by T. W. Umvala, on the Indian Schools of Philosophy, by J. J. Kama, on Sufism by Shaik Mahomet Isfahan, and on the Persian Desatir by S. D. Barucha. He also presented a volume of Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions, published under the auspices of the Maharaja of Bhaunagar." Dr. Burgess read a paper on "Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets."

On the proposal of Dr. Grierson a resolution was passed by the Section thanking the Directors of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for their work in preparing casts of the Asoka Inscriptions, and requesting the Governments of India and of dependent States to adopt measures for the better preservation of the Inscriptions.

Mr. Bhownaggree asked, in the name of Mr. Kama, that the Section should take into consideration the methods of examination employed in the Bombay University with regard to the Zend language. A Sub-Committee was formed to consider the question; and on the report submitted by it to the Section it was resolved that it would not be wise to interfere, but that an expression of hope be made that the study of Zend would not be overlooked, and that a practical way of teaching it in connection with the University curriculum would be found.

Section Ia. Prof. J. Schmidt, "On the letters *r*, *l*, *m*, and *n* in Indo-Germanic Languages." Prof. J. Wackernagel spoke on the importance of Sanskrit in the Study of Modern Languages. Prof. Ascoli, "Phonological Observations Concerning the Celtic and Neo-Latin Languages." Dr. F. de Saussure, "On the Phonetic Law Explaining the Accentuation of Lithuanian Languages." Prof. Ascoli presented a work by Prof. Giacomini, of Milan, on the "Relations between the Basque and Egyptian Languages."

Section II. Dr. Bullinger presented a copy of the Hebrew

Bible, edited by Dr. Ginsburg for the Trinitarian Bible Society. Mrs. A. Lewis made some observations on the Syriac MSS. examined by her at Mount Sinai, and exhibited copies of photographs made by her of some of them. M. Halevy, "On Some Hittite Inscriptions," and "Remarks on the Science of Modern Higher Criticism of the Scriptures." Prof. Haupt made observations on "The Origin of the Pentateuch," and presented his edition of "The Sacred Works of the Old Testament." He also presented various Oriental Studies from the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and the Oriental Club of Philadelphia. Prof. F. Hommel, "On some Sabæan Inscriptions brought from South Arabia by Dr. E. Glaser." Prof. J. Oppert, "On Some Cuneiform Inscriptions from Armenia." Dr. R. N. Cust, "On the Ancient Religions of the World before the Christian Era."

Section III. Prof. Goldziher, "On the Primitive History of Arabic Poetry, and on the importance of an Encyclopædia of Arabic and Muhammadan Philology." Prof. Seybold, "On the Arabic Dialect spoken in Granada in the 15th Century." M. Cardahi, "On the Syriac and Maronite Writers."

Section IV. M. J. de Morgan, "Report of the Work of the French-Egyptian Exploration Fund, and on the question of the protection of the Monuments of the Island of Philœ." Prof. E. Schiaparelli, "On Geographical Names mentioned in certain Nubian Inscriptions." Prof. A. Eisenlohr, "On Egyptian Chronology and Astronomical Dates." Prof. Krall, "On a New Demotic Romance, from the Collection of the Archduke Rainer." Prof. Piehl, "On Hieroglyphic Lexicography." Mr. Le Page Renouf, "On a Hieroglyphic Character hitherto misunderstood." Prof. Wiedemann, "On the Game of Draughts among the Egyptians." M. V. Loret, "On Lettuce amongst the Ancient Egyptians."

Section V. M. H. Chevalier, "Remarks on the Ceremonies performed on the 15th day of the month in Korea, and on a Japanese Legend of Taketori." Prof. Chavannes, "On an Inscription in Six Languages, found at Kiu-Yong-

Koan." Dr. W. Radloff, on his "Travels and Epigraphical Researches in Mongolia in 1891." Prof. G. Schlegel, "On the Social Position of Women in China." Dr. A. Gramatzki, "On the Modes of Transliterating Japanese." Prof. Valenziani, "Notes in the Nippon Nyak'kets'den."

Section VI. M. F. Reinach, "On a Forgotten Tribe, the Matiènes, who are mentioned by Strabo and Eratosthenes as dwelling on the banks of the Caspian." M. G. Perrot, "On Burial and Cremation in the Homeric Epoch." Mr. G. Nicole, "On some Greek Papyri found at El Fayoum, now in the Geneva Collection."

Section VII. Prof. H. Cordier, an Obituary Notice by Mr. E. Mannoir of the Life and Works of Dutreuil de Rhins, a French explorer, who was assassinated in Tibet. M. L. Beuloew, "On the Nationality of the Trojans, and on the Language and Origin of the Caucasian Tribes." M. A. Chachenow, "On Foreign Influences on Georgian Civilization." Chev. Harrowitz, "On the Musalmans of Bosnia."

A cordial and brilliant hospitality was extended to the Members of the Congress by the State and the city of Geneva and their inhabitants. A large company assembled at the Palais Eynard on Tuesday evening, the 4th, at the invitation of the Council of the State, and were entertained with excellent music, illuminations, and refreshments. On Thursday, the 6th, a tour of the Lake with luncheon at Bouveret had been arranged, but the weather being bad in the morning, the luncheon was given in the Palais Eynard, and the trip on the Lake postponed until the afternoon, and then shortened to a tour round the western part of the Lake as far as Evian. On the evening of Tuesday, the 11th, a dinner was given by the city authorities to the Delegates and Representatives of Societies and Governments in the 'foyer' of the Theatre, after which the guests passed through the prettily illuminated grounds of the Promenade des Bastions to the Palais Eynard, where the rest of the Members of the Congress and a considerable company were assembled. The Count de Gubernatis here

made a brilliant speech in praise of the city of Geneva
and of the lady visitors. The President and Madame Naville
received the Members of the Congress at their house at
Malagny on the 5th; the Mesdames Van Berchem, at
Crans, on the 8th; and Monsieur and Madame Agénor
Boissier, at Chougny, on the 11th. Special trains were
furnished to convey the guests, and entertainment, music,
and refreshments were provided in hospitable profusion.
Unfortunately the weather was bad on two of the days
and prevented the full enjoyment of the beautiful gardens
and views at these charming chateaux. Several other
ladies and gentlemen entertained parties of the members
at their houses on other evenings.

The closing meeting was held in the Great Hall on the
morning of Wednesday, the 12th, under the presidency
of M. Naville. Prof. Maspero announced to the members
the death of the great Egyptologist, H. Brugseh Pacha,
which was received with deep regret by all.

The Committee on Transliteration presented their report.
The system they propose will be published with the Pro-
ceedings of the Congress, and be recommended for adoption
by all Orientalists.

The Committee appointed to consider the question of the
preservation of the monuments of Philœ presented their
report, upon which it was resolved that "The tenth Congress
of Orientalists consider that they are fulfilling a duty in
requesting the Government of His Highness the Khedive
to protect the edifices and monuments on the Island of
Philœ."

The following resolutions, passed by some of the Sections,
were also read and adopted:—

"That the Trustees of the Indian Museum at Calcutta,
and the Government of India, be thanked in the name of the
Congress for the efforts they are making for the preparation
of casts of the Asoka Inscriptions. And that through the
Government of India the Native States be urged in the name
of the Congress to protect the Inscriptions."

"That the Congress recognizes the great importance to

Philology of the 'Orientalischer Bibliographie,' instituted by the late Dr. Aug. Müller."

"That it is desirable the Japanese should modify their written character so that the language might be more easily acquired."

"That the Congress hope the study of the Zend language will not be overlooked by the University of Bombay, and that a practical way of teaching it will be found."

Section VI. Greece and the East expressed their thanks to the Congress for the place assigned to it among the Sections.

Prof. Goldziher called attention to the proposition adopted at the Ninth Congress on the subject of the compilation of an Oriental Encyclopædia. Section III. had appointed Prof. Goldziher President of that Committee in the place of the late Prof. Robertson Smith.

The President then announced the decision of the Committee of Organization that the next Congress be held at Paris in 1897.

Prof. A. Martin, rector of the University, made a farewell speech on behalf of the Committee of the Congress, which was followed by one from the President concluding the proceedings.

Prof. J. Karabacek, of Austria, Kiamil Bey, of Turkey, Prof. Tiele, of Holland, and Prof. Joy, of America, then spoke, proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the President, which was carried by acclamation. The President replied in a few words, and then pronounced the Congress closed.

M. E. V. C.

INSCRIPTION ON GOLD BAND FOUND WITH THE RELICS IN THE STUPA AT RANGOON 1855.

(see p. 302, Vol. xvii.)

CORRESPO

1. Relics F

Sir,—At pp. 298–308 *Journal*, for 1860, there were taken out of a ten when the site was being Rangoon in the year 185

They consisted of—

1. A large gold pagoda
2. A smaller one.
3. Parts of one that was
4. A gold helmet or ca
5. A gold tassel.
6. A gold bowl, with cremated bones.
7. A small gold cup.
8. A gold leaf scroll, o
9. A gold waist belt.

Most of these articles, w now exhibited in a case copy of the inscription at the South Kensington itself is not to be found was translated at the ti is curious to note that Rangoon by, or under t in any way a translation Fausböll.

begins thus: "In the year 846
nd I built a pagoda," etc., etc.
emarks: "Neither the name of
in the inscription. A reference
hat in 846 Pinya Kyaula was
rfectly true that there is no
n, but neither is there a date:
it at B.C. 846?
ry, I find that Dhammaceti
I can find no such king as
nscription terms the King
and "Sabbarájindo sattu-
he is Kupati, the son of
ausböll thought, might
l), but Professor Rhys
oper name.
pati or Setebhissara in
een titles of some of the
lly used. If it were not
spelling on the scroll, I
issara was a mistake for
lephant." This title was
gned from A.D. 1348 to
n Binya Nwè, commonly
According to Phayre
of Dagun, now Rangoon,
Western foreigners." . . .
with Burma, and after
nemy, devoted his latter

bhissara is the Peguan
uivalent to the Burmese
ausböll thought it might
ut I cannot connect this

s belonged to Alompra
The relics were not
s of the famous temple

at Rangoon," but on a hill about a quarter of a mile distant from it.

The workmanship of the belt is, I think, far superior to anything in the Burmese regalia, and the helmet or cap of State most remarkable and unlike anything that is Burmese. It is shaped like a large snail shell or turban with a kind of loop behind, and a hole in front into which I would insert the tassel of flowers.

As regards the character in which the scroll is written, Professor Fausböll remarked: "It cannot be old, because the characters do not differ much from those now in use among the Burmese." With all due deference to so high an authority, I see essential differences, especially in the form of R, which in modern Burmese is ရ, but in this inscription ऽ, almost identical with the Kambodian ऽ. From the Po-u-daung inscription, given in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1893, by Taw Sein Ko, it appears that there was an old Burmese form, δ, somewhat similar; but it is not clear that this form was generally used in Burma, and may have been used on this occasion by a Peguan mason. I notice that the general character of the letters is nearer the Kambodian as given by Frankfurter than it is to Burmese.

The term "Sattumátangakesarí," if correctly translated, would apply quite as well to Rájádirit as to Alompra—perhaps better.

I think the matter is well worthy of investigation, and hope some of our members in Burma will make further enquiries.—Yours faithfully,

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

July 27th, 1894.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. Sanskrit MSS. in China.

Sir,—On reading Professor Kielhorn's interesting letter on "Sanskrit Manuscripts in China," I remembered what I meant to do when I saw it first in the *Academy* of June 16th, 1894, namely, to say that many years ago Prof. Wilson showed me in the Library of the old East India House the MS. of the Kâlachakra, which he had received from China. My impression is that it was not a copy, but an original, kept in a small wooden case; but of that I am not quite certain. Anyhow, whether original or copy, the MS. must exist in the Library of the India Office, and might prove useful for comparison with the MS. photographed by Dr. A. O. Franke in the Buddhist monastery in the mountains of T'ien-t'ai-shan.

Oxford, 18th Oct. 1894. F. Max Müller.

3. An Indo-Eranian Parallel.

Sir,—It is only since my return from vacation that I have been able to read through the July number of the *Journal*, and in so doing I have been struck by a passage on p. 559, in Prof. Macdonell's letter upon the Bṛhaddevatā, wherein he corrects his former translation of three verses into the following:—

"Then Agni, well-pleased, rejoicing, honoured by all the gods, shaking *off* his members, unweariedly performed the office of Hotr at sacrifices, accompanied by his brethren, rejoicing, the divine-souled oblation-bearer. His bone (was=) became the Devadāru tree, (his) fat and flesh (became) bdellium, (his) sinew (became) the fragrant tejana grass, (his) semen (became) silver and gold, the hair of (his) body (became) kāça grass, the hair of (his) head (became) kuça grass, and (his) nails (became) tortoises, (his) entrails (became) the avakā plant, (his) marrow (became) sand and gravel, (his) blood and bile (became) various minerals, such as red chalk."

The characteristic idea of this curious passage is the production of vegetable and mineral substances (with the one odd exception of "tortoises"), from the various portions of a human frame.

This strange idea has its echo in Eranian tradition. In this we find two primeval beings, a man (Avestic, Gaya-maretan, Pehlevi, Gâyômart) and an ox. These were both eventually slain by Aharman (Ahriman), the Evil principle, and out of their bodies were produced the other creatures of the animal, vegetable, and mineral worlds. Thus, from the limbs of the primeval man, Gâyômart, were produced the seven metals, viz. silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quick-silver, and adamant; *but gold*, on account of its excellence, *from his life and semen* (Zâd Sparam, x. 2). And from the body of the primeval ox were produced various vegetables: from the marrow, divers species of grain and medicinal plants; from the horns, peas; from the nose, the leek; from the lungs, rue; from the middle of the heart, thyme; from the blood, the vine, from which wine is made (*Bûn-dehesh*, xiv. 1, 2).

The differences in the two accounts is striking enough—indeed the solitary agreement seems to be in the derivation of gold from animal semen—but the similarity of the general underlying idea appears to me still more remarkable. For this reason I venture to call attention to it in your columns.—Yours, etc.,

L. C. Casartelli.

St. Bede's College, Manchester,
Oct. 16th, 1894.

4. "Bud, Bad-ā-r, and Madra" (see Parts July and October, 1894, of the *Journal*).

Dear Sir,—I intended the following paper as an explanation of the important subject of the *Bud*, *Budr*, and *Mādra*, regarding which correspondence was invited in the July number of our *Journal*. I send the paper

now as one likely to prove of some general interest, for the subject is large, ancient, and widely ramified, and its *real basis* is not touched upon in the replies given in the current October issue, though Mr. Beames hints at this when he says: "These *tutelary spirits* . . . of non-Aryan aborigines have survived . . . Hinduism and . . . Islām . . . The numerous Pīrs or Saints *whom Hindu and Musulman alike reverence are in all probability only the animistic spirits transformed*" (italics mine). No doubt: therefore we may rest assured that the *Bad*, *Badr*, or *Budr* of the dangerous reef covering the Akyāb harbour, and the *Madr* of the Mergui coast, is the real "old animistic" spirit or god whom we have to trace to his home in many lands; and that he never was "a resident of Chitagong in 1440 called *Bad-ruddīn*!" as suggested by Dr. Wise in the extract Mr. Beveridge gives, p. 841. Most holy men claimed or were called after divinities, as a Jerem-*iah*, Jer-*iah*, or Jer*ial*, after Jahvê; or a Nicholus after *Nik*, *Nik-or*, Nykr, Niklaus, etc.; and *Badra* and *Madra* are vastly ancient divine terms which we find interspersed throughout all India, mythologically, geographically, and socially, in family and tribal names.—Yours truly,

J. G. R. Forlong.

5.

Dear Sir,—Information is invited by Major Temple and Mr. St. John regarding a quasi "Burmese Saint," known as "*Badar*, *Budder*, and *Madra*," whose shrines or sacred rocks are found on the Ārakān coast and in the Mergui Archipelago, and who is thought to be connected with the divine sage Götama Buddha—now universally revered, if not worshipped, throughout these Burmese provinces: see Journal of July last.

Knowing the particular rocks and localities, of which indeed I possess sketches, I have no hesitation in saying

that the rock-bound god of Akyāb and elsewhere, is our old friend the *Būd-kăl* or Bād-ă-kăl, the Bod or "Bad-stone," common in the villages of Southern and Central India, and not rare in Upper and Himālayan India. I have seen and studied his characteristics in the fastnesses of Lower Kailāsa and near to Kedār-Nāth—a shrine and form of Bhairava the Turanian Siva.

He has nothing whatever to do with "The *Buddha*" or pious ascetic, though the old god did, no doubt, greatly facilitate the progress and popularity of the new saint amid all Turanian populations, where these were devoid of any etymological knowledge, except that which appealed to their uneducated ears and fancies.

I have visited and carefully investigated the histories and surroundings of several of the *Bō-dās*, *Bad-ā-s*, or *Bud-ā-rs*, as natives thus reverently drawl out the names of these Burmese deities or *daimōns*, besides the one on the dangerous rocks at the entrance of the Akyāb harbour, where he represents the guardian as well as a destructive spirit. Further down this Ārakān coast, I had serious experience of another *Bod-ā-r* or *Bud* on the islet of Chedūba, and was nearly wrecked on a third—the dread spirit at the mouth of the Sandoway river—owing to my Muslim *Kalāsīs* (Chitagongīs) falling on their knees to pray, instead of standing by the rudder and halyards in a stiff breeze and seven-knot current, as we swept round his rocky headland.

On the Tenasserim coast I have seen *Bud-ā-s* from the mouths of the Tavoy river to that of Krau; and near our civil station of Mergui is one often called *Mudra*, a favourite Tamil name for their old Dravidian Siva. I have also seen inland-mountain *Bud-as*, as that on the lofty, bold, rocky crest of Kaiktyo overlooking the broad delta of the Sitang and Bīling rivers, which will be found illustrated and described in "Rivers of Life," ii. 314.

The various rites and sacrifices of these *Bud-ā-rs* used to require human victims, as noticed by Arabian travellers of the ninth century (Renaudot, p. 88), and not as now

only goats, cocks, rice, fruits, and flowers. These are still offered to the deity by most rude Indian peoples and by the coast tribes and peasantry of Ārakān, Burma, Tenasserim, Siam, Java, Bāli, and the Cochin-Chinese peninsula. We see the god in the Jāvan *Bôro-Bôd-ô-r*, that is "Ancient Bôdr," of about 600 A.C. There he existed long before Buddhist monks here reared their beautiful shrine over this, *his* conical rock. Still around its base and the adjoining hills, well named *Probo-lingo*, stand many of his symbolic Men-hirs, as the histories of Crawfurd and Sir S. Raffles show.

Usually he was and is a "Wrathful and Terrible One," like to Bhairava, but with also the characteristics of *Fors Fortuna*="Jove of our Fates," the Pur or Fiery God of high Præ-nestē or Pur-hesti, the guardian Agni of the Volscian capital of Tyr-rhenian Antium, before the Latium Aryan knew him as *Iova Virilis*, a god of *Sortes, Purim*, or Lots.

There also he was enshrined by Turanians, then the rulers of the Western seas, on the highest peak of the Alban range, as the Lā-rs or Lā (Mongolic for "spirit") of the vasty deep; as he to whom their mariners must look, on approaching this low-lying dangerous coast. His also is the Peak of Ceylon, as well as of the ruined temple spire on the low-lying islet at the treacherous entrance of the Siam river, where still stands his emblem in the neglected enclosure of an ancient Sivaite shrine.

He is found throughout China, especially in the upper reaches of the Yang-tse-kiang, at one of the sources of which, on the high mountain of O or Om, is one of his most ancient prehistoric shrines and "tooth" symbols. He is seen in all the *Obs* or *O-bo-s* of Mongolia, and even on the rock-bound *Haugs* of Scandinavia, from which have been gathered the coarse "Buds" seen in the Bergen Museum and learnedly described by the late Director, Prof. Holmboe, in his *Traces de Budhisme en Norwege*. This writer, too, has made the usual mistake of confounding the old Nature-god and "spirit of the elements"

with the pious ascetic of *Böd-a-Gayā*—see details and illustration in "Rivers of Life," ii. 409 *et seq.*

Ancient Sabean sailors called Lanka's peak the *Āl-makar*; Buddhists, the lord *Samānto Kuto*, which Hindus, however, say signifies "the thorn of Kāma" as Samānta, "the destroyer of peace"—a form of Siva, Indra, Sakra, or *Bhogi*. The indenture on the *Kuta* is a *Sri-Pad* or "The Ineffable Foot, ray or shaft," says Fergusson; and the whole great cone is, or was, in the language of the masses, a *Bud*, *Bod*, or *Mādrā*—that familiar and kindly name which they have ever applied to village *Bād-ā-kāls* or "Bād-stones" as emblems of Madra or Siva.

These are common throughout *Tel-lingāna* and Southern and Central India, where Mr. Fawcett found them as abundant in 1890 as I did some forty years ago. He describes them, their worship, and some of the cruel rites and sacrifices in *Bom. Anthro. Soc. Jour.* of September, 1890; but so little is the cult understood, that even the learned Bishop Caldwell often calls it "Devil-worship," confusing it with that of *Bhuts*. And, truly, *Bôds* or *Buds* do naturally tend to become these malevolent spirits of earth and air, trees, etc., as did Devas to become devils; the high gods or *Nāths* of Hindus to be the *Nāts* or Fayes of trans-India; and as does the Mongolian and Russian Bhāg or Bôg, to become the Bogey of our nurseries. Yet this last is a very real and ancient *god*, none other than the original of *Bhaga-vat* or *Bhaga-vā*, "The Supreme," "the God of Life and of all Spirits," for "*vā* is the elemental spirit by which all exist, and which exists in all that lives," according to the Vishnu Purāna, vi. 5.

It would seem as if the *geological* centre of a land ever became also its *theological* Olumpos; for the high "centre of the Jewel-India" is the Bud or Mahādeva of Gond-wāna, as is the "Adam's peak" of Ceylon; the snowy heights of Om, that of China; the *Ilium*, that of Trojans; and the *Ida*, that of Cyprians. The deity is the spirit of life and destruction—the spirit of the storm, of the rock-bound coast, of the dangerous defile, dark forest, weird

mountain, and angry flood; and must be "*layed*" or propitiated at the most dreaded spots, whether the traveller or sailor be Buddhist, Hindu, or Muslam. Not infrequently have we thrown to him a rupee, or subscribed for cock or goat, at the solicitation of our motley following of Burmans, Tamils, Telingas, etc., beseeching his godship to let us pass scatheless through his angry seas and river-torrents.

Many great gods are still called *Bhut-Isvars* or "Spirit-lords"; and I have found Indra worshipped among Drāvids at the Pongāl Christmas festival, as Bôg or Bhôgī, when he represents the sun rising from his wintry entombment. It was probably at this fête that the Arabian travellers of the ninth century saw "girls being devoted to *Bôd*," as Renaudot wrote in 1733; and the rite still continues in the jangals of Central India, wherever our Magistrates are not numerous or vigilant enough.

Strictly speaking, *Mădră* was a son of the Dravidian Siva; but Tamils fondly identify father and son, and call their boys and girls *Madra* and *Madrī*. The name is very common from *Mădră-patanam* (our "town of Mădrăs") and eastwards to Burma and Java; hence Major Temple's remark, that on the Mergui coast he found the *Bud-ā-r Makāms* were also called "Madra Makāms."

The Mădrăs were a very ancient and important people, ruling long before Aryan times, from Sākala on the *Duābs* of the Biyās and Chināb, still called *Mădră-dēs*. They were serpent-worshippers, as *Nāga-ists* and *Tākas* (a cult they never forsook in Dravidia, Ceylon, or trans-India), as the beautiful sculptures of *Boro-Bud-or* (the Javan "Ancient Bud") and the *Nāg-on Vāt* or "Nāga Monastery" of Kam-bod-ia attest. In moving from N.W. India they gave their name to many towns, rivers, and shrines, from probably *Măthūra* to the Vindhyas, *Mădura* and *Mădrăpatan*, as may be gathered from Mr. J. F. Hewitt's invaluable researches in our Journals, R.A.S. of 1889–90.

Most Bud or Bod rocks and symbols are marked with the euphemistic "Foot," "Eyes," or circles, as infallible

charms against evil. Hence the *Prā-Bat* of Siam and similar "Sacred Feet" on the Buds of Akyāb and Ceylon, and the oval or Yoni Charm on Kaiktyo.

Chinese sailors have always recognized the Ceylon Peak as the *Fo* or *Bôd* of Avalokit-Isvara and Kwanyon in the form *Po-taraka* or *Po-lo-yu*, which last is also an ancient Turanian name of Pārvatī as "the Mountain Bee goddess Brāhmarī." (See Professor Beale's paper in R.A.S. *Journal*, XV. iii. July, 1883). This divine name, *Po-lo-yu*, is also given to the sacred temple-crowned cone of Lhāsa in Tibet, and to that equally holy and higher Zion of Buddhists (really Bod-ists ?), the snowy apex, O or Om of the Szi-chouen range. (See Mr. Consul Hosie's report, Chinese Bluebook ii.)

The Palla-dium of this shrine of *Om* (a term which partakes of the quintessence of divinity) is also a "tooth" of *Bôd*, *Bud*, or "Buddha," as his votaries quaintly affirm; for "it is 20lb. weight," and therefore clearly a lingam—like to the Banāras *Danda* of Bhairava the Turanian Siva, whose name is *Dāntōn* or the "tooth-like one." He has many canine or hybodont symbols. There are two in Western and two in Eastern India, including Ceylon, evidently pre-Buddhistic, like the numerous Bod charms or "little teeth" which Lingaites have worn upon their persons from prehistoric times.

The Fo-OM. mountain-temples have not yet lost the characteristics of their Nature-worship, though most have been rebuilt under the Ming dynasty—probably at heart more Shintō-ists than Buddhists. Of course the numerous monks call themselves Buddhists, or rather *Fō-ists*, which, if we go back to the radical ancient meaning of *Fo*, would signify a Böd-ist; for a *Bō* or *Fō* was "a tree, stick, rod, sprout, long or growing thing," and a Ruler, as the bearer of the Rod.

Thus the *Dōr-ji* or Sacred Sceptre of Tibet, the analogue of the *Dandpan* (Siva's *Danda*), is there termed Fo, Bo, Po, Lā, or Lhā, at once a spirit, god, stick, or mace, from which the Dalai Lāma claims direct descent, as others

do from Ādam—a term the Indian Muslam applies to the temple Buds as symbols of Mahādeva. The Indian colonists of Java and Tchampa or Co-Tcheng also called their gods or Buds, *Pô*. "My Lady" of their capital was always addressed as *Pô-Nagara*, and this many centuries before they knew of Buddhism.

In the Tibetan Himālaya *Bo-t*, *Po-t*, Bhot or Bud, *is radically a Lhā or Lā*; hence the country of *Bhut-ia* or *Bhut-an* means, says Dr. Waddell in his "Tibetan Names," "the end of Bud or Pot," that is *Tu-bet* or *Tu-pot*, or "land" *par excellence* of Buds, Bhuts or spirits; see *Beng. As. Jour.* 1891. But enough, though much more could be said, of Bud, Bud-ā-r, or Mădra.

I would not have said so much, but that the old deity seems to confuse Archæologists from Scandinavia to India and China, and to vitiate many valuable papers and researches. The old god is not seen by those who only visit the town and city temples of great gods like Vishnu, Siva, Indra, and other Bhagavatas, nor indeed, if we search only in *the chief* shrines of villages; for he is not now favoured, at least outwardly, by Pandits, Brahmans, or even local Purohits or Pujāris; but will usually be found by those who know him, lurking in some quiet nook close by. His holy place is the family niche or *Deva takht* in hut or humble cottage; and there old and young cleanse, decorate and worship him morn and eve. In native states he is more prominent, and may be seen in corn-fields, a cool corner of the cottage garden, or bye-path, to house, door, or well, where the pious, and especially women and children, may be seen sweeping and beflowering his modest hypæthral shrines. He may be only "the smooth stone of the stream" to which Isaiah says (lvii. 6) his people gave meat and drink offerings, or the *Bast* or *Bashath* בשת, the Phenician Set, or *Bâl Barith*, or Latin *Jupiter Fœderis*, of Jeremiah xi. 13 and Judges viii.; but he is still the Bud or Bôd dearest of all gods to the hearts of the peasants of Southern and Central India.

J. G. R. Forlong.

6. The Author of the Khaláṣat-at-Tawáríkh.

Pitfold, Shottermill, Surrey.
26th October, 1894.

Dear Sir,—It occurred to me that some information about Suján Singh, the author of the Khaláṣat-at-Tawáríkh, might be obtained at Batála, his native place, and so I wrote to the Deputy-Commissioner of Gurdáspur on the subject. Through the courtesy of Mr. Renouf, the Officiating Deputy-Commissioner, I have received a communication from Qází Tasaddaq Hussain, a resident of Batála, of which the following is an extract :—

"The compiler of the Khaláṣat-at-Tawáríkh, Suján Singh, was by caste a *dhír khatrí*, and was a resident of Batála, in the Gurdáspur district. He lived in the time of Alamgír Aurangzíb, and was employed under various Amírs of the Chagátáï family as their *munshí* or secretary. The Khaláṣat-at-Tawáríkh was compiled by him in 1107 *Hijra*. Among his writings there is also a book called Khaláṣat-al-Inshá, in which he describes the art of polite writing. This was written in 1105 *Hijra*. Some people also call him Suján Rái, but in both books he signs himself Suján Singh Dhír. He was not a Kánungo. The above information is derived from his books, for the inhabitants of Batála of the *dhír* caste know nothing about him."

Yours sincerely,

H. Beveridge.

Erratum.

On page 865 of the Journal (October, 1894), line 16, *for* "buried" *read* "burned."

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1894.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

13*th November*, 1894.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. C. H. Wylde,
Munshi Debiprasad,
Mr. J. McCrone Douie, I.C.S.,
Mr. E. D. Maclagan, I.C.S.,
Mr. Manmatha Nath Dutt,
Mr. E. Rose, I.C.S.,
Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S.,
Colonel G. A. Jacob,
Mr. E. D. Ross,
Mr. F. A. Coleridge, I.C.S.,
Professor James Gray,
Mr. A. J. May,

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Legge read a paper on "The Lî Sâo Poem and its Author," which was followed by a short discussion, in which Mr. Allen, Mr. Ferguson, General Alexander, and Mr. Tseng took part.

Dr. G. A. Grierson also read a paper on "The Stress-Accent in Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars." Professor Bühler and Sir Raymond West took part in the discussion. (Both papers appear in the present issue.)

11*th December*, 1894.—Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. C. A. Fox,

Mr. E. D. H. Fraser,

had been elected members of the Society.

Dr. Th. Bloch read a paper on "An Unpublished Valabhi Copper-plate Grant," followed by a few remarks by Professor Bendall and Sir Raymond West. The paper will appear in the April number.

II. Obituary Notices.

Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie.—We deeply regret to announce the death of Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie, which occurred at his residence, 136, Bishop's Road, Fulham, on October 11th, of typhoid fever. Dr. de Lacouperie was born in Normandy, and was educated with the view of his entering into commercial life. For some years he was associated with the house of business with which his father and brothers were connected, but his real interests were centred in linguistic studies. To these he devoted every moment of the spare time at his disposal, and in 1867 he published a work on the subject entitled "Du Langage," which, at the time, attracted considerable attention. As he advanced in his studies his desire grew to get as far back as possible in the history of languages, and he began with an investigation into the most archaic forms of the Chinese characters. About this time George Smith, following in the footsteps of Sir Henry Rawlinson, and assisted by the discovery of the library at Nineveh, was throwing open wide the doors of Babylonian learning. It had already been conjectured by several writers that there might be some connection between the civilization of China and Babylonia, but no substantial evidence had been adduced in support of the theory. This conjecture may have suggested to Dr. de Lacouperie the advisability of making a scientific investi-

gation into the subject. But however that may be, he took up the comparative study of the languages and civilization of China and Babylonia, with learned zeal. For years he pursued the subject, neglecting everything else, and at length was able to establish identities sufficiently numerous and striking to convince any but the most sceptical of the very close relationship, both as regards their civilization and written characters, which existed between the peoples of the two areas in ancient times. In 1879 he settled in London, and in the following year published a pamphlet entitled "The Early History of the Chinese Civilization," in which he gathered up the proofs which he accumulated in support of his theory.

While prosecuting these researches he was attracted to the oldest book of the Chinese, "The Book of Changes." This work had been a hopeless puzzle to all those—natives as well as foreigners—who had attempted to explain it. Guided by a scholarly instinct Dr. de Lacouperie perceived that the basis of that work consisted of fragmentary notes of an early age, mostly of a lexical character; that the original meaning to be placed upon them had been lost; and that they bore a close resemblance to the so-called syllabaries of Chaldea. Following up these clues he gained so clear an insight into it that he might almost have said with Merlin :—

"O ay! it is but twenty pages long,
But every page having an ample marge,
. . . . . .
And every square of text an awful charm,
Writ in a language that has long gone by,
So long, that mountains have arisen since
With cities on their flanks;
And every margin scribbled, crost, and cramm'd
With comment, densest condensation, hard
To mind and eye; but the long sleepless nights
Of my long life have made it easy to me."

On this subject he contributed several papers to the pages

of this *Journal*, in which he gave translations of some of the chapters of this difficult book; and if his life had been prolonged he would no doubt have completed the translation of the entire work. With the same erudition and literary insight he made a comparative study of the languages of earlier Asia generally, and twice was presented by the "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres" with the Prix Julien for the best works of the year on China.

In 1884 Dr. de Lacouperie was appointed Professor of Comparative Philology applied to the languages of South-eastern Asia, at University College.

Among his best known works were the following :—

"Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum." Vol. I. 1892.

"Les Langues de la Chine avant les Chinois." 1888.

"The Oldest Book of the Chinese, the Ykking, and its Authors." 1892.

"The Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization." 1894.

He was also Editor of the Babylonian and Oriental Record.

R. K. D.

James Darmesteter.—It is hardly six months since the Council—one of the Honorary Members of the Society, Dr. A. Sprenger, of Heidelberg, being dead—recommended "that the vacancy thus occasioned should be filled up by the election of Mons. James Darmesteter, the distinguished Professor of Persian at the Collége de France, and Secretary of the Société Asiatique. As the members of the Society will be aware, Mons. Darmesteter is the greatest living authority on Zoroastrian literature, and is distinguished not only for his wide philological knowledge in that and other fields, but also for his thorough grasp of historical criticism, and for his mastery of style and power of exposition. It will also be a peculiar pleasure to this Society to be able to confer an honour upon a scholar who adds to his other attainments a very deep and sympathetic acquaintance with English literature."

Darmesteter is no more: a short illness at Maisons-Lafitte has broken, on the 29th of November, 1894, the thin thread which united this vast intellect to his weak frame.

James Darmesteter was the son of a bookbinder of Château-Salins, where he was born the 28th March, 1849. His elder brother was the well-known philologist, Arsène Darmesteter, who died on the 16th November, 1888. Who could, then predict the brilliant scientific career of the poor Jewish artisan's sons? Though for both, life was cut short in the forties—that is, at the height of mental activity—their failing health could hardly have permitted us to hope that, brief though it was, their earthly career should have run so long. In fact, Darmesteter's life was a long struggle of mind against matter, of brain against body, of high intellectual attainment against physical deformity. He went through the regular course of studies in Paris; a student at the Lycée Condorcet, where he carried off, in 1866, the prix d'honneur de rhétorique at the Concours général; he graduated in letters and in sciences as a bachelor, then as a licentiate in letters (1868) and at law (1870); he took the degree of Doctor in Letters in 1877, with a thesis on the Iranian dualism of Ormazd and Ahriman.[1] Michel Bréal and the much-regretted Abel Bergaigne were his first masters, and the former has paid a most graceful tribute to his memory in *Le Temps* of 2nd November, 1894. His first essays were devoted to the language and literature of ancient Persia.[2]

[1] "Ormazd et Ahriman, leurs origines et leur histoire," par J. Darmesteter. 8vo. Paris, 1877.—In the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études.* Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc. xxix.

"De verbo latino dare."

[2] "Hauwatât et Ameretât, essai sur la mythologie de l'Avesta." 8vo. Paris, 1875.—In the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études.* Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc. xxiii.

"Notes sur quelques expressions zendes." 8vo. pp. 17.—Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, tome ii. fascicule 4.

"Etudes iraniennes," par James Darmesteter. Tome premier: *Etudes sur la grammaire historique de la langue persane.* 8vo. Paris, F. Vieweg, 1883.—Tome second, première partie: *Mélanges iraniens. Ibid.* 8vo. 1883.—Seconde partie: *Traductions indigènes du Khorda Avesta. Ibid.* 8vo. 1883.—Dedicated to Adolphe Régnier. Contains the grammar from the time of the Achemenides to our days; it is a revised edition of a paper which obtained,

Appointed in 1877 a teacher of Zend at the École des Hautes Études, Darmesteter obtained at last, on the 23rd January, 1885, a situation where his talent could find a suitable field of action by his nomination to the chair of Persian Language and Literature at the Collége de France. A sudden death had carried away and cut off, in the prime of life, the young and already celebrated Arabic Professor, Stanislas Guyard; the Persian Professor Barbier de Meynard, Hon. Member R.A.S., being transferred to the vacant chair, Darmesteter took his place. Darmesteter delivered his opening lecture on the 16th April, 1885: it is a general survey of the history of Persia, which embraces history, religion, literature.[1] A few weeks before, on the 28th February, 1885, he gave at the Sorbonne, before the Scientific Association of France, a paper on the "Mahdi, from the beginning of Islam to our day."[2]

In order to complete his researches he visited India, where he resided from February, 1886, to February, 1887—about eleven months—of which he spent three at Bombay, seven at Peshâwar and Hazára, the few remaining weeks being spent travelling from Bombay to the Punjab, from the Punjab

in 1881, the Volney Prize at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The other papers were first published in the *Revue Critique*, and in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*.

"L'apocalypse persane de Daniel," par James Darmesteter. (*Mélanges Rénier*. Pp. 405-420. Paris, 1886.)

"Les Origines de la Poésie persane," par M. J. Darmesteter. 12mo. pp. 89. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1887.—Vol. liii. of the *Bibliothèque orientale elzévirienne*.

"The Origin of Persian Poetry," translated from the French of Professor J. Darmesteter by Masarivánji Frámji Tamboli.—8vo. pp. 40. Bombay: printed at the *Voice of India* Printing-Press, 1888.

Preface: "The following pages, the original French of which appeared in the evening issues of the *Journal des Débats* of the 20th, 21st, and 24th April, 1886, were published in parts in the *India Spectator*, some time back."

"La flèche de Nemrod en Perse et en Chine," par M. J. Darmesteter. (*Journ. Asiat.* 8e sér. v. Févr., Mars, Avril, 1885, pp. 220-228.)

"Points de contact entre le Mâhâbharata et le Shâh-Nameh." (*Ibid.* x. p. 6.)

"Prophètes d'Israél." 8vo. Paris, Lévy, 1892.

[1] "Coup d'œil sur l'histoire de la Perse," par James Darmesteter, Professeur au Collége de France. 12mo. pp. 67. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1885.—Vol. xliv. of the *Bibliothèque orientale elzévirienne*.

[2] "Le Mahdi, depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours," par James Darmesteter, Professeur au Collége de France. 12mo. pp. 120. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1885.—Vol. xliii. of the *Bibliothèque orientale elzévirienne*.

to Calcutta, and thence to Bombay. In the latter place he was warmly received by the Parsi community, which, indeed, is never backward in welcoming distinguished foreigners. At a meeting in the Bai Bhikaiji Shapurji Bengali Parsi Girls' School, Fort, presided over by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., C.S.I., Darmesteter delivered a lecture on the place of Parsi-ism in History.[1] His experiences of India have been embodied in a volume,[2] dedicated to Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, and to Lady Reay. He brought back with him fresh materials for his great translation of the Avesta, a capital work on the popular literature of the Afghans,[3] and sundry Notes which appeared at intervals, chiefly in the *Journal Asiatique*.[4]

When Adolphe Régnier died (20th Oct. 1884), Ernest Renan succeeded him as president of the Société Asiatique; the secretaryship left vacant by the illustrious author of the "Life of Jesus," fell into the good hands of Darmesteter. As such he had to write the yearly reports of the progress of Oriental studies, which had done so much for the fame of Jules Mohl and Ernest Renan. It is not saying a little that he showed himself worthy of his predecessors, and that the notice he read on the life and labours of Ernest Renan at the Société Asiatique, on the 22nd of June, 1893, is second to none of the best pages of the great philosopher.[5]

[1] "Parsi-ism: its Place in History." A lecture delivered at Bombay by Professor James Darmesteter. 8vo. pp. 32. Bombay: Printed at the *Voice of India* Printing-Press, 1887.

[2] "Lettres sur l'Inde. A la frontière afghane," par James Darmesteter. 12mo. pp. xxix. and 355. Paris, A. Lemerre, 1888.

[3] "Chants populaires des Afghans, recueillis," publiés et traduits par J. Darmesteter, précédés d'une introduction sur la langue, l'histoire, et la littérature des Afghans. 8vo. 1890.

[4] "Afghan Life in Afghan Songs." (Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1877.) Pamph. 8vo. pp. 24.—"Inscriptions de Caboul. Epitaphes de l'Empereur Bâber et d'autres princes mongols," par M. J. Darmesteter. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*.) Pamph. 8vo. pp. 15. Paris, Imp. nat. 1888: these inscriptions were given to Darmesteter in 1886 by Col. Pratt, who had them copied at Cabul in 1879.—"La grande inscription de Gandahâr," par M. James Darmesteter. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*.) 8vo. pp. 40. Paris, Imp. nat. 1890.—"Souvenirs bouddhistes sur l'Afghanistan." (*Jour. Asiat.* 8e sér. xv. p. 105.)

[5] "Notice sur la vie et l'œuvre de M. Renan," par M. James Darmesteter. Lue à la Séance annuelle de la Société asiatique le 22 juin, 1893. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*.) Pamph. 8vo. pp. 56. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1893.

The field of Oriental studies was hardly large enough for Darmesteter's activity.[1] If nature did not make an orator of him, certainly with his pen Darmesteter had much of the temper of a debater and of a polemist, and periodical literature could not fail to fascinate him somewhat. For several years he was one of the Editors of the *Revue Critique*, to which he gave a great many critical notices on works like Spiegel's "Iranian Antiquity," Delattre's "Peuple et empire des Mèdes jusqu'à le fin du règne de Cyaxare," Oppert's "Peuple et langue des Mèdes," Evers' "Avénement de la puissance perse sous Cyrus," Justi's "Histoire de la Perse ancienne," Nöldeke's "Histoire d'Ardeshir," Keiper's "Les Perses d'Eschyle," Gibb's "Gudrun, Beowulf, and Roland," Shairp's "Essays on Poetry," Elze's "Lord Byron," G. Herbert's "The Temple," etc. He made his *début* on the 16th August, 1882, in the *Journal des Débats*, to which he contributed, besides his Oriental essays, a number of articles on various subjects—"Criticism," "Ireland," "Formosa,"[2] "India," etc. His "Coup d'œil sur l'histoire du peuple juif," published in the *Nouvelle Revue*, created a stir by its warmth and its eloquence.[3] When last year Calmann Lévy offered him and Louis Ganderax the editorship of the *Revue de Paris*, I feel pretty sure that the great publisher's proposal gave satisfaction to a secret craving of my late friend. Nor did he fail to take to heart his new task, and to contribute himself to the new Review some of the best papers which have appeared in its pages.

But the great work of his life was the translation of the Avesta. When Prof. F. Max Müller undertook his collection of the "Sacred Books of the East," he entrusted

[1] He has contributed to *Capitales du Monde*, a handsome volume published by Hachette, in 1892; edited a new edition of "Macbeth," with a Commentary, etc.

[2] "Annales de Formose." Par James Darmesteter. (*Journal des Débats*, 1884, Oct. 10, 20, et 21.)

[3] Reprinted in: "Essais orientaux," par James Darmesteter, "L'Orientalisme en France," "Le Dieu suprême des Aryens," "Les Cosmogonies Aryennes," "Prolégomènes de l'histoire des religions," "Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique," "La Légende d'Alexandre," "Coup d'œil sur l'histoire du peuple juif." 8vo. pp. 279. Paris, A. Lévy, 1883. (Dedicated to Ernest Renan.)

Darmesteter with Zoroastrian literature, and the result was a translation of the Vendidâd and the Sirôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis;[1] the Yaçna and the Gâthâs being left out. Urged in 1884 by Max Müller to complete his translation, Darmesteter, thinking himself unprepared for the task, declined the offer; but after his journey to India, urged by his wife, he resumed the work in 1888, and brought it last year to a successful end. This translation of the Zend-Avesta comprises three huge quarto volumes of the "Annales du Musée Guimet"[2]; it is Darmesteter's *magnum opus*, and this very year the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres awarded it the prize of twenty thousand francs.

I suppose that the biographer was thinking of this work when, writing about Darmesteter in the *Athenæum* (No. 3496, Oct. 27th, 1894), he said: "In him was realized the perfect ideal of scholarship, that happy blending of profound learning, daring originality, and transparent clearness of expression which, save for rare exceptions, France alone seems able to produce; and by his premature death science has suffered a loss which may well be called irreparable." This, his last great labour, seems to have exhausted his feeble constitution.

Darmesteter had married a graceful English lady, Miss Mary Robinson, well known for her poetical talent, and so far versed in French literature as to be able to give us a new book on the famous chronicler Froissart.[3] The last years of the life of Darmesteter passed away in the happiness

[1] "The Sacred Books of the East," edited by F. Max Müller. Vols. iv. and xxiii. "The Zend-Avesta." Part i. The Vendidâd; Part ii. The Sirôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis. Translated by James Darmesteter. Two vols. 8vo.

[2] "Annales du Musée Guimet"—"Le Zend-Avesta, traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique," par James Darmesteter, Professeur au Collége de France. Three vols. 4to. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1892-1893: I. La Liturgie (Yasna et Vispéred); II. La Loi (Vendidâd). L'Epopée (Yashts). Le Livre de prière (Khorda Avesta). III. Origines de la littérature et de la religion zoroastriennes. Appendice à la traduction de l'Avesta (fragments des Nasks perdus et index).

[3] "Les grands écrivains français—Froissart," par Mary Darmesteter. 8vo. pp. 174. Paris, Hachette, 1894. Also "Marguerites du temps passé." 12mo. 1892.

of a cheerful home, and his death has left a bereaved and broken-hearted widow. Indeed, France has lost a profound scholar, with a touch of genius.

HENRI CORDIER.

Paris, 27th November, 1894.

III. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

CHRESTOMATHIA BAIDAWIANA, THE COMMENTARY OF EL-BAIḌĀWĪ ON SŪRA III. Translated and explained for the use of Students of Arabic by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A. Pp. xvi. and 216. London: Luzac & Co., 1894.

This book is as scholarly as it is useful. Al-Baiḍāwī's work, although not one of the easiest, is one of the most popular commentaries of the Qorān, and should be read by every student of Arabic. Of particular importance are the numerous grammatical annotations which give the beginner an insight into the method of the Arabic national grammarians, and which form an excellent preparatory study for the perusal of these works in the original. The rather concise scholia also form a good introduction, not only into the criticism of the Qorān, but in particular into the early history of Moslim dogmas and the development of the sects.

Prof. Margoliouth chose Sūra iii., which, although one of the longest, is not so tedious as Sūra ii., and is of great interest from theological, polemical, and historical points of view. A selection of smaller Sūras, representing the chief phases of the Qorān, would perhaps have been more commendable, but this unimportant circumstance in no way diminishes the value of the book. The translation also of the text of the Qorān is thoroughly original and clear. The introduction and the remarks in particular, which form one-third of the book, show how well Mr. Margoliouth has mastered the immense literatures of Moslim Tradition, Grammar, and Kalām.

The Ash'arite views of Al-Baiḍāwī are continually perceptible in opposition to those of the Mu'tazilites, especially Zamakhsharī, although he largely depends on the latter's *Kashshāf*. Prof. Margoliouth has not failed to call attention to this in the preface as well as in his notes. Al-Baiḍāwī's criticism of the Mu'tazilite doctrines is not very sharp, but it is hardly probable that he "by oversight" or "unthinkingly" should have allowed these to appear in his commentary (see remm. 41, 130, 236, 418, 619, 634), as he visibly inclines towards allegorical interpretation. Instances of this are his explanations of v. 5 (see Shahrastani, ed. Cureton, p. 76), and the tradition connected with v. 6, that Muḥammad said: *The heart of man is between the two fingers of the Merciful.* Al-Baiḍāwī gives an allegorical explanation which Al-Ash'arī (Shahrastani, p. 72) unmistakably rejects.

With respect to the meaning of *Ḥanīf*, Mr. Margoliouth seems to favour Sprenger's explanation, but the latter's theory of the *Ḥanyferei* is entirely unfounded. The simple negative meaning of the word is not only given at the verse in which it occurs (60), but also by Al-Baiḍāwī. There is nothing to support the view of the existence of a sect of *Ḥanīfs*.

It was a happy thought of the author to append the collation of the Constantinople edition of 1303 H. with that by Fleischer, whereby the purchase of copies of the book for students is greatly facilitated. The perusal of Professor Margoliouth's latest book thus affords pleasure from beginning to end.

H. Hirschfeld.

Untersuchungen ueber die 'Aḍḍād auf Grund von Stellen in altarabischen Dichtern von Friedrich Giese, Dr.phil. Pp. 59. Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1894.

The importance of this little book lies in the author's endeavour to restrict the number of recognized *aḍḍād*, *i.e.*

Arabic words which embrace two opposite meanings. Words of the same kind can be traced in other languages, particularly in the different dialects. The circumstance that the Arabs alone have produced a literature on the subject is due to scholastic mannerism rather than to a true comprehension of the structure of their language, although the lexicographical value of the works in question is considerable. Dr. Giese has founded his researches on the only book existing in print on the subject, viz Al-Anbārī's *Kitāb-ul-aḍḍād* (ed. Houtsma), and also on the dissertation of Redslob based upon it. He examines only those *aḍḍād* agreed upon by both authors and which he has found in old Arabic poems. He displays great discrimination with excellent results, and if of the long list given by Redslob he can only establish twenty-two, this is a gain rather than otherwise. Even those might be further restricted if we knew more of the original meanings of Arabic roots. Certainly the enormous difficulties encountered in the endeavour to master the old Arabic poets render them a somewhat precarious means of elucidating words of doubtful sense, especially as poetic licence with regard to synonyms is unlimited. The method employed by Dr. Giese in the classification of those *aḍḍād* which he admits, is no doubt very appropriate, but in some instance they can hardly be regarded as convincing. This *e.g.* is the case with مثل (p. 20 *sq.*), the original meaning of which, *to stand upright*, is applicable in most of the verses quoted. In Tar. 13, 1, the *Bemaler* is, to say the least, doubtful. The verse Zuh. 17, 3 should be translated: "Asmā has a mansion in Alghamrain *standing upright* like the (letters of) writing," etc. Finally the translation of Hud. 273, 53 is unsatisfactory. I think it should be: "The she-camel stretched out her forelegs trying to escape, whilst heavily laden with (skins of) water, behind pathless hilly tracts (which she has in front of her)."

In the quotations where صرخ is said to occur in contrasting significations the word *shouting* answers the purpose, as the reader is guided by the context; this, however, cannot

be reckoned as a *ḍidd.* The same also holds good for other examples, which I therefore pass over, and will only notice a few more details. The translation of the verse, Ḥam. 504, 1 (p. 10) . . . . *etwas verloren, das absehbar vor mir liegt,* is not intelligible. The right translation is given by Rueckert, ii. p. 8. As to أمم *trifle,* see the Divān of Hassān b. Thābit, ed. Tunis, p. 92, l. 9. Dr. Giese's remarks on فوق are of course just; in Qorān ii. 24 it certainly means *above,* although not, as he thinks, signifying a greater degree of diminutiveness. For the subjects of many of the parables dispersed over a large part of the Qorān, Moḥammed chose animals and even those of the lower orders, *e.g.* spider (xxix. 40), camel (vii. 38), dog (*ib.* 175), and again, later on, the ass (lxii. 5). The verse in question is directed against possible criticism of Allāh's custom of attaching revelations to the habits of low animals. Moḥammed, therefore, says: "Allāh is not ashamed of employing as the subject of a parable *a gnat,* and what is above it (larger animals)," etc.

We must also not omit to note that the philosophical side of the question of *aḍdād* is very adroitly treated, and particularly pleasing is the rectification of the erroneous theories of Abel, whose uncritical list is misleading. Dr. Giese's style is rather involved, but otherwise we are indebted to him for his clever researches.

H. Hirschfeld.

السبع المعلقات. The Seven Poems Suspended in the Temples at Mecca. Translated from the Arabic by Captain F. E. Johnson, R.A., with an Introduction by Shaikh Faizullabhai, B.A., Fellow of the University of Bombay, Head-Master Anjuman-i-Islām Schools, Author of "The Moslem Present." Pp. xxiii. and 238. London: Luzac & Co., 1894.

The scientific spirit in which this edition was undertaken can be judged from the title, and still better from the

introduction, in which (p. xi.), with much complacency, the fable of these poems having been woven in gold and suspended in the Ka'ba, is revived—a fable, the absurdity of which was finally demonstrated as much as thirty years ago by Noeldeke (*Beitraege zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, p. xvii. *sqq.*). The introduction gives further "an outline of the characteristic features of the poems, with an exposition of the points of similarity and difference"; but the attempt at a critical treatment is limited to the remark in the preface—written by Captain Johnson—that "lines which have been found in some copies and not in others are marked with asterisks." This is rather inadequate; also the sources drawn upon are not mentioned. References to the works of European scholars on the subjects are likewise sought for in vain. Each poem is preceded by a very short biographical account of the poet, as well as by an exposition of its metre and the respective modification with an explanation of the technical terms. To mark the rhythm all the first verses are divided by perpendicular lines, but soon the first shows inaccuracies. The text of the verses is almost completely vocalized. In the annotations, to which Shaikh Faizullabhai also contributed, a limited number of different readings is given, but without reference to their authorities. In the translation appended to each verse additional words are printed in italics. In the text of Imru'ulqais, of which I examined a part, in v. 2 is to be read نسحتها, in v. 6 مُهَراقة, on account of the metre. The translation is, on the whole, reliable if we overlook occasional inaccuracies. The print is small and not very distinct. This rather primitive edition can scarcely be recommended to European students, unless in conjunction with a more critical work or under the guidance of an experienced teacher.

H. Hirschfeld.

Dr. H. Stumme. Tripolitanisch-Tunisische Beduinen-lieder. Pp. xii.+153. Leipzig, 1894.

The author, who has made his mark by the publication of North African Arabic tales, gives a further instalment of the rich materials collected in the same province. He publishes here for the first time a number of popular songs gathered from the Bedouins of Tunis, with a phonetic transcription and German translation. In an interesting introduction, Dr. Stumme discusses these poems from various points of view—the philological, psychological, and metrical. It is a valuable contribution towards the knowledge of those dialects, and throws light upon modern vulgar Arabic poetry. We obtain a clear insight into the life of the Bedouins of North Africa as depicted in their poetical productions. In order to enhance the philological value of his publications, Dr. Stumme has added (pp. 135–153) a glossary of the words contained in the "tales" and now in the "songs."

M. Gaster.

Elf Stücke im Šilha-Dialect von Tázĕrwalt, von Dr. Hans Stumme (*Extract from the Journal of the German Oriental Society*). 8vo. pp. 28. Leipzig, 1894.

These Eleven Pieces in the Shilha-Dialect[1] of Tázĕrwalt will be welcome to all students of the Berber language, and also to folklorists. Besides some Vocabularies, we have had in this peculiar dialect some texts with translations published by the late Prof. F. W. Newman and Prof. René Basset, of Algiers. The original texts now published appear in Roman characters, are as the author heard them from the manager of a Moorish troup of acrobats at Dresden, and are followed by an accurate translation in German. The author's system of transliteration differs widely from the system adopted by the French school; it is undoubtedly

[1] *Cf.* R. N. Cust, *A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa*, i. pp. 113, 114.

more scientific. As far as the consonants are concerned, this system is nearly satisfactory: the judicious use of diacritical signs avoids such objectionable double consonants as *sh*, *kh*, *th*; the author distinguishes carefully the vowels *i* and *u* from the consonants *j* (English *y*) and *w*, and he rightly writes *Tázĕrwalt* where French scholars write *Tazroualt*. Perhaps I should object to the system of amalgamating words without any regard to etymology, and, above all, to the somewhat exaggerated number of vocalic sounds: this is rather calculated to puzzle many readers, as it must be feared that too much accuracy in that respect may cause confusion. Nevertheless, we must thank Dr. Stumme for his careful exertions in this field: it is a beginning full of promise, and I hope the series will be continued.

TH. G. DE G.

HISTOIRE D'ESKENDER, D'ʿÄMDA-ṢEYON II. ET DE NÂ'OD, ROIS D'ETHIOPIE, Texte éthiopien inédit et Traduction, par M. JULES PERRUCHON (*Extract from the Asiatic Journal of Paris*). 8vo. pp. 52. Paris, 1894.

The publication of such interesting texts, with commentaries and translations, is calculated to give us more and more insight into the ancient and once so mysterious history of Ethiopia, as well as to further promote the knowledge of the Ethiopian language. I have had already the opportunity of pointing out the author's exertions in this field, and he must be warmly congratulated upon this new production, the value of which is much enhanced by the foot-notes he has contributed to it: besides the texts and translations previously mentioned by me, I must notice here the *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Ethiopie* (one vol., Algiers), text and translation from a MS. in the British Museum.

TH. G. DE G.

LES APOCRYPHES ÉTHIOPIENS, traduits en français par RENÉ BASSET. IV. (Les légendes de S. Tërtag et de S. Sousnyos). 8vo. pp. 42. Paris, 1894.

This new series consists, perhaps, of the most interesting texts yet published: the learned author's introduction forms by itself a complete paper of high value, and, as usual, the whole is illustrated by numerous bibliographical and other notes.

I may mention here that Prof. René Basset has been promoted lately to the Directorship of the École supérieure des lettres of Algiers, the well-deserved reward of a comparatively short but very efficient literary career: his numerous friends have warmly applauded the action thus taken by the French Minister of Public Instruction.

TH. G. DE G.

LA BORDAH DU CHEIKH EL BOUSIRI, traduite et commentée par RENÉ BASSET. 12mo. pp. xxviii. and 136. Paris: E. Leroux, 1894.

This well-known work, in its new shape, assumes a higher value than ever, from the introduction and commentaries added to the translation by Prof. René Basset. What was merely a poem, relating the main facts of Mohammed's life and giving a summary of the Mussulman creed, becomes thus a highly interesting contribution to the historical growth of religions. The following quotation from the introduction will explain the learned author's point of view: "À l'origine, Mohammed n'avait guère connu le Christianisme que par les sectes hérétiques et les évangiles apocryphes; le Judaïsme par l'aggada plutôt que par la Bible: en se développant, la théologie Musulmane, plus au courant du Christianisme, tendit à en rapprocher de plus en plus le fondateur de l'Islam et à attribuer à celui-ci les miracles qui devaient le rendre au moins l'égal de Jésus. Cette déviation de l'idée réelle qu'on avait du Prophète commença de bonne heure, et ne fit que s'accroître avec le temps. De là, les prodiges calqués sur ceux que

rapportaient les évangiles et qui sont en opposition complète avec les sentiments de Mohammed."

TH. G. DE G.

PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM, vols. xiv. and xv.

ÆGYPTISCHE GRAMMATIK, MIT SCHRIFTTAFEL, LITTERATUR, LESESTÜCKEN, UND WÖRTERVERZEICHNIS, von ADOLF ERMAN. Small 8vo. pp. xvi., 200 and 70. Berlin, London, and New York, 1894.

KOPTISCHE GRAMMATIK, MIT CHRESTOMATHIE, WÖRTERVERZEICHNIS, UND LITTERATUR, von GEORG STEINDORFF. Small 8vo. pp. xviii., 220 and 94.

These valuable Handbooks are, as usual, complete, accurate, and practical; but in this peculiar case they are not, and could not be, independent, as each of them explains and completes the other; hence numerous and necessary references from one to the other. As there is already an English translation of the Egyptian Handbook, we must hope that the Coptic Handbook will soon appear in an English translation.

TH. G. DE G.

BIBLIOTHEK DER SPRACHKUNDE, vol. xlii.

THEORETISCH-PRAKTISCHE GRAMMATIK DER ANNAMITISCHEN SPRACHE, von A. DIRR. Post 8vo. pp. xiv. and 164. Wien: A. Hartleben, 1894.

This new Handbook is based on the best French works published in France and Cochin China during the last thirty years: it is invaluable for those who, not being well acquainted with French, are acquainted with German, as no such treatise exists in English. The book consists of a theoretical part, an extensive and clear practical part, a chrestomathy, an Annamese-German Vocabulary, a note on the Sinico-Annamese writing, a collection of proverbs and idiomatic expressions, and some tables of characters: from this it will be seen that the compiler has done his best to give a complete handbook, and, indeed, he has marvellously succeeded in his endeavour.

TH. G. DE G.

DER ARABISCHE DIALEKT DER HOUWĀRA DES WĀD SŪS IN MAROKKO, von A. SOCIN und Dr. H. STUMME. Large 8vo. pp. 144. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1894.

The Houwāra (هوّارة) are a tribe scattered through many places in North Africa: whether they are genuine Arabs, as they claim to be, or Arabic-speaking Berbers, is still an unascertained fact. Physically, they rather appear to be of Berber descent; but the fact that, although they live in the middle of Berber populations, they speak Arabic, is very perplexing, and I will not attempt to settle this question. The Houwāra, whose peculiar dialect is here illustrated, inhabit the tract of land known as Wād Sūs, in South Morocco: they form a linguistic island surrounded by Shilha populations, thus preserving their Arabic in the middle of Berber-speaking people; they enjoy a very bad reputation, so bad that a poet has said: "With all Moslims there is something good, only with the Houwāra there is nothing." The learned compilers of the texts now published intend to give a complete grammatical account of the dialect spoken by these Houwāra: their vocabulary is very interesting, as it contains many words little known or even quite unknown; as a phonetical peculiarity, I may note here the very frequent vanishing of the short vowels. The texts, which consist chiefly of popular tales, have been obtained from a young Houwāra, who had just come from his native country to perform in a Moorish troup of acrobats at Dresden. It appears that it was not an easy task to extract any linguistic information from this young rascal: when asked to translate into his vernacular the sentence "Mustapha has done this and that," he invariably answered: "I do not know any Mustapha"; when asked to translate "I am dead," he answered: "No, I am not dead." But the more difficult the task, the more we must commend the skill and sagacity of the compilers, who have succeeded in giving to linguists and folklorists a most interesting collection of tales with an accurate translation.

TH. G. DE G.

A KANNAḌA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By Rev. F. KITTEL. Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1894.

Students of the South Indian languages will welcome the completion of this work, which has been in hand for upwards of fifteen years. During that time inquiry has not been at a standstill. On the contrary, the period has been one of unusual activity in researches into the literature of Karṇāṭaka, the antiquity and extent of which have been hitherto but imperfectly known or recognized. Much new and valuable information has thus come to light, even while this work was in progress, and indications may be discerned of something like a revival of Kannaḍa learning. These circumstances, while they made the want of a good dictionary more generally felt, also perhaps placed the undertaking at some disadvantage in having to keep in sight an extending horizon.

The first dictionary of the language was the work of the Rev. W. Reeve, begun at Bellary in 1817 and published in Madras in 1832. This was superseded by the more portable edition published by the Rev. D. Sanderson at Bangalore in 1858, now long out of print. The present work therefore fills up a void. It is a bulky volume of 1752 pages. But the increase in size is greatly due to an admirable feature by which it is distinguished from its predecessors, and which at once places it above them. This is the introduction of numerous examples as to the uses and meanings of the words, with references to the authorities from which the quotations are taken. Had this system been carried out with the same completeness in regard to all the works made use of in compilation, the dictionary would have gone far towards attaining the goal of perfection which nothing human seems destined actually to reach. But in the case of a considerable number of the books consulted by him, the author states that the words they contain have been only partially indexed, time not allowing of his doing more. This, however, though simply noticed here as a ground of deficiency,

is not such as to impair the utility of the work for general use. We may therefore pass on to express approval of another important feature, namely, the reference to cognate words existing in the other South Indian languages, a mode of illustration which often casts a valuable light in bringing out the meanings they have in common. The printing of leading words in prominent type is also to be commended.

The works consulted in preparing the verbal lists no doubt include most of those that are indispensable for the undertaking, but the utility seems questionable of a reliance on certain of those enumerated written in the modern dialect. The author was naturally desirous of adapting his work for use in all the countries in which the language is current, and to make it not only of classical and literary value, but practically useful in the ordinary transactions of life. And we are, indeed, led to suppose that in early times the purest form of the language was spoken and written in parts of the so-called South Mahratta country, or districts contiguous to it, more properly constituting and officially recognized as the Karṇāṭaka Prānt, but the vicissitudes of the recent past have, it is to be feared, led to such a predominance of Mahratti that the Kannaḍa element in use is now far from what is reckoned as pure by the best authorities. Hence it is a doubtful proceeding, in the interests of the language, to give prominence and status to a so-called South Mahratta Kannaḍa as distinguished from the general body of the language. In typography the necessity has been recognized of restoring characteristic obsolete letters, which have gone out of use partly, perhaps, through the fashion of printing-presses, but which are essential for the correct rendering of the language. A similar endeavour should be made to recall the verbal forms to the standard of the purity and elegance of the best age. Had less value been attached to certain of these modern works, more room would have been found for examples of the true classical period.

Nor must we be misled by the term Ancient Kannaḍa,

or Hala Kannaḍa, as if it denoted what is out of date; for, as Bishop Caldwell says, "classical Canarese is usually called 'Old Canarese,' but it may more properly be regarded neither as new nor as old, but simply as the language of Canarese literature, seeing that it is the language in which literary compositions seem always to have been written." Thus the importance of the grammatical work of Uṛipatunga cannot in future be ignored. And though the earliest authors are known to us only by name at present, the writings of Gunavarmma, Ponna, Ranna, and others are available and should undoubtedly find a place in the list of authorities consulted, together with all ancient *nighaṇṭus* or vocabularies devoted to the Kannaḍa language itself. This course would be found to supply certain omissions that have been noted, principally of words occurring in poetry.

To make room for additional genuine terms of the language it would be no disadvantage to cut down the number of Sanskrit words introduced. The proportion of Sanskrit to be admitted to a work of this kind must always be a matter of doubt and discretion. But pure ordinary Sanskrit expressions, such as *dīrghakāla* and others that might be quoted, used in no special or different sense from the direct and plain meaning of the words in their own language, seem out of place in a dictionary of Kannaḍa.[1]

The matters pointed out, however, are such as can easily be remedied in another edition. On the whole nothing but praise is due for the laborious and conscientious manner in which the work has been compiled. The printing and get-up well sustain the reputation of the Basel Mission Press at Mangalore.

A few words may perhaps be permitted in conclusion on the name of the language. Mr. Kittel's return to

[1] The extent to which Dravidian words have been adopted into Sanskrit is a subject on which Mr. Kittel has laid some stress, and a list of 420 such words is given, but our limits do not allow of more than a mere mention of the matter here in passing.

Kannaḍa, the genuine and actual form, is to be applauded, and is worthy of support by the learned world. The time seems now to have come when the use of the hybrid term "Canarese," derived, it is believed, from the Portuguese *Canarijs*, and which the authorities attempt to make more correct by spelling it "Kanarese," should be given up, certainly by scholars and learned institutions. The other South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam, Tulu—are called by their right names, recognizable as such by the natives who speak them; whereas Kannaḍa, a word which presents no difficulty in pronunciation, is not used to designate the speech of which it is the name, and this is called Canarese, a word significant of nothing at all to the natives of the country.

The language is of much interest, being spoken by ten millions or more of the inhabitants of India. The rising importance of the State of Mysore, of which it is the mother tongue, may lead to its wider spread. Its extensive literature, but recently brought to light, will probably occupy the attention of scholars more than in the past, as being a depository of the doctrines of the Digambara Jains and the Lingāyts. The present seems, therefore, a suitable opportunity in which a special effort may be made to introduce the use of the right name—Kannaḍa.

L. R.

A Grammar of the Persian Language, by John T. Platts, Teacher of Persian in the University of Oxford: Part I.—Accidence (London: Williams and Norgate, 1894; pp. xii. and 344).

Mr. Platts has long been known, by his excellent edition and translation of the *Gulistān* of *Sa'dī*, as well as by his Urdū Grammar, as a careful and accurate scholar in the Persian and Hindustānī languages; and to his recently published Persian Grammar (a book which deserves a cordial welcome from all students of that tongue) no higher praise

can be accorded than to say that it is in every way worthy of his high reputation. Forbes' Grammar, and even Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's, have long been quite inadequate to the needs of English students, for great advances have been made in Persian philology since they were written, and on the history of the language in particular a flood of light has been thrown by the labours of those who have devoted themselves to the elucidation of the Old Persian inscriptions, the Avesta, and the Pehlevi books, coins, and other monuments. Amongst these, few deserve a more honourable mention than the late Professor James Darmesteter, whose premature death last autumn caused so deep a sorrow, not only amongst his numerous friends and admirers, but amongst all those who had at heart the cause of Oriental scholarship. Him, most wisely, has Mr. Platts taken as his model and guide in the compilation of his grammar: "the book which has been my chief help and guide," says he (p. vii.), "is the admirable and highly suggestive *Etudes Iraniennes* of Darmesteter, but for which much of this grammar would have been very imperfect."

An excellent feature of Mr. Platts' Grammar, to which he calls attention in the Preface (p. vi.), is the copious illustration of the rules laid down by apt quotations from Persian authors, especially poets; and we thoroughly concur in his belief "that the student will learn more from an intelligent and careful examination of the utterances of some of the best Persian writers than from any amount of mere formal grammar." Mr. Platts' examples are, as a rule, not only felicitously chosen, but also represent a wide field of literature, much of which is unknown to the ordinary student. A full and conscientious use has also been made, not only of the works of European scholars who have written on Persian Grammar, but also of the native grammarians, especially of Mīrzā Ḥabīb's *Dastūr-i-sukhan*, and Ḥājī Mīrzā Ḥuseyn Khān's *Tanbīhu'ṣ-ṣibyān* (Constantinople, A.H. 1298).

The serious study of Persian Grammar is, compared with that of Arabic or Sanskrit, of so modern a growth, and

the materials for it are so inadequate, that it is not surprising if even the most carefully compiled work on the subject should leave plenty of room for differences of opinion on minor points. The following remarks and queries on various passages in Mr. Platts' Grammar are advanced in no captious or dogmatic spirit, but rather in the belief that true appreciation is best shown by candid criticism.

1. *Pronunciation.*—On p. 3 Mr. Platts says, in speaking of the letter ذ, "in other cases (and especially after the long vowels) it has the sound of the Arabic ذ, that is, of our *th*, as in *with*, or *that* (which seems to have been the pronunciation in early times), and may even be written ذ." We should like to see "had" substituted for "has," and "used to be written" for "may even be written." Forms like گیرذ, بوذ, بذست, which are constant in MSS. written in or before the 13th century, were seldom or never written after the 14th century; while the fact that even in 13th century MSS. ذ is occasionally confounded with ز would seem to show that even at that time it had lost the primitive *dh*-sound, and was pronounced (as it still is in words like گذشتن, پذیرفتن) as a z.

On p. 11 Mr. Platts describes the *fatḥa* as representing, "at least in the living speech," "a sound somewhat between our *a* in *cap* and *u* in *bun*." As a matter of fact it oftener has, in the mouths of Persians, the sound of *a* in *man* or *bad*, especially where it is followed by two consonants, *e.g.* in words like *hast, dast.* It is for this reason that M. de Biberstein Kazimirski, and others who have striven accurately to represent the modern Persian pronunciation, have adopted the Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon *æ* in transliteration as the equivalent of *fatḥa*.

On p. 13 Mr. Platt says: "In the last generation, *ā* was generally sounded like our *a* in *ball*; but though still so sounded in parts of Persia (and especially in the Kāshān dialect), it is now becoming very common to give it the sound of our *a* in *bar*, as it had in Persia in olden times, and has, even now, in the Persian of India;" and in a note he

adds: "From the introduction to the *Vazīr of Lankurān* we learn that in the district of Fārs all *ā*'s become *ū*," etc. Now we cannot recognize any tendency amongst the Persians to revert to the less broad sound of the long *alif*: we should rather say that it always had the sound of the *a* in *war* or *all* (something like Scandinavian *å*), except before *n*, and occasionally *m*, when it often has the sound of *ū*, or *u*. Thus نان, *nān* (bread) is, as Mr. Platts says, pronounced *nūn* (exactly like the English word *noon*), and کدام, *kudām* (which), *kudūm*. But sometimes it has the sound of short *u* (as in *pull, full*), as in آن (pronounced *un*, not *ūn*), کرمان (*kirmun*, not *kirmūn*). So far as we know, it never has any sound but that of the *a* in *all* except before *n* and *m*. In the dialects, whether Northern (*e.g.* Māzandarānī), Western (*e.g.* Lurī), Central (*e.g.* Ḳohrūdī, Natanzī, Yezdī), or Southern (*e.g.* Sīvandī), it tends to become *u* in all cases; so that, for example, a *guebre* of Yezd, speaking the so-called "*Darī*," says *ḳū'ida* for *ḳā'ida* (قاعده); and, in the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhvi, one of the best-known dialectical poets of Persia, we find not only *mihrbūnī* for *mihrbānī* (مهربونی for مهربانی), but *mū* (مو) for *ma* (ما), as, for instance, in the following verse:—

مگر شیر و پلنگی ای دل ای دل ' بمو دایم بجنگی ای دل ای دل '
اگر دستم فتی خونت وریژم ' بوینم تا چه رنگی ای دل ای دل '

"*Magār shīr u palangī, ey dil, ey dil?*
Bi-mū dā'im bi-jangī, ey dil, ey dil:
Agar dastam futī, khūnat vi-rīzhum;
Bi-vīnum tā ché rangī, ey dil, ey dil."

"Art thou a lion or a leopard, O heart, O heart?
Thou art ever at war with us, O heart, O heart:
If thou should'st fall into my hand, I will shed thy blood;
I will see what colour thou art, O heart, O heart."

On the same page Mr. Platts, speaking of the *majhūl* sounds of ی and و (*ē* and *ō*), admits that they have "long been abandoned in Persia," and adds that the distinction between the *ma'rūf* and *majhūl* sounds of these two letters

"is now only met with in the writings of the older poets, and is noticeable in that an *ē* (as in شِیر, *sher*, 'lion'..) cannot rhyme with *ī* (as in شِیر, *shīr*, 'milk')." This, no doubt, is generally true; yet even in the older poets, notably *Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī* (A.D. 1207–1273), we find exceptions to the rule, as, for instance, in the following verse from the *Masnavī* :—

آن یکی شیریست کآدم میخورد ،
و این یکی شیریست کآدم میخورد ،

"That one is a *shīr* (lion) which eats man, while this one is a *shīr* (milk) which man eats." As regards modern Persian pronunciation, we can only recollect having heard the *majhūl* sound of ی in two words, both proper names, *viz.* فریدون (pronounced *Ferēdūn*) and تیمور (pronounced *Tēmūr*).

2. *Plurals.*—P. 37. While admitting with Mr. Platts that it is perhaps more logical to write the plural of جامه as جامهها rather than as جامهها, we do not admit that the former is sanctioned by common usage. The vowel-points are but seldom used in writing Persian, and as it is practically inconvenient that the plurals of جام and جامه, نام and نامه, چشم and چشمه, etc., should not be distinguished from one another, there is much to be said in favour of the prevailing custom of retaining the *hā-i-mukhtafī* before the plural termination ها. This, at any rate, is the ordinary practice. Forms of double plurals like ارباباں, امرایاں, اطرافها, etc., mentioned by Mr. Platts on p. 39, we cannot but regard as solecisms most strongly to be condemned.

3. *Declension.*—We find ourselves unable to agree with all that Mr. Platts says on pp. 40–43 about the expression of the *izāfat* after words ending in vowels. We have to consider four cases, *viz.* words ending in *ā* (ا), *ū* (و), *ī* (ی), and *a* or *é* (ه, ۀ), and the rules which we should give are as follows:—

After words ending in *ā* or *ū* the *izāfat* is generally, and may always be, expressed by ی; but in the case of *Arabic*

words ending in *ā* it may, at the option of the writer, be expressed by ء. If, however, ی is used, *hamza must not be superadded.* To write ئی is a pure archaism, never, so far as we know, found in MSS. written in Persia during the last four centuries, though maintained by Indian writers. Hence we cannot approve such spellings as those adopted by Mr. Platts, اعضائ یکدیگر, اهوئ دشت. We consider that the first should be either اعضاء یکدیگر (*a'ẓā 'i-yakdīgar*), or اعضای یکدیگر (*a'ẓā-yi-yakdīgar*), and the second آهوی دشت (*āhū-yi-dasht*), or possibly in poetry آهُو دشت (*āhūw-i-dasht*). In printing old texts, by all means let us preserve the archaisms which they present; but let us do so consistently, and not perpetuate one while we consign others, just as prevalent in their own day, to oblivion.

After words ending in *ī* or *a* (*é*) the *iẓāfat* is generally, and may always be, expressed by ء. In the case of words ending in *ī*, however, we may optionally resolve *ī* into *iy* or even *iyy*, and indicate the *iẓāfat* merely by a *kesra*, as we should do after any other vowel. Thus, to take Mr. Platts' example, ماهئ دریا, we may either write—

(1) ماهئ دریا, *māhī 'i-daryā*, or
(2) ماهِی دریا, *māhiy-i-daryā*, or (which is very common now-a-days in Persia)
(3) ماهِیّ دریا, *māhiyy-i-daryā*.

The second of these forms is chiefly used in poetry where the metre requires (_ ⏑ ⏒) for (_ _ ⏒). The third is largely used in Persian editions of the poets; for the modern Persians seem to dislike the hiatus caused by a *hamza*, and only use it, as a rule, when it cannot be avoided, as, for instance, when the *yā-i-waḥdat*, or *yā-i-maṣdar*, or *yā-i-nisbat* has to be added to a word ending with a vowel. We do not, however, agree with Mr. Platts that their dislike of the *hamza* carries them so far as to sound it as *y* in expressions like بندهٔ خدا (*bandé-i-khudā*), which, according to Mr. Platts, should be pronounced *bandaye khŏdā*. Mr. Platts is

certainly (as he himself has privately pointed out to us) supported by several strong authorities in this statement, but nevertheless we feel ourselves unable to accept it, or to deviate from the view that *hamza* essentially signifies in Persian, as in Arabic (see p. 43, *Rem.* 6), the hiatus, or check in the breath-stream, which the pronunciation of one vowel immediately after another necessitates. Where *hamza* is written, *hamza* must be pronounced.

4. *Numerals.*—The forms دَاه (*dāh*) for دَه (*dah*), "ten," and *yānzdah, duwanzdah, sīnzdah* ("eleven," "twelve," "thirteen"), mentioned on p. 69, must be extremely rare, and we have never met with them. We do not quite know why Mr. Platts describes the *tūmān* as "a gold piece reputed to have the value of 10,000 *dīnārs*," which is as though one should describe the English sovereign as "a gold piece reputed to have the value of 960 farthings." In § 49 on p. 72 it might be added that in certain expressions (for the most part names of places or natural phenomena) the plural is used even after a numeral, as in the Persian name of the Great Bear, which they call *Hafī Birādarān*, "the Seven Brothers."

5. *Pronouns.*—Although, as stated by Mr. Platts on p. 87, the use of the plural pronominal suffixes *-mān*, *-tān*, and *-shān*, is, perhaps, less common in prose than in verse, in the Persian language of to-day, as written and spoken by Persians, they are very freely used. We think, for example, that the pronominal suffix of the first person plural is distinctly required after *khud* in the example given at the bottom of p. 91. Nor can we agree with the statement on p. 96 that "in the spoken language of the present time the construction with آنِ or از آنِ is no longer used." The expression آن کسانیکه "with the double demonstrative," condemned on p. 101, seems to us to be thoroughly sanctioned by usage. We are also disposed to question the correctness of dropping the *tashdīd* over the *lām* of کُلّ (pp. 120–121), and we think that the *izāfat* is required after it, as well as

after تمام and جمله, at any rate in prose. Certainly for "the whole world" the Persians say *tamām-i-dunyā*, not, as Mr. Platts has it, *tamām-dunyā*.

6. *Verbs.*—The section dealing with the verbs is one of the most original and valuable portions of Mr. Platts' Grammar, and we would especially call attention to his remarks on the past tense on pp. 174–5. To the examples cited by him on p. 175 as illustrations of what he calls the "passive construction" of the pre-classical period, we may add two more (first noticed by Rückert, in the Z.D.M.G. for 1856, vol. x. p. 280) from the *Shāhnāma*:—

نشستش بیک جای با شهریار ‘
بدادش بطوس آنگه اسپهبدی ‘

and *Ḥāfiẓ* supplies us with a few instances of an analogous peculiarity, tending, as we think, to weaken Mr. Platts' theory of a "passive construction," of which we will here cite two examples. The first (ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. ii. p. 98) runs as follows:—

حافظ که هوس میکندش جام جهان بین ‘
گو در نظر آصف جمشید مکان باش ‘

On *mī-kunadash* Sūdī, the Turkish commentator, remarks:—"The pronominal *-ash*, is introduced to complete the metre, beautify the expression, and emphasize the meaning." The second instance occurs at p. 128 of the same volume, and runs:—

عرض و مال از در میخانه نشاید اندوخت ‘
هرکه این آب خورد رخت بدریا فگنش ‘

Here also Sūdī takes *figan-ash* as simply equivalent to *figan*; though perhaps we might rather consider "*rakht bi-daryā figan-ash*" as = "*rakht-ash bi-daryā figan.*"

The dialects, as Mr. Platts points out, afford much better instances of the continuation of the old Pahlavī usage. Amongst the odes of *Ḥāfiẓ* in ی is one written partly in

Arabic, partly in Persian, and partly in dialect, of which the following verse (emended by the help of several MSS. from Sūdī's reading, followed, together with his erroneous explanation, by Rosenzweig) supplies us with a good instance of the construction :—

به پیماچان غرامت بسپریمان ‘
غرت یک وی روشنی تزُاما دی ‘

"*We will do penance at the threshold* (*pey-māchān* = *pā-māchān*, the lowest part of the room, by the door, where the shoes are removed and the "feet kiss" the ground) *if thou hast seen any misconduct on our part.*" "If thou hast seen," which in normal Persian = *gar dīdī*, is expressed in the dialect by the stem of the verb *dī* + the pronominal suffix added to *gar* (*ghar-at* = *gar-at*).

Here is another instance of the same thing from a dialectical poem by Sa'dī (not included in the ordinary editions) :—

که خیرت بوت ازی معنی کت اشنفت ‘
بگُی رحمت وسعدی با کش إی گفت ‘

"*May good accrue to thee from this moral which thou hast heard* (*kat ishnuft* = *ki ishnuftī*); *say, 'May* [*God's*] *mercy rest on Sa'dī, who hath uttered it* (*kash ī' guft* = *ki īn-rā guft*). Another example of the same thing is supplied by another line from the same poem :—

بَسُم دی کسورہ ماند بیدہ بیذشت ‘

"*Bas-um dī* (= *bas dīdam*) *ki'swaré mānd, bīda bīzisht.*" ("Often have I seen the horseman fail while the pedestrian passed on.")

On p. 178 Mr. Platts mentions the rare and archaic conditional perfect. He might have added the equally rare and archaic conditional aorist and pluperfect, formed in the same way by adding ی to the indicative. To these forms

I especially called attention at pp. 435–7 of the J.R.A.S. for July, 1894.

On the same page Mr. Platts expresses an opinion that the کرد in خواهم کرد, aor., is not to be regarded, according to the usual view, as an "apocopated infinitive," but as a verbal noun; and that *khwāham kard*, 'I shall, or will, do,' literally means, 'I desire the doing'; for, says he, "an apocopated infinitive is contrary to all analogy in Persian." This view we find great difficulty in accepting, for *firstly* 'I desire the doing,' *i.e.* 'I wish to do,' is not expressed, as a rule, by the future, but by the appropriate tense of خواستن followed by the aorist. Thus, in the modern language especially, there is a very clear distinction between '*khwāham raft*,' 'I shall go' (the future), and '*mī-khwāham bi-ravam*,' 'I wish to go' (the optative). Moreover it seems to us that the existence of an apocopated infinitive is supported by other evidence. Can *bi-shikast*, for instance, in the following well-known verse from Book i. of the *Gulistān* be explained otherwise than as an apocopated infinitive?

بسبازوان توانا و قوّت سرِدست ‘
خطاست پنجهٔ مسکین ناتوان بشکست ‘

7. *Adverbs.* — We cannot agree with Mr. Platts that *tanwīn-fatḥa* "is not usually pronounced except in India," for though *ḥaḳḳā* and *ḥālā* are much commoner than *ḥaḳḳan* and *ḥalan* as pronunciations of حقّاً, حالاً, on the other hand واقعاً and اتّفاقاً are, so far as we know, almost always pronounced *vāḳi'an* and *ittifāḳan*.

Lastly, we altogether deny that the suffix *ū* so commonly used in the current idiom of South Persia (Shīrāz, Kirmān, etc.) "is not usually pronounced." That it *is* pronounced is an incontestable fact, in support of which (apart from the

evidence of one's own ears) the following verse of Ḳā'ānī's may be adduced :—

چون برخ افگنم گرہ کای پسرو بیا بدہ ‘
هیچ نمی گوید که چه هیچ نمی پرسد که چون ‘

(Metre :— | — ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — ⏑ — | — ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — ⏑ — |)

These are almost the only points in the whole of Mr. Platts' excellent Grammar on which we feel compelled to dissent from his views, and we have discussed them at some length because we feel assured that, so far, at least, as England is concerned, his Grammar will henceforth be accepted as the best work on the subject hitherto produced, and will be used by English students almost universally. We therefore cordially hope that it may run through many editions, and that its sale may recompense Mr. Platts for the pecuniary risks which, apart from the labour involved in so arduous an undertaking, he has incurred in its publication. In the confident expectation that a new edition will be required in course of time, we append the following list of misprints, not included amongst the *errata*, which we have noticed during the perusal of the book.

Page	14.	For	مد	read	مدّ.
„	15.	„	مُيَسَّر	„	مُيَسَّر.
„	28.	„	*bugurgīki*	„	*buzurgīki.*
„	40, l. 2.	„	اصافی	„	اضافی.
„	45.	„	گویم	„	بگویم (required by the metre).
„	71.	„	هزاز	„	هزار.
„	82.	„	بیچاره	„	بیچارهٔ (required by the metre).
„	121.	„	طمام	„	تمام.
„	121.	„	اساب	„	اسباب.
„	122.	„	ڤختلی	„	ڤجتلی.
„	124.	„	دپد	„	دید.

E. G. B.

PRÂCÎN LIPIMÂLÂ. THE PALÆOGRAPHY OF INDIA. By GAURISHANKAR G. OJHA.

Mr. Ojha, a pupil of the late Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî, and at present in the employ of the Udaypur Darbâr in Rajputânâ, has compiled the present volume in order to provide his countrymen with a means for taking part more generally in the study of epigraphy, and in the elucidation of the history of India.

On thirty-nine lithographed plates he gives a variety of epigraphic alphabets together with specimens of texts. Next come four plates with numerals, and then seven plates of modern Indian characters. A plate showing the development of the Devanâgarî letters and another with miscellaneous signs from various inscriptions make the conclusion. The letterpress, Hindî in Devanâgarî, contains seven chapters: (1) The Antiquity of Writing in India; (2) The Indian Origin of the Pali Alphabet; (3) The Gandhâra Alphabet; (4) An Account of Mr. Prinsep's Discoveries; (5) The Indian Eras; (6) The Ancient Numerals; (7) Explanatory Notes on the Plates. The text and the plates have been compiled, as Mr. Ojha carefully points out, from *The Indian Antiquary*, *The Epigraphia Indica*, *The Arch. Survey Reports of West India*, Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, and *The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.

Mr. Ojha's aim is a most praiseworthy one, and it is to be hoped that his publication will spread a taste for epigraphic and historical research among the natives who are unable to read English. If their attention be drawn to the subject, we shall probably become acquainted with many inscriptions, lying about in inaccessible or little visited places.

From a scientific point of view it is, however, impossible to commend Mr. Ojha's book. The letters of the plates, all drawn by hand, are frequently more or less inexact. Plates 29, 32, 33, 35, and 36 have been taken, as he himself states in the explanatory notes, from spurious

inscriptions, and some others from suspicious or suspected grants. Such plates are useless and worse than useless, as they naturally bewilder or mislead the beginner. The arrangement of the alphabets is wanting in method, and a plate of *Saṁkîrṇakas*, 'miscellaneous signs, which would not go into their proper places,' ought not to occur. All these points and a good number of other small details will require correction in future. I think also that, if Mr. Ojha must talk about the origin of the alphabets and the possibility or impossibility of deriving the Pali characters from the Phœnician or Aramaic, it will be advisable for him to get and to study Professor Euting's Tables of the Aramaic Alphabets, which Pandit Igishṭaram Mukundji can procure for him. His remarks at p. 8 f. show that he has not paid that attention to the subject which would entitle him to give an opinion.

G. B.

A NOTE ON THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S ANCIENT MS. OF THE GAṆARATNAMAHODADHI. By G. BÜHLER.

After the date of the ancient MS. of the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (presented by Colonel Tod to the Royal Asiatic Society), *Saṁvak* 1151 *Virodhî*[1]*-saṁvatsare kârttika vadi* 5 *vudhe*, I find the following, I believe, unpublished historical note : — " *Adyeha çrîmatpraudhapratâpacakravarttiśri — Siṁhaṇadevo vijayodayî tatpâdapadmopajîvî mahâsâdhanika— Tânûnâyakasuta — Lakhumâdevanâyaka*[*ḥ**] *sarvavyâpâraṁ karotîtyevaṁ kâle pravarttamâne Çrî—Devagiridur*[*gge śrî . â . i . . . . pâṭhaka (?) . i*] . . . . . *likhâpitâ* || "[2]

Translation.

"To-day—prosperous through conquest is his glorious majesty, illustrious Siṁhaṇa, the emperor of great valour;

[1] Read *Saṁvat* and *Virodhi*.

[2] About twenty-five syllables have been rubbed out before *likhâpitâ*, as well as a dozen or so which followed in the next line. With a particularly good light and a strong glass it might be possible to make out most, if not all, of them. They no doubt contained information regarding the original owner of the MS., and were, as is often done, intentionally effaced on the sale of the volume.

the servant of his lotus-feet Lakhumâdeva Nâyaka, the son of the *mahâsâdhanika* Tânû Nâyaka, performs all the business (of government)—while time was thus going on the [MS. of] . . . was caused to be written here, in the famous great fort of Devagiri . . . . . ."

Siṁhaṇa was one of the most powerful princes of the Yâdava dynasty of Devagiri or Daulatâbâd, and ruled, according to his inscriptions, from Çakasaṁvat 1132 to 1169. It is, therefore, certain that *Saṁvat* means here *Çakasaṁvat*, and that the MS. was not written in Rajputana, as has been conjectured, but in the Dekhaṇ. The date corresponds to Wednesday.

THE FIVE ZOROASTRIAN GĀTHĀS, with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian Texts and Translations. By L. H. MILLS, D.D. 8vo. Pp. xxx. and 622. (Leipsic: F. A. Brockhaus, 1892–94.)

In this work we have the result of some seventeen years of study and labour, undertaken with the view of enabling any person of liberal education to ascertain for himself the exact meaning of the Avesta Gāthās, the central documents of the Zoroastrian faith. For this purpose the Avesta text of each Gāthic stanza is separately furnished with a verbatim Latin and a free English rhythmical translation, together with transliterations and translations of its Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions, and a transliteration of a Parsi-Persian version of the Pahlavi. All the stanzas in the first Gāthā, and nearly all of those in the last two, are likewise transliterated; and these materials are supplemented by 230 pages of commentary. The author also intends to publish a complete glossary and grammar of the Avesta Gāthās. With all this information before him, any Avesta student has ample opportunity to study the Gāthās for himself, merely observing that the various versions differ very much in value.

The original Avesta text is really of prehistoric authorship; composed in a language closely allied to the Vedic

Sanskrit, and applying the separate titles *Mazda* and *Ahura* to the Supreme Being, it thus affords us circumstantial evidence that it is older than the Behistun inscriptions of Darius I., which convert these two titles into the single name *Auramazda*. The oldest existing MSS. of the Gāthās were written 571 years ago, at Cambay, by a Parsi priest who had come from Persia; and there is documentary evidence of the descent of other similar MSS., extending as far back as A.D. 1020.

The Pahlavi version of the Gāthās is supposed to have been first prepared in the middle of the fourth century, when Shahpūhar II. was king; and to have been revised two centuries later, in the reign of King Khusrō I. Quotations made from it, at the latter end of the ninth century, by the authors of the "Dēnkard" and "Selections of Zād-sparam," show that its text was then practically the same as that still preserved in the Gāthā MSS. written 571 years ago. This version, therefore, gives the meaning of the Gāthās as they were understood in Sasanian times, when the Zoroastrian religion was in power.

The Sanskrit version is a translation of the Pahlavi, made by Dastūr Neryosang Dhaval, who flourished about A.D. 1200, as nearly as can be now ascertained. Whether the differences between the Sanskrit and Pahlavi versions be due to Neryosang himself, or to variations in the MS. he used, from those we now possess, is a question that remains to be settled. We have no reason to suppose that his knowledge of the meaning of the Avesta itself was superior to that of present scholars.

The Parsi-Persian version is transliterated from a modern Persian transliteration and translation of the Pahlavi, which is found in one of Haug's MSS. This was copied in 1865–6 from a Surat MS. of which no particular memorandum appears to have been preserved; but there is little probability of its being more than a century old. This version often indicates the correct reading of ambiguous Pahlavi words, but gives it in the antiquated form handed down by Parsi tradition. And it may be worth noting that

Haug's copyist, in this instance, was a Muhammadan who seems to have done his work very carelessly, and to have made many omissions.

The free rhythmical translation appears to be given chiefly to indicate the rhythm of the original Avesta; but the reader will find a fairly literal translation in the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxi., interspersed with some excess of interpolated words in parentheses. The same volume also contains an introduction, which should be read as a supplement to that of the work under review.

As Dr. Mills has explained, in his introduction to these materials, a Pahlavi version of an Avesta text cannot be translated in the same way as a purely Pahlavi text. In a Pahlavi version, the translator must first identify the words which are intended to translate those in the Avesta text. These, as a general rule, follow the same order as the words they translate, but are often interrupted by pure Pahlavi glosses which are parenthetical, and should be so marked. The translator has then two intermingled texts to attend to, the main thread of the sentence which is arranged in its Avesta order, and the parenthetical glosses which follow the Pahlavi order. The former must be translated so as to harmonize with the original Avesta, and the latter as pure Pahlavi explanations of the particular words to which they refer, which may sometimes not be easy to identify. After all, there is no particular difficulty in thus translating, if the translator is fairly acquainted with Pahlavi and does not lose sight of the meaning of the Avesta words, because the two versions mutually explain each other. It is when the translator launches out into a long Pahlavi commentary, without any Avesta compass to steer by, that he is most likely to run aground upon unexpected shoals and encounter unnoticed dangers. Such commentaries, however, are not found in the Pahlavi Gāthās, but refer chiefly to legal and ritualistic details, supplementary to the text of such works as the "Vendīdād" and "Nīrangistān"; and their style, though purely Pahlavi, is often quite as rugged and obscure as Dr. Mills confesses

that his own commentary may be considered, if read apart from the text it refers to.

E. W. West.

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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād, written about the year* 900 A.D. *by Ibn Serapion. The Arabic Text edited from a MS. in the British Museum Library, with Translation and Notes.* By GUY LE STRANGE.

(*Continued from page* 76.)

[SECTION VI.]

CANALS OF THE LOWER EUPHRATES.

Now six leagues after the Nahr Kūthā has been led off from the Euphrates, this last divides into two branches.[1] Of these the (true) Euphrates passes on down to (the town called) Ḳanṭara-al-Kūfa, then it runs past the city of Al-Kūfa, where there is a Bridge-of-Boats over it. And after this it flows into the Swamps.

The other branch (of the River) is also a mighty stream, which is greater even than the Euphrates itself and more broad.[2] This is the channel called the Upper Sūrā Canal. It passes by many villages and domains, and from it branch numerous canals which water the Districts of Sūrā, Barbīsamā, and Bārūsmā. It passes in front of the city of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, and between it and the town is less

than a mile of distance. Here there is a Bridge-of-Boats over the same, which is called the Jisr Sūrā.

From the (Upper Sūrā) is brought (a canal) called the Nahr Abu Raḥā. Its beginning is at a place one league above the city of the Ḳaṣr, and it falls into the Sūrā again one league below Ḳaṣr (Ibn Hubayra).

The Nahr Sūrā runs on past the town of the Ḳaṣr for a distance of six leagues, and then there is taken from it a canal called the Lower Sūrā. At the head of this canal there is a great bridge called the Ḳanṭara-al-Ḳāmighān, and the water pours through it with a mighty rush. This canal next passes by villages and cultivated lands, and from it branch numerous channels which water the districts of Bābil,[3] of Khuṭarnīya, of Al-Jāmi'ān (the Two Mosques), and of Upper and Lower Al-Fallūja. Now the (Lower Sūrā) Canal passes through the ruins of the city of Bābil, and afterwards by the (town of the) Two Mosques (Al-Jāmi'ān), the New and the Old, and then it comes to Ḥamdābād and Khuṭarnīya and it passes Ḳussīn. From here there branch from it the channels which water the Districts of Junbulā and those that lie adjacent thereto. Finally, some way below Al-Kūfa and it its Sawād (or Plain) the (Lower Sūrā) falls into the canal which is brought from the Euphrates, and which is called Al-Badāt.[4]

From the Lower Sūrā, aforesaid, is taken a canal called the Nahr-an-Nars.[5] Its beginning is at the Old Jāmi' (Mosque). It flows by villages and domains, and from it divide the channels which irrigate the Sawād of Al-Kūfa, or some part thereof. It passes by Al-Ḥārithiyya and by Ḥammām 'Omar. Now from the bridge of Al-Ḳāmighān to the head of the canal of An-Nars is six leagues, and from the head of the Nars Canal to Ḥammām 'Omar is likewise six leagues. Finally, the canal of An-Nars falls out into the canal of Al-Badāt, in the Sawād of Al-Kūfa, which lies to the eastward of the Euphrates.

Then after the Upper Sūrā has passed the bridge of Al-Ḳāmighān it receives the name of the Great Ṣarāt,[6] and it flows near Al-'Aḳr and by (many) villages and domains.

After passing Ṣābarnīthā there branch from it the channels which water the domains lying to the west of the canal. From it also is taken a canal called the Nahr Ṣarāt Jāmās. Its point of origin is at (the waterwheels called) An-Nawā'ir, whence it flows, irrigating the domains in those parts, and finally rejoins the Great Ṣarāt at a point three leagues below the city of An-Nīl.[1] The Great Ṣarāt itself flows past the city of An-Nīl, and there is here a bridge over it called Ḳanṭara-al-Māsī. After the canal has passed this bridge it takes the name of (the Canal of) An-Nīl. It flows next by villages and cultivated lands to a place called Al-Hūl, between which and (the town of) An-Nu'māniyya, on the bank of the Tigris, is less than a league's distance, and from this point they transport (goods to other boats) on the Tigris. But the canal (of An-Nīl) turns off here, and passes towards Nahr Sābus, which is the name of a village lying on the Tigris bank; and the (canal) takes here the name of the Nahr Sābus, flowing out into the Tigris one league below the village (of Nahr Sābus).

These, therefore, are the streams which flow into, and are derived from, the river Euphrates, and these having now been described, there remains over for thee the specification of the streams which fall into, and are derived from, the Tigris. And these I will also explain clearly to thee, if it please Allah. May He be exalted!

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[1] The distances here given agree very fairly with the point on the modern map where the Hindiyya Canal, by Ibn Serapion regarded as the main stream of the Euphrates (see Section II. note 7), branches from the Sūrā arm, which, in his day, was the name given to part of what is the present main channel of the Euphrates. On the Western or Kūfa arm lay the town of Al-Ḳanṭara (the Bridge), where one of the roads from Baghdād to Al-Kūfa crossed the stream. This place, according to Ibn Rusta (p. 182), who names

the town under the plural form of the word, viz. Al-Ḳanāṭīr, lay twenty-seven miles southward of the Bridge-of-Boats at Sūrā, and twenty-eight miles above the city of Al-Kūfa. The town of Al-Ḳanṭara, or Al-Ḳanāṭīr, is, I presume, the place which Yāḳūt (IV. 180) names Ḳanāṭīr of the Bani Dārā, for distinction. The city of Al-Kūfa has already been noticed (Section II. note 8).

[2] The eastern arm of the Euphrates, and its present main-channel, was formerly called the Nahr Sūrā, a name which in Ibn Rusta always appears under the older form of As-Sūrān. This canal irrigated the Sūrā district, which, according to Kudāma (p. 236), together with Barbīsamā and Bārūsmā, formed part of the great province (or Astān) of Middle Bihkubādh.

The city of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra lay on the Baghdād-Kūfa high-road, and according to Ibn Rusta (p. 182) it was fifteen miles south of Kūthā, and two miles above the Bridge-of-Boats over the Sūrā Canal. The ruins of Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra are identified by M. de Goeje (Z.D.M.G. XXXIX. 6) with those now called Tubayba. Ibn Hawkal (p. 166) writes that in his day (tenth century A.D.) Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra was the largest town between Baghdād and Al-Kūfa, and one of the most populous places of the Sawād District. It took its name from the Castle or Palace (Ḳaṣr) built here by Yazir-ibn-'Omar Ibn Hubayra, governor of Al-'Irāk, under Marwan II., the last Omayyad Caliph. This castle, according to Yāḳūt (IV. 123), Ibn Hubayra never finished, but after the fall of the Omayyads, the first of the Abbasid Caliphs, As-Saffāḥ, taking up his residence here, proceeded to roof the chambers and enlarge the half-finished buildings, to which he gave the name of Al-Hāshimiyya, in honour of his ancestor Hāshim. The people, however, preferred the old name, and Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra it continued to be called.

The Canal of Abu Raḥā (meaning probably "the

Canal of the Mill," unless Abu Raḥā be taken as a man's name), is apparently mentioned by no other authority; and the same remark applies, I believe, to the Bridge of Ḳāmighān, where the Upper Sūrā Canal bifurcated, forming the Lower Sūrā and the Great Ṣarāt. In general terms the Upper and Lower Sūrā correspond with what is now the course of the Euphrates from Musayyib to Lamlūn, while the Ṣarāt is the present Shatt-an-Nīl.

[3] Bābil (the ancient Babylon), Khuṭarnīya, and the two Fallūjas (not to be confounded with the Al-Fallūja near Al-Anbār) were four out of the six districts of the Province of Upper Bihkubādh, according to Kudāma (p. 236). Al-Jāmi'ān,* "the Two Mosques," is what subsequently came to be known as Al-Ḥilla, called for distinction Ḥilla of the Bani Mazyad. Yāḳūt (III. 861) says that the river at Al-Ḥilla was the Nahr Sūrā, and at another place (II. 322) he relates how Al-Jāmi'ān came to be called Al-Ḥilla, "the Settlement," for it appears that Sayf-ad-Dawla of the Bani Mazyad, fleeing hither with his people for refuge in A.H. 495 (1102), his descendants after his days "settled" permanently at this place.

Ḥamdābād is mentioned in Mas'ūdi (I. 215) as Aḥmadābād, but no details are given. Ḳussīn is written Ḳissīn in Yāḳūt (IV. 100), who states that it is a district of Al-Kūfa; and he mentions Junbulā (II. 126) as a station lying between Wāsiṭ and Al-Kūfa, "from whence you go to Ḳanāṭir of the Bani Dara" (see above, note 1).

[4] The point where the Canal of Al-Badāt leaves the Euphrates is unfortunately not fixed by Ibn Serapion. Yāḳūt (I. 770, II. 31) and some other authorities give the pronunciation as Al-Budāt, but this is probably incorrect. Kudāma (p. 236) mentions Al-Badāt as a sub-district of the Astān of Middle

* Dual form of *Jāmi'*, a Congregational-Mosque for the Friday Prayers.

Bihkubādh; and M. de Goeje gives good reasons (Z.D.M.G. XXXIX. 12) for thinking that, while the total length of this canal was about 22 leagues, the place where it left the Euphrates main-channel was at a short distance south (and west) of the Sūrā Bridge. Below Niffar doubtless it finally flowed out into the Swamps.

[5] The digging of the Nahr-an-Nars, Yāḳūt (IV. 773) ascribes to Narsi-ibn-Bahrām, that is to the Sassanian Narses, son of Varahrān, King of Persia, who came to the throne in 292 A.D. It was, Yāḳūt writes, a canal taken from the Euphrates, and on its banks lay many villages; no mention, however, is made of Al-Ḥārithiyya in this position. Ḥammām 'Omar is mentioned by Muḳaddasi (p. 134), who, however, gives the name as the Bath of *Ibn* 'Omar; it lay one march below Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra and a like distance above Al-Kūfa. The line of the Nars Canal beginning at Ḥilla, is fixed by the town of Niffar, whose ruins still exist, and which Yāḳūt (IV. 798) says lay on its bank.

[6] The line of the canal called the Great Ṣarāt, with its continuation, the Nīl Canal, is (as already mentioned) marked on the modern map by the Shaṭṭ-an-Nīl, and the ruins of the city of An-Nīl also exist (see below, Note 7). The Ṣarāt Jāmās is that which Bilādhurī (p. 254) and Yāḳūt (III. 379) call the Ṣarāt of Jāmāsb, and which was dug by Hajjāj, the celebrated Governor of Al-'Iraḳ, under the Omayyads. Jāmāsb, or, in Persian, Jāmāsp, is the name of the great Mobed, or Fire-priest, who was Minister of King Gushtasp, and who helped to introduce the religion of Zoroaster into Persia. Why a canal should be called after him in Mesopotamia is not stated.

The village of Al-'Aḳr, meaning "the Palace," is probably that mentioned by Yāḳūt (III. 695) as of the Bābil district, lying on the road towards Ḳarbalā,

and which Al-Ḥusayn, the Prophet's grandson, passed by as he went to the place of his martyrdom. Ṣābarnīthā the same author mentions (III. 359) as of the Kūfa District and on the Upper Sīb Canal, by which name, apparently, part of the Nīl Canal was known in the thirteenth century A.D.

[7] The city of An-Nīl, according to Bilādhurī (p. 290), was founded by the Governor Ḥajjāj, and made the chief town of the province when he dug the Nīl Canal. Yāḳūt (IV. 861) says that the canal was named after the Nile of Egypt, which it was supposed to resemble. I believe that no other authority mentions the bridge called the Ḳanṭara-al-Māsī. It is perhaps worth noting that, according to Abu-l-Fidā (p. 53), it was the reach of the canal *below* (not above, and west of) the city of An-Nīl, which in his day bore the name of Aṣ-Ṣarāt.

Al-Hūl, or Al-Hawl, near An-Nu'māniyya, is not mentioned by any other authority. As will be explained below (Section XIII. note 1), this name is applied to a place where a canal spreads out to form a lake of clear water, free from reeds. The village of Nahr Sābus, on the canal of this name, has been already mentioned (Section I. note 9). From Yāḳūt (II. 903) we learn that in his day (thirteenth century A.D.) the Nīl Canal, from the town of An-Nīl to opposite An-Nu'māniyya, was known as the Upper Zāb Canal, while the Lower Zāb Canal was what Ibn Serapion here calls the Nahr Sābus.

[SECTION VII.]

Affluents of the Tigris.

Among these is a stream called Nahr-adh-Dhīb,[1] and it flows into the Tigris. Its source is in a mountain in longitude 68° 30′, and in latitude 39° 5′. Coming down

from the district of Arzan, it falls into the Tigris under longitude 68° 20′, and latitude 36° 30′.

There also flows into the (Tigris) a river called [Fāfān].*[2] Its source is at a spring in a mountain under longitude 49° 5′, or 69° 5′, and latitude 39° 20′. Its junction with the Tigris is in longitude 69° 55′ (or 15′), and latitude 36° 30′.

There also falls into the (Tigris) the river called Bāsānfā.[3] Its source is in the country of Mayāfārikīn, and it falls into the Tigris on its eastern bank, five leagues above the town of Jazīra-Ibn-'Omar.

There likewise falls into the (Tigris) the (two) rivers called Az-Zāb.[4] The source of one of them is in a mountain under longitude 71° 30′, and latitude 38° 30′. It falls into the Tigris on its eastern bank, under longitude 69° 30′, and latitude 35° 30′. The second Az-Zāb has its source in longitude 72° 5′, and latitude 38° 5′, and it falls into the Tigris, on its eastern bank, under longitude 69° 40′, and latitude 35° 5′.

There also falls into the (Tigris) a river called Ath-Tharthār. It flows out from the river Al-Hirmās, which is the river of Naṣībīn; and passing on it cuts through a mountain which lies across its course. Thence flowing through the plain it passes Al-Ḥaḍr, and on through the plain of Sinjār. Finally it falls into the Tigris, on the western bank of the same, at a distance of two leagues above the city of Takrīt.

Now [below]† the Fortress of Ḥiṣn Kayfa,[5] there also flows into the (Tigris) [the river called Sarbaṭ †], but we need not describe it; also (the river) Sātīdamād, but this neither do we need to describe.

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[1] Nahr-adh-Dhīb, "the Wolf River," is evidently the stream now called Arzan Sū, on which lie the ruins of

* Conjectural reading, MS. Fāfas or Fāḳas.
† Conjectural emendations.

the city of Arzan. This town must not be confounded with Arzan-ar-Rūm or Erzeroum. Yāḳūt (III. 68), who does not mention this Nahr-adh-Dhīb, calls the river of Arzan the Wādī-as-Sarbaṭ, and the same name is given to it in a note to the text of Istakhri (p. 76, note *k*); where Arzan is described as a city without walls, but defended by a strong castle. Yāḳūt (I. 205) counts this town as of Armenia, but says that in his day (thirteenth century A.D.) it was already a ruin.

[2] In the MS. this name is written without diacritical points on the third letter, which may therefore be either *f* or *ḳ*, Fāfas or Fāḳas. Neither of these names, however, occur in any of our authorities, and I am inclined to believe that Fāfān (as printed in my text) is the true reading. The spring called ʿAyn-Tall-Fāfān is mentioned by Muḳaddasi (pp. 141, 145), who gives this river the name of Razm. The town of Tall-Fāfān lay between the Tigris and this river, and was noted for its gardens, its cheap food, and good markets. The houses were built of sun-dried bricks. From the description of Yāḳūt (II. 552, 773, III. 845) it is evident that the river of Fāfān, which he names (following Muḳaddasi) the Wādī-ar-Razm, is the Buhtan Sū of our maps, often called the Eastern Tigris—of which one tributary is the river from Bitlis. The waters of the Razm (Yāḳūt writes) so increase the stream of the Tigris as to make it navigable for boats below Fāfān.

[3] From the distance of five leagues above Jazīra-Ibn-ʿOmar, the Bāsānfā is evidently identical with the river called Bāʿaynātha by Yāḳūt (II. 552) and Bakri (pp. 151, 168). The MS. of Ibn Serapion is here rather uncertain, but Abu-l-Fidā (p. 55) has copied this paragraph verbatim, and in the Paris edition of his text the word Bāsānfā is clearly printed. This name apparently occurs in no other

authority. The country of Mayāfāriḳīn, it will be seen on the map, lies a very long way from this river, which is that on which the modern town of Manṣūriyya stands (see Ritter, XI. 120). Yāḳūt (I. 472) describes Bā'aynāthā (in the thirteenth century A.D.) as a village almost as large as a town, lying at the junction of its river with the Tigris. The gardens here were so extensive as to recall those of Damascus.

[4] The two Zābs have already been mentioned (Section I. note 2). The Greater, or Upper, Zāb, according to Yāḳūt (II. 552), flows down from the Adharbayjān mountains, and joins the Tigris at Al-Ḥadītha; while the Lesser, or Lower, Zāb, whose source is in the country of Shahrazūr, flows into the Tigris at As-Sinn. Both these towns have disappeared from our modern maps. The river Ath-Tharthār has already been described (Section III. note 8).

[5] The last paragraph of this section is corrupt in the MS. Ḥiṣn Kayfa is the well-known fortress still marked on our maps, and which was called *Kiphas* and *Cephe* by the classical geographers. Muḳaddasi (p. 141) writes that it is a place full of excellent things, with a strong castle and many churches. If Nahr Sarbaṭ be the true reading of the MS., this according to Yāḳūt (II. 552, III. 68) is the name of the river which flows past Arzan, and which Ibn Serapion has already mentioned under the name of Wolf River (see above, Note 1.) This is said (by Yāḳūt) to flow down from a place in Armenia, which the MSS. variously give as Khūwīt, Khūnat, or Khūdīt.

Sātidāmād (written in the MS. without diacritical points) is evidently the river Sātīdamā of Yāḳūt (II. 552, III. 7), which rises in the mountain of the same name, which, according to Yāḳūt, is a continuation of the Bārimmā range (see Section III. note 8). From his description the Sātīdamā, which

had many tributaries, may be identified with the present Batman Su, one of whose affluents is the river flowing down from Mayāfāriḳīn.

[SECTION VIII.]

ACCOUNT OF THE CANALS WHICH ARE BROUGHT FROM THE (TIGRIS) AND WHICH FLOW BACK ENTIRELY INTO THE SAME.

From the western* side of the Tigris is taken a canal called Al-Isḥāḳī.[1] Its beginning is a short distance below Takrīt, and it passes to the westward of the Tigris, having on its banks both domains and cultivated lands. It flows on by [Ṭīrhān],† and then comes to the Palace of Al-Mu'taṣim, known as Ḳaṣr-al-Jaṣṣ. Here it irrigates the domains extending westward of the city of Surra-man-raa (Samarrā), which are specified as the First, the Second, the Third, and so on up to the number Seven. Finally the (canal) flows out into the Tigris opposite Al-Maṭīra.[2]

From the (Tigris) also, but from its eastern side, is taken the canal called the Upper Al-Ḳāṭūl-al-Kisrawī[3] (of the Chosroes). Its point of origin is a little way below Dūr-al-Ḥārith. From here it flows on, skirting the Palace of Al-Mutawakkil, which is known as Al-Ja'farī, and here there is over it a stone bridge. From this place it passes on to Al-Ītākhiyya[4] and here there is over it a bridge called Ḳanṭara Kisrawiyya (of the Chosroes). Thence it passes on to Al-Muḥammadiyya, and here there crosses it (the Bridge-of-Boats called) Jisr Zawārīḳ. Thence it passes on to Ash-Shādhurwān, and thence to Al-Mamūniyya, which is a large village, next it reaches Al-Kanāṭīr. Now all these are fertile villages, and domains lying contiguous each to the other. Thence the (canal) passes on to a village called Ṣūlā (or Ṣalwā),[5] and next to Bā'akūbā, and here it changes its name to Tāmarrā. From this place it passes on to Bājisrā,

* The MS. reads "eastern" in error.
† Conjectural emendation, MS. Ṭayrān.

and comes to the Bridge-of-Boats called Jisr-an-Nahrawān.[6] Here the canal is itself known as the Nahrawān. From thence it flows by the Upper Ash-Shādhurwān, then on to Jisr Būrān, next, passing by 'Abartā, it comes to Yarzatīya, and thence to the Lower Ash-Shādhurwān. Now these are all beautiful villages and domains. From these the canal passes on to Uskāf-Bani-l-Junayd,[7] which is a city lying on both its banks, for the canal divides the same into halves. Thence it passes on between villages that lie contiguous each to the other, and domains which extend down to where its waters finally flow out into the Tigris, on the eastern bank of the same, a short distance below Mādharāyā.[8]

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[1] I have been unable to discover after whom the Isḥāḳī Canal takes its name. It is only mentioned in Yāḳūt's Dictionary once (IV. 844), incidentally; and among early authorities, Yā'ḳūbī (p. 264) is the only reference I can give. This author, when describing Samarrā, refers to the Nahr-al-Isḥāḳī, which (he writes) irrigated the gardens and lands on the western side of the Tigris opposite Samarrā. In the MS. of Ibn Serapion the canal is said to "pass by Ṭīrān," a place-name which is mentioned by no other authority. For this I propose to read *Ṭīrhān*, which was one of the districts near Samarrā. Ya'ḳūbī (pp. 255 and 257) mentions Aṭ-Ṭīrhān as the name of the plain on part of which Samarrā was built, and Ibn Kurdādbih (p. 94) includes it among the districts belonging to Mosul. Written *Ṭirhān*, the name is often mentioned in the Syrian Chronicle of Thomas of Margā (see E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Governors*, II. 290).

Ḳaṣr-al-Jaṣṣ, "the Gypsum Palace," is described by Yāḳūt (IV. 110) as situated above the Palace named Al-Hārūnī, which the Caliph Al-Wāthiḳ built at Samarrā (*cf.* Bilādhurī, p. 297).

[2] The position of Al-Maṭīra is fixed by Ibn Serapion (see below, Section IX.). Ya'ḳūbī also refers to it, in several passages, as the limit reached by the buildings of Samarrā, down stream, on the eastern bank; Ya'ḳūbī further (p. 259), confirming Ibn Serapion, also states that it lay two leagues distant from Samarrā. According to Yāḳūt (IV. 568) Maṭīra took its name from a certain Maṭar, son of Fazara of the Shaybān tribe, who was of the sect of the Kharijites. The place (he says) was originally called Al-Maṭariyya, after him; which name in course of time became changed into Al-Maṭīra.

[3] The line of the great Ḳāṭūl-Nahrawān Canal still exists, and has been surveyed (*cf.* papers by Captain F. Jones, R.N., *Records*). This great canal, originally dug by the Sassanian Kings, was brought into working order by the Caliphs and served to irrigate the lands on the eastern bank of the Tigris, from a point more than a hundred miles north of Baghdād, to a like distance down stream, to the south-east of the capital. The greater number of the places mentioned by Ibn Serapion as lying on the canal, unfortunately, now no longer exist, and the numerous ruins which stud its banks are apparently for the most part nameless.

Dūr, where the canal took its origin, still exists. This name was common to many places in Al-'Īrāḳ. Yāḳūt (II. 615) mentions seven Dūrs, and there were two between Samarrā and Takrīt. This Dūr, which Ibn Serapion surnames, of Al-Ḥārith, Bilādhurī (p. 297) gives as Dūr-al-'Arabāyā.

The ruins of the Palace of Al-Mutawakkil (called Al-Ja'fari from the name of that Caliph) still exist. Bilādhurī (p. 298) says that a city, called Al-Mutawakkiliyya, grew up round the palace, with which were incorporated both the neighbouring town of Dūr (mentioned above) and the village of Al-Māḥūza.

[4] Al-Ītākhiyya took its name from Ītākh, the Turk, a captain of the Body-guard of Al-Mu'taṣim. Yāḳūt (IV. 430) states that the name of the place was originally a monastery called Dayr Abi Ṣufra, being called after one of the Kharijites, and that Al-Mutawakkil at a still later period changed the name a second time from Al-Ītākhiyya to Al-Muḥammadiyya, in honour of his son Muḥammad, afterwards the Caliph Al-Muntaṣir. Possibly this may be the Muḥammadiyya, mentioned by Ibn Serapion as coming next below Al-Ītākhiyya.

Other authorities make no mention of either Ḳanṭara Kisrawiyya, "the Bridge of the Chosroes"; or of Jisr Zawārīḳ, "the Bridge-of-Boats."

The village of Al-Ajama, "the Thicket," is mentioned above (Section I. note 4), but the name apparently occurs in no other author; the same remark applies to the three villages of Ash-Shādhurwān, "the Weir," Al-Mamūniyya, and Al-Kanāṭīr, "the Bridges."

[5] The name spelt Ṣūlā, in this passage of the MS., is written Ṣalwā a few lines below. Ibn Rusta (p. 90) calls it Bāb Ṣalwā, and this is shortened in the *Tanbih* (p. 53) to Bāṣalwā. Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 175) also gives the name as Ṣalwā, but Abu-l-Fidā (p. 55) has Ṣūlā, as in the first passage of Ibn Serapion. Other authorities do not mention this town. Hence, except that it lay on the Ḳāṭūl Canal, nothing is known of it. It is not marked on the modern maps, but its position is more or less fixed by the fact that it stood four leagues below the junction of the Abu-l-Jund Canal with the great Ḳāṭūl (see below, Section IX.).

Bā'aḳūbā, according to Yāḳūt (I. 472), is a large village belonging to the Upper Nahrawān district, and lies ten leagues distant from Baghdād. The place still exists. Following the same authority (I. 454), Bājisrā is a small town also about ten

leagues distant from Baghdād, but rather more to the eastward of the capital, on the Ḥulwān road. It stood in a well-cultivated district, and was surrounded by palm-trees.

[6] At the Bridge-of-Boats called Jisr-an-Nahrawān stood the town of Nahrawān, which Ibn Rusta (p. 163) describes as occupying both banks of the canal, there being markets and a mosque in both quarters of the town, eastern and western. Round the mosques, especially that in the eastern quarter, were rest-houses (*Khāns*) for travellers and pilgrims. Nahrawān town lay four leagues distant from Baghdād, on the Ḥulwān road, and its site is marked in modern times by the town called Sifwa.

Ash-Shādhurwān-al-A'lā, "the Upper Weir," and the Bridge-of-Boats at Jisr Būrān, are neither of them mentioned by other authorities. 'Abartā, however, still exists. Yāḳūt (III. 604) describes it as a town of Persian origin, where there was a great market. Razāṭīya, or Yarzāṭīya (for the MS. is indistinctly written), mentioned as below 'Abartā, is possibly wrongly placed in the MS. of Ibn Serapion, and should come *above* 'Abartā. None of the other geographers mention this town, except Mas'ūdī in the *Tanbih* (p. 53), who gives the name as Burzāṭiyā, and he places it below 'Abartā. A place called Zateriyeh, however, is marked in Kiepert's map *above* and west of 'Abartā, and Jones (p. 38) gives this name as Resatiyeh. Ash-Shādhurwān-al-Asfal, "the Lower Weir," is not marked on the maps or mentioned by other authorities.

[7] Uskāf of the Banī-l-Junayd has been identified with the ruins marked Semak, or Sumakeh (Jones, p. 97). Yāḳūt (I. 252), who pronounces the name Iskāf, says the Banu-l-Junayd were chiefs of this district and celebrated for their hospitality. He adds that there were two places of this name, Upper and Lower Iskāf, both of the Nahrawān District, whose lands,

in his day (thirteenth century A.D.), had completely fallen out of cultivation, for the Nahrawān Canal (Yāḳūt adds) had gradually silted up, and the Saljuk Sultans had been too much occupied in their disputes to find time for dredging and mending the dykes; "further, their armies made a road-way of this same canal, whereby the district and the canal have gone to ruin."

[8] Mādharāyā, where the Nahrawān ran out into the Tigris, is placed by Ya'ḳūbī (p. 321) immediately to the south of Jabbul, and before you come to Al-Mubārik, which last lay opposite Nahr Sābus. He adds that Mādharāyā was in former times inhabited by Persian nobles. Yāḳūt (IV. 381) adds that the village in his day was for the most part in ruin, that it lay opposite Nahr Sābus, and was of the Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ district.

[SECTION IX.]

From the Tigris also are taken the Three (lesser) Ḳāṭūls. The beginning of all three is at one place, namely some two leagues below Surra-man-raa, at a point between Al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā.[1] The Upper Ḳaṭūl of the (three) is called Al-Yahūdī. There is over it the bridge called Ḳanṭara Waṣīf. From this point it passes on for some length, till (finally) it falls into the (great) Ḳāṭul-al-Kisrawī (of the Chosroes) below Al-Mamūniyya.

The second (Ḳāṭūl), which is called Al-Mamūnī, and is the middle one, passes along by villages and domains which form a district of the Sawād, and (finally) falls into the (aforesaid) Ḳāṭūl-al-Kisrawī, below the village of Al-Kanāṭīr.

The third (Ḳāṭūl), which is called that of Abu-l-Jund,[2] and is the lowest of the three, but the finest of them all, and the best cultivated along both its banks, flows between many villages and domains. From it branch channels which irrigate the domains lying on the eastern bank of

the Tigris, and in this way the most part of its waters flow back into the Tigris. The main canal passes on to Ṭaffir, and here there is a Bridge-of-Boats over it. From thence it passes on to the Kāṭul-al-Kisrawī, (joining it) at a point four leagues above Ṣūlā (or Ṣalwā).

From the Tāmarrā is taken a canal called Al-Khāliṣ.[3] It runs between villages and domains and many (minor) canals are derived from it. It is a great waterway, and boats can pass up and down. It falls ultimately into the Tigris on its eastern bank, some two leagues below Ar-Rāshidiyya.

From the Nahrawān also is taken a canal called the Nahr Diyālā.[4] Its point of origin is one mile below Al-Jisr (the Bridge-of-Boats at Nahrawān). It flows by villages and domains, and finally falls into the Tigris three leagues below Baghdād.

Now from the Tigris, at various points below the city of Wāsiṭ, are taken many canals which either fall into the Swamp or else flow one into the other. Of these we have already mentioned (the main-channel, which is) the largest and finest (see Section I.). Among the rest is a canal called Nahr Bān, which begins below Wāsiṭ at a village known as Nahr Bān. Thence it passes by villages and domains, and turning about it finally flows out into the Swamp.

There is also taken from the Tigris a canal called the Nahr Ḳuraysh. Its point of origin is at a village likewise called Nahr Ḳuraysh. It flows by villages and domains, and finally falls into the Swamp to the west of [Wāsiṭ].[5]

There is also taken from the Tigris a canal called As-Sīb.[6] This is Sīb-al-'Ukr, and the city of Al-'Ukr lies on its banks. Its point of origin is two leagues below Nahr Bān. It flows on through villages and domains, passing by Al-Jawāmid, and from it many (minor) canals are derived. Finally, after turning about, it falls into the Swamp.

From the Tigris also is taken the canal called Burdūdā. Its point of origin is at a village called Ash-Shadīdiyya. It is a fine canal, and it flows out into the Swamp.

Such, therefore, are the Canals which fall into the

Tigris and which are derived from the same; and we have so detailed them unto thee that thou shouldst understand the matter.

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[1] Barkuwārā, where the three lesser Ḳāṭūls branch from the Tigris, lay close beside Al-Maṭīra (see Section VIII. note 2). Barkuwārā is mentioned by Ya'ḳūbī, where the name is spelt Balkuwārā (p. 265 and *cf.* note *d*, where other readings are given). The variant Bazkuwār occurs in Yāḳūt (I. 605), and Jones (p. 47) gives Bez-guara as the name of a place at this spot. Possibly, therefore, Bazkuwārā is the correct reading, for the difference in Arabic between *z* and *r* lies in the addition of a diacritical point.

The bridge called Ḳanṭara Waṣīf doubtless took its name from Waṣīf, a celebrated captain of the Turk Body-guard under Al-Mu'taṣim.

[2] The third and lowest of the minor Ḳāṭūls is apparently the only one of which any trace is found on our maps. According to Bilādhurī (p. 297) it derived its name of Abu-l-Jund, "Father, or Supplier, of the Soldiers," from the fact that the crops, raised on the lands watered by it, served to supply the rations of the troops. It was dug by Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, who built a palace here while superintending its construction. In regard to the name Ḳāṭūl it may be mentioned that Yāḳūt (IV. 16) asserts that the word etymologically signifies "a cut," and hence it was applied to a trench dug or cut in the ground.

Ṭaffīr is apparently the place mentioned by Jones (p. 47) under the name Tafra. Yāḳūt (III. 539) says that he had himself visited Ṭaffīr, which was a waterless and pastureless plain, where wild animals dwelt, lying between Bā'aḳūbā and Daḳūḳā, on the road from Baghdād to Arbil. No habitations were here to be met with, and Yāḳūt adds that his guide,

when the caravan travelled by night over this plain, "was wont to take his direction by the Pole-Star, until, with the day, the plain had been crossed."

[3] The point where the Nahr-al-Khāliṣ left the Tāmarrā is not specified. Ar-Rāshidiyya, the place two leagues above which the Khāliṣ flowed out into the Tigris, is not mentioned by any other geographer, but possibly may be identified with the present Khor Rāshidiyya, immediately to the north of the ruins called Bedran (Al-Baradān). From this passage and what our author adds further of the Nahr-al-Khāliṣ when describing the canals of Eastern Baghdād (see Section X.) it is evident that the Khāliṣ of the tenth century A.D. is not identical with the canal of that name marked in Kiepert's map, which last flows at some distance to the north-west of Bā'aḳūbā; hence a good deal higher up than the Khāliṣ of Ibn Serapion.

[4] The Nahr Diyālā of Ibn Serapion coincides generally with the lower reach (south of Sifwa) of the present stream of the same name. But from our texts it is evident that the names Diyālā, Tāmarrā, and Khāliṣ were applied at different epochs to different streams. The account in Ibn Serapion (tenth century A.D.) does not agree with what is given in Yāḳūt (thirteenth century A.D.), still less with the nomenclature of the modern map. Yāḳūt (I. 812 and II. 638) says that the Tāmarrā is identical with the Khāliṣ Canal, which also is identical with the Diyālā; and he goes on to describe, how the bed of the Tāmarrā was artificially paved, for a length of seven leagues, in order to prevent its waters cutting through the soil, and how seven streams were taken from its lower course to irrigate a like number of districts on the hither side of Eastern Baghdād.

[5] Although there is no blank space left in the MS., the name of a place must have dropped out at this point, and I have supplied "Wāsiṭ" in the text for want of any better suggestion.

The Nahr Bān has been discussed above (Section I. note 11). Nahr Ḳuraysh is not mentioned by any other authority.

[6] The Nahr-as-Sīb is mentioned by Yāḳūt (III. 209) as a canal, of the district of Al-Baṣra, on which there were many large villages. In two other passages (III. 275 and 697) the same author speaks of 'Uḳr, which he pronounces 'Aḳr, surnamed As-Sadan, "of the Veil." It was one of the villages of Ash-Shurṭa, a district lying between Wāsiṭ and Al-Baṣra, and was situated on the right (*i.e.* to the south-west) of one travelling down the Tigris. Ibn Rusta (p. 95) apparently refers to the same place under the name of 'Uḳr-aṣ-Ṣayd ("of Fishing," or "Hunting"), which he says was in his day (early tenth century A.D.) occupied by the people called Az-Zuṭṭ, that is the Indian Jhats, said to be identical with the gypsies.

Al-Jawāmid (the plural form of *Jāmida*) means the "drained lands" or those artificially "dried," and reclaimed from the Swamps. Yāḳūt (II. 10 and IV. 217) describes Al-Jāmida as a large village of the Wāsiṭ district, that he had himself often visited.

The Burdūdā canal and the village of Ash-Shadīdiyya are not to my knowledge mentioned by any other geographer.

REFERENCES TO SKETCH-PLAN OF BAGHDĀD.

Eastern Baghdād, or 'Askar-al-Mahdī.

1. Ḳaṣr-ath-Thurayyā (Palace of the Pleiades).
2. Bāb Sūḳ-ad-Dawābb (Market for Beasts of Burden and the Gate).
3. Gate called Bāb 'Ammār.
4. Palace called Dār-al-Bānūja.
5. Bāb Muḳayyar-al-Kabīr (the great Pitched Gate).
6. Dār (or House of) Ibn-al-Khaṣīb.
7. Road of Sa'd-al-Waṣīf.
8. Al-'Allāfīn (the Hay-market).
9. Road and Gate of the Mukharrim Quarter with the Bridge of Al-'Abbās.
10. Bridge of Al-Anṣār.
11. The three Tanks of Al-Anṣar, Haylāna, and Dāūd.
12. Darb-aṭ-Ṭawīl (the Long Road).
13. Palace of Al-Mu'taṣim.
14. Sūḳ-al-'Aṭsh (the Famine Market).
15. Road called Karm-al-'Arsh.
16. Dār (or House of the) Wazīr Ibn-al-Furāt.
17. The Great Road.
18. The Road of 'Amr the Greek.
19. The Garden of Az-Zāhir.
20. Gate called Bāb Abraz.
21. Bab Sūḳ-ath-Thulāthā (Tuesday Market and Gate).
22. Ḳaṣr-al-Firdūs (the Palace of Paradise).
23. Gate called Bāb Ḳaṭi'a-Mūshajīn.
24. Gate called Bāb-al-'Amma.
25. Palace called Ḳaṣr-al-Ḥasanī.
26. Ḳaṣr-at-Tāj (Palace of the Crown).
27. Gate called Bāb Khurāsān, of the Eastern Side.
28. Gate and Bridge of Al-Baradān.
29. Gate called Bāb-ash-Shammāsiyya.
30. Market called Suwayḳa Ja'far, and Road of the Canal of Al-Mahdī.
31. Dār-ar-Rūmiyyīn (House of the Greeks).
32. Market called Suwayḳa Naṣr-ibn-Mālik, and the Iron Gates.
33. Palace and Great Mosque of Ar-Ruṣāfa with the Garden of Ḥafs.
34. Road of the Gate of Khurāsān.

Western Baghdād, or City of Al-Manṣūr.

35. Bridge called Ḳanṭara-al-'Abbās.
36. Ḳanṭara-as-Ṣīniyyāt.
37. Ḳanṭara Raḥā-al-Batrīḳ (Bridge, and Mills of the Patrician).
38. Al-Ḳanṭara-al-'Atīḳa (the Old Bridge), and the Kūfa Gate.
39. Al-Ḳanṭara-al-Jadīda (the New Bridge), and the Basra Gate.
40. Ḳaṣr-al-Khuld (the Palace of Perpetuity), lying between the Khurāsān Gate of the Western Side, and the Bridge-of-Boats over the Tigris.
41. Gate, Bridge, and Road of Al-Anbār.
42. Bāb-al-Ḥadīd (the Iron Gate) and Bridge.
43. Gate called Bāb Ḥarb, Bridge, and Road.
44. Gate called Bāb Ḳatrabbul, and Bridge of the Mill of Umm Ja'far; in the Zubaydiyya Fief.
45. House of Isḥāḳ the Tāhirid.
46. Gate called Bāb Abu Ḳubayṣa.
47. Ḳanṭara Darb-al-Ḥijāra (Bridge of the Road of Al-Ḥijāra).
48. Hospital and Ḳanṭara-al-Bīmāristān (Bridge of the Hospital).
49. Gate called Bāb-al-Muḥawwal.
50. Suburb called Rabaḍ Ḥumayd.
51. Market called Suwayḳa Abu-l-Ward.
52. Pool called Birkat Zalzal.
53. Bāb Tāḳ-al-Ḥarrānī (Gate of the Arch of the Harrānian).
54. Road of the Ḳaḥṭaba's.
55. Bāb-ash-Shām (the Syrian Gate).
56. Road to the (Upper) Bridge-of-Boats.
57. Ad-Darrābāt.
58. Mill of Abu-l-Ḳasim.
59. Place of the Men of Wāsiṭ.
60. Al-Khafḳa.
61. Road of the Painter (Al-Muṣawwir).
62. House of Ka'b.
63. Gate of the Karkh Quarter.

64. Quarters of the Cloth-Merchants (Al-Bazzāzīn), and of the Cobblers (Al-Kharrāzīn) or of the Butchers (Al-Jazzārīn).
65. Quarter of the Soap-makers.
66. Dār-al-Jawz (The Nut House).
67. Quadrangle of the Oil-merchant (Murabba'at-az-Zayyāt)
68. Quarter of the Canal-diggers.
69. Quarter of the Reed-weavers.
70. Road of the Pitch-workers.
71. Place of the Sellers of Cooked-food.
72. Dawwāra-al-Ḥimār (Mound of the Ass).
73. The Fief of Dogs.
74. Quadrangle of Ṣālih.
75. As-Sawākīn.
76. Mashra'at-al-Ās (the Myrtle Passage).
77. Dār Battīkh (the Melon House).
78. Road of Al-Kabsh (the Ram).
79. Water-conduit called 'Abbārat-al-Kūkh, and Road of Dujayl.
80. Murabba'at-al-Furs (Quadrangle of the Persians).
81. Dukkān-al-Ibnā.
82. Bridge of Abu-l-Jawn.
83. Place of the Scribes for the Orphans.
84. Quadrangle of Shabīb.
85. Road and Palace of Hānī.
86. Garden of Al-Ḳass.
87. Road of the House of Ibn-Abu-'Awn.
88. Quadrangle of Abu-l-'Abbas.
89. Bridge called Ḳanṭara-al-Yāsiriyya.
90. Ḳanṭara-ar-Rūmiyya (the Bridge of the Greek woman).
91. Ḳanṭara-az-Zayyātīn (Bridge of the Oil-merchants).
92. Ḳanṭara-al-Ushnān (the Alkali Bridge).
93. Ḳanṭara-ash-Shawk (the Thorn-merchant's Bridge).
94. Ḳanṭara-ar-Rumān (the Pomegranate Bridge).
95. Ḳanṭara-al-Maghīd (the Bridge of the Place that is dried up).
96. Ḳanṭara-al-Bustān (the Garden Bridge).
97. Ḳanṭara-al-Ma'badī.
98. Ḳanṭara Banī Zurayk.
99. Ḳaṣr 'Īsā (Palace of 'Īsa).

[SECTION X.]

Canals of Eastern Baghdād.

Now the canals of the City of Peace (Baghdād), which flow through the same, are those from which the (people) who live near by to them take their drinking-water. We begin with the canals that are on the eastern side of the Tigris, which is called 'Askar-al-Mahdī (the Camp of Al-Mahdī).[1]

Of these is the canal called the Nahr Mūsā. Its place of origin is from the canal called Al-Nahr Bīn,[2] at the back of the Palace of Al-Mu'taḍid, known as Ḳaṣr-ath-Thurayyā (the Palace of the Pleiades). Now the origin of the Nahr Bīn is from the Nahrawān (Canal), at a short distance above the Bridge-of-Boats (at the town of Nahrawān). Thence the Nahr Bīn passes on, with running waters, and from it branch many canals which irrigate the Sawād (or plain near) Baghdād. This canal passes to the east of the Palace of the Pleiades aforesaid, and on its banks are villages and domains. It next irrigates part of the district of Kalwādhā, and finally flows out into the Tigris a little less than two leagues below Baghdād.

The Nahr Mūsā,[3] as already mentioned, is derived from the (Nahr Bīn), and its place of origin also has been described. Passing on the (Nahr Mūsā) enters the Palace of the Pleiades, and turning round and about it, passes out again. Then it reaches a place called the Dividing of the Waters, and there it divides into three streams.

The first stream (which is the Nahr Mūsā itself) passes to Bāb Sūḳ-ad-Dawābb (the Gate of the Market for Beasts-of-Burden), and thence goes across (the gate called) Bāb 'Ammār. Here there is taken from it a canal which passes to (the Palace known as) Dār-al-Bānūja, and there it disappears.

The Nahr Mūsā itself passes on after traversing the Bāb Sūḳ-ad-Dawābb, and comes to the Bāb Muḳayyar-al-Kabīr (the great Pitched Gate). Here there is taken from it a

canal which passes to the Dār (or House of) Ibn-al-Khaṣīb, which stands in the road called after Sa'd-al-Waṣīf. Next it passes out to Al-'Allāfīn, and here there falls into it the canal which Al-Mu'taḍid dug* for the Lake. Thence the canal passes by the road, which is behind the wine-shops, towards Al-'Allāfīn, and which is known as the road of the Bāb-al-Mukharrim. Then the canal passes under (the Bridge called) Ḳanṭara-al-'Abbās, which is at (the Gate called) the Bāb-al-Mukharrim, and flowing along the road to (the quarter of) Al-Mukharrim, it disappears.

The Nahr Mūsā itself next goes on to (the Bridge called) Ḳanṭara-al-Anṣār; and here there are taken from it three canals. The first of these flows into the tank (Ḥawḍ) of the Anṣār; the second into the tank of Haylāna; and the third into the tank of Dāūd.

The Nahr Mūsā itself next passes on to the road (called) Darb-aṭ-Ṭawīl, and the Palace of Al-Mu'taṣim. Here there is taken from it a canal which passes to (the Market of) Sūk-al-'Aṭsh. After flowing along the centre of the road called Karm-al-'Arsh, it finally falls into the Dār (or House of the) Wazīr 'Ali-ibn-Muḥammad-ibn-al-Furāt, and there disappears.

The Nahr Mūsā itself flows on skirting the Palace of Al-Mu'taṣim, and passes out into the Great Road. Next it comes to the road of 'Amr-ar-Rūmī, and then enters (the Garden called) Bustān-az-Zāhir, which is irrigated by it; lastly it falls into the Tigris a little way below this garden.

The Second Canal,[4] at the Dividing (of the Waters), flows towards the (Gate called) Bāb Abraz, and here it enters Baghdād. This (canal) is called Nahr-al-Mu'allā. It flows between the houses to the Bāb Sūḳ-ath-Thulātha (the gate of the Tuesday Market). Next it enters the Palace of Al-Mu'taḍid, which is called Al-Firdūs (Paradise), and after passing through and about it, flows out into the Tigris near this palace.

* For this next line of text Al-Khatīb has the following: "And some of its (waters) pass to the Bāb Sūḳ al Ghanam (the Gate of the Sheep-Market), and thence to the Trench of Al 'Abbās."

The Third Canal,[5] at the Dividing (of the Waters), flows to the Bāb Ḳaṭī'a Mūshajīn* (the Gate of the Fief of Mūshajīn). Thence it passes to the (gate called) Bāb-al-'Āmma; and next enters (the palace) called Ḳaṣr-al-Ḥasanī, and, after passing round and about it, flows out into the Tigris near the Palace of Al-Muḳtafi, known as Ḳaṣr-at-Tāj (the Palace of the Crown).

From the Nahr Bīn, above mentioned, is taken a canal called the Nahr 'Ali. Its point of origin is at a short distance above (the head of) the Nahr Mūsā. It passes across the highway of Khurāsān to the village of Al-Athla[6]; and flowing on irrigates the district of Nahr Būḳ and the hamlet of Al-Ufruṭar. Finally, it falls into a canal from the Khāliṣ (Canal).

From the Nahr-al-Faḍl (which will be described below) is brought a canal called the Nahr-al-Ja'fariyya. It flows by villages and domains and loses itself in the Sawād (or Plain) of Baghdād, which lies to the north of the city. From this Nahr-al-Ja'fariyya is brought a canal called Nahr-as-Sūr (the Canal of the Wall), for it flows along the Wall of Baghdād. (As already said), its origin is from the Nahr-al-Ja'fariyya, and it flows by the (gate called the) Bāb Khurāsān, and that called Bāb-al-Baradān. Finally, it flows out into the Nahr [al-Faḍl]† which itself flows out into the Tigris near the (gate called) Bāb-ash-Shammāsiyya.

From the Nahr-al-Khāliṣ, which, as we have already stated (see Section IX.), falls into the Tigris below the place called Ar-Rāshidiyya, there is brought the canal (already mentioned) called Nahr-al-Faḍl. It flows towards the (gate called) Bāb-ash-Shammāsiyya, and in passing irrigates the domains and villages that lie along its banks. It finally flows out into the Tigris at the Bāb-ash-Shammāsiyya (aforesaid). From this Canal of Ash-Shammāsiyya, otherwise called the Nahr-al-Faḍl, is taken a canal called the

* The reading of this name is uncertain. Al-Khaṭīb gives Mūshajīr.
† MS. reads Al-Khāliṣ, in error.

Nahr-al-Mahdī. Its point of origin is a little way above the Gate (of Ash Shammāsiyya); passing on it enters Baghdād by the Bāb-ash-Shammāsiyya, and flows to the (market called) Suwayḳa Ja'far. Then, passing by the road known as the Road of the Nahr-al-Mahdī, it reaches the (bridge called) Ḳanṭara-al-Baradān,[7] whence it enters the (House of the Greeks) Dār-ar-Rūmiyyin. Then it passes out to (the market called the) Suwayḳa-Nasr-ibn-Mālik; and next, entering Ar-Ruṣāfa, it comes to the Great Mosque, and to (the garden called) Bustān Ḥafṣ, where it (finally) falls into a tank which is in the interior of the Palace of Ar-Ruṣāfa.

From this canal (of Al-Mahdi) is taken a canal, the origin of which is in the Market of Naṣr (aforesaid) at the Iron Gates (Al-Abwāb-al-Ḥadīd). It passes along the centre of the road of the Gate of Khurāsān, flowing on to where it finally falls into the Nahr [as-Sūr]* near the Gate of Khurāsān.

These, therefore, are the Canals (of Baghdād) on the eastern side of the Tigris, and there now remain the Canals of the western side; and these, if it please Allah, I will explain to thee.

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[1] In this and the two following sections on the Canals of Baghdād, the notes supply brief references for those places, only, which I have found mentioned by other authorities. It is not, however, intended to make them exhaustive. I hope to discuss the whole subject of the topography of Ancient Baghdād in a future paper; and have therefore limited myself, in this place, to what seemed absolutely necessary for the elucidation of the text of Ibn Serapion.

These three Sections (X., XI., XII.) on the Canals of Baghdād have been copied (and, as usual, without any acknowledgment and with many omissions) by Al-Khaṭīb, in his *History of Baghdād*. This useful

* MS. reads Nahr-al-Fḍl, in error.

compilation has never yet been printed, but good MSS. of the work exist in the British Museum and the Paris Library.

The great eastern quarter of Baghdād, that lay on the Persian side of the Tigris, and which, during the last four centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, became the main quarter of the capital, was originally only a suburb of the city of Al-Manṣūr (see Section XI. note 1), of the western side of the Tigris. The eastern quarter, in the beginning, had been called 'Askar-al-Mahdī, "the Camp of Al-Mahdi," son and successor of Al-Manṣūr, for Al-Mahdi had encamped here with his troops in A.H. 151 (768) after returning from his expedition into Khurāsān. Al-Mahdi subsequently built a palace near this camp, called Ar-Ruṣāfa, "the Cause-way," also a Mosque, and in after years, during his Caliphate, a city, composed of houses built on the fiefs granted to his followers, spread over the adjacent lands. Here the later Caliphs built their palaces, and 'Askar-al-Mahdi soon afterwards became the seat of government, the western quarter tending more and more to ruin.

[2] The Nahr Bīn, Yāḳūt writes (IV. 836), is also called the Nahr Bīl, and its waters irrigate the lands of the district called Nahr Būḳ. This last, it is to be remarked, was not the name of a canal (in spite of the word *Nahr* having that signification), but of a district. The land near Baghdād on the eastern side of the Tigris, was divided into two sections; up-stream and to the north with the river on the west, was the Nahr Būḳ District; while down-stream and south-east lay the District of Kalwādhā, with the town of the same name on the Tigris bank.

[3] This account of the Nahr Mūsā and its branches is repeated by Yāḳūt (IV. 846) in a very much abridged form. The Palace of the Pleiades stood two miles distant from the palace on the Tigris bank,

called Ḳaṣr-al-Ḥasani. Yāḳūt describes (I. 924) an underground, vaulted passage-way, which the Caliph had built for connecting the two palaces, and along which his women could pass from one to the other without appearing in the streets.

Of the places lying on the Nahr Mūsā and its branches, the following are mentioned by other writers. The Palace of Al-Bānūja (on the first branch canal), Al-Khaṭīb (f. 89) states, belonged to a daughter of Al-Mahdi. Her name is also written Bānūḳa, "Little Bānū" or Lady, and under this form occurs in Ibn Ḳutayba (p. 193), who says that she died young. The second branch canal passed to the Palace of Ibn-al-Khaṣīb, who was Wazīr of the Caliph Al-Muntaṣir (*cf.* Fakhri, p. 285). The quarter of Al-Mukharrim, according to Bilādhurī (p. 295), was so called from a man of this name who had settled here in the early days of Islām, before Baghdād was founded. Yāḳūt (IV. 441) describes this quarter as situated between the Ruṣāfa and Nahr-al-Mu'allā quarters. In after times the Buwayhid princes built their palaces here, as also some of the Saljūḳ Sultans; but all this was subsequent to the date of Ibn Serapion.

In regard to the three Tanks, Yāḳūt states (II. 362) that the Ḥawḍ Dāūd was called either after Dāūd, son of the Caliph Al-Mahdi, or after one of his freedmen. It lay adjacent, he says, to the market called Sūḳ-al-'Aṭsh (see next paragraph). The Ḥawḍ Haylāna was called after one of the wives of either Al-Manṣūr or of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, who bore this name, and caused this tank to be dug. Of the Tank of the Anṣār, "the Auxiliaries," no details are given.

The Palace of Al-Mu'taṣim, on the Nahr Mūsā, is mentioned by Ya'ḳūbī (p. 255) as having been the residence of that Caliph between the years A.H. 218–221, and immediately prior to his removal, with

his Turk body-guard, upstream to Samarrā (see Section I. note 3). The Sūḳ-al-'Aṭsh, "the Famine Market," is described by Yāḳūt (III. 194) as lying between the Ruṣāfa and the Nahr-al-Mu'allā quarters. It was built for the Caliph Al-Mahdī by a certain Sa'īd-al-Khursi, Chief of the Police, and merchants from the Karkh quarter (see Section XI. note 1) were brought over and settled here. It was at first proposed to call it Sūḳ-ar-Rayy, "the Market of Satiety," but the word 'Aṭsh, "Famine," took its place and persisted.

'Ali-Ibn-al-Furāt, whose palace stood near this, was three times Wazīr to the Caliph al-Muḳtadir (*cf.* Fakhri, p. 311). 'Amr-ar-Rūmī, "the Greek," is probably the individual mentioned by Bilādhurī (p. 323), as having been Freedman of the Caliph Al-Hādī, who named 'Amr governor of Ḳazwīn in Persia. The Garden of Az-Zāhir is referred to incidentally by Yāḳūt (III. 195, IV. 441). It lay on the Tigris bank near where the Mosque called the Jami'-as-Sulṭān afterwards stood, and apparently was to the south of Ar-Ruṣāfa.

[4] The second canal at the "Divide" was called after Al-Mu'allā, Freedman of Al-Mahdi, and a great General under Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Yāḳūt (IV. 845) says that this man held more governments than had ever been granted to any other individual—having been Governor of Al-Baṣra, Fārs, Al-Ahwāz, Al-Yamāma, and Al-Bahrayn. The Nahr-al-Mu'allā gave its name to the great quarter of Baghdād in which the Palaces of the latter Caliphs stood.

The gate called the Bāb Abraz and the Tuesday-Market are both mentioned by Yāḳūt (I. 774, III. 193), who gives the name of this gate under the form Biyabraz. Al-Firdūs "The Palace of Paradise," is also referred to incidentally by the same author (IV. 845); and it took its water from the Mu'allā Canal.

[5] The third canal at the "Divide" appears to have had no special designation. The Palace called Al-Ḥasanī received its name from Al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, whose daughter Būrān was married to Al-Mamūn (see Section I. note 9), Al-Ḥasan being, at that time, Wazīr. Yāḳūt (I. 805) relates that the Ḳaṣr-al-Ḥasanī was the same Palace which under Ar-Rashīd had been called the Ḳaṣr Mamūnī, having been built by Ja'far, the Barmecide, for presentation to Al-Mamūn, the heir-apparent. Ḳaṣr-at-Tāj, "the Palace of the Crown," was built on land adjacent to the Ḥasanī Palace. It was begun by Al-Mu'taḍid, according to Yāḳūt (I. 808), but the Caliph left it half finished to build the Palace of the Pleiades (see note 3, above), and the Tāj was only completed under his son, the Caliph Al-Muḳtafī.

[6] Al-Athla is mentioned by Yāḳūt (I. 118) as lying one league distant from Baghdād. Al-Ufruṭār is not given elsewhere; neither is there any mention made in Yāḳūt of the various canals which branch from the Khāliṣ going towards the Shammāsiyya quarter. This quarter has been already noticed (Section I. note 6). Yāḳūt (III. 317) describes it as lying adjacent to "the Greek House" called Dār-ar-Rūm, and above Ar-Ruṣāfa, in the upper part of Eastern Baghdād. Here, at a later date than Ibn Serapion, the Buwayhid prince, Mu'izz-ad-Dawla, built his great palace.

[7] The bridge called Ḳanṭara-al-Baradān, after the village lying to the north of Baghdād (see Section I. note 6), gave its name to a quarter and a gate of the eastern city. Yāḳūt (IV. 187) notes that the bridge was built by a certain As-Sarī-ibn-al-Huṭam. The Dār-ar-Rūmiyyīn, "the House of the Greeks," is the Dār-ar-Rūm mentioned in the previous note, but this and the other places in or near Ar-Ruṣāfa are not further specified by Yāḳūt. The Little Market (Suwayḳa) of Naṣr, Yāḳūt (III. 201) says, was called after a certain

Naṣr-ibn-Mālik, of the Khuza'a tribe. Al-Mahdi granted him the land here in fief; and he was father of the celebrated Aḥmad-az-Zāhid, "the Ascetic," who suffered persecution under the Caliph Al-Wāthiḳ.

[SECTION XI.]

Canals of Western Baghdād.[1]

Of these is the canal called Aṣ-Ṣarāt.[2] Its origin is from the Nahr 'Īsā, at a short distance above the village of Great Al-Muḥawwal. Thence the canal passes, watering the domains and gardens of Bādūrayā, and many (minor) canals branch from it. Entering Baghdād, it passes the bridge called Ḳanṭara-al-'Abbās, then goes on to the Ḳanṭara-aṣ-Ṣīniyyāt, next it passes to the Ḳanṭara Raḥā-al-Batrīḳ (the Bridge of the Patrician's Mill), which same is the Bridge of Az-Zabd; then it comes to the Ḳanṭara-al-'Atīḳa (the Old Bridge), next to the New Bridge (Ḳanṭara-al-Jadīda), then, finally, the (Ṣarāt Canal) flows out into the Tigris a little way below (the Palace called) Al-Khuld.

From the Ṣarāt is taken a canal called the Trench (Khandaḳ) of Ṭāhir.[3] It starts from the Canal of the Ṣarāt, one league below the head of the same (that is where the Ṣarāt itself branches from the Nahr 'Īsā). Flowing on (the Khandaḳ) waters various domains, and, turning, passes round Baghdād in the part adjacent to (the quarter of) Al-Ḥarbiyya. It first goes by the (gate called) Bāb-al-Anbār, and there is here a bridge (Ḳanṭara) over it. Then it passes Bāb-al-Ḥadīd (the Iron Gate), where also there is a bridge. Next it comes to the Bāb Ḥarb, where there is also a bridge, and then to the Bāb Ḳaṭrabbul, and here there is the Ḳanṭara Raḥā-Umm-Ja'far (the Bridge of the Mill of Umm-Ja'far). Next passing through the midst of the Fief of Umm-Ja'far, the (Trench) flows out into the Tigris a little way above the House (Dār) of Isḥāḳ-ibn-Ibrāhīm the Ṭāhirid.

From the Khandaḳ (or Trench) is taken a canal called the Little Sarāt. This canal takes its way, cutting across the Gardens, and after passing by part of Bādūrayā, flows out finally into the Great Sarāṭ at a point a little way below the Patrician's Mill.

From the Nahr 'Īsā is taken a canal called Karkhāyā.[4] It passes through the midst of the district of Bādūrayā, and there branch from it (many minor) canals which ramify throughout Bādūrayā, being called and named variously. Along both its banks are villages, domains, and gardens, which extend until it enters Baghdād at the (gate called) Bāb Abu-Ḳubayṣa. After this it passes to the Ḳanṭara-al-Yahūd (the Bridge of the Jew), and then on to the (bridge called) Ḳanṭara Darb-al-Ḥijāra. Next it passes to the Ḳanṭara-al-Bīmāristān (the Bridge of the Hospital), and the (gate called) Bāb Muḥawwal, and here there branch from it all the canals of (the quarter of) Al-Karkh.

Now the first of these canals has its point of origin immediately after the Karkhāyā has passed the Bridge of the Bīmāristān, and it is called Nahr Razīn. Passing along it is taken into the (Suburb called) Rabaḍ Ḥumayd, and, after going round and about therein, it passes out to (the Market called) Suwayḳa Abu-l-Ward. Thence it passes to the (Pool called) Birkat Zalzal, through which it flows, and next comes to (the gate called the) Bāb Tāḳ-al-Ḥarrāni, and finally falls into the Great Ṣarāt immediately below the New Bridge. In this (latter) part the (Razīn) Canal is known as the Nahr Abu-'Attāb. Now when the Nahr Razīn comes to the gate of the Market of Abu-l-Ward, there is taken from it a canal which passes by a Ḳūraj (or Conduit), which carries (its waters across) the Old Bridge (Al-Ḳanṭara-al-'Atīḳa, over the Great Ṣarāt). Flowing on from here, it goes along the road of the Kūfa Gate, where (a canal) branches off from it which enters part of the remains of the (original) City of Al-Manṣūr, and here its waters fail. From the Gate of Ḳūfa, the main canal, after flowing along the

Road of the Ḳaḥṭaba's, comes to the Bāb-ash-Shām (the Syrian Gate), whence, passing by the Road of the Jisr (or Bridge-of-Boats), it skirts the Zubaydiyya (Fief), and finally disappears there.

(To return to) the Canal of Karkhāyā. After passing Al-Bīmāristān (the Hospital), it comes to the place called Ad-Darrābāt,[5] and here takes the name of Al-'Amūd. This is the stream from which branch the canals of the Inner (quarter of) Al-Karkh. The main canal next passes to a building adjacent, which is called the Mill of Abu-l-Ḳasim, and thence to a place (inhabited by) the men of Wāsiṭ. From thence it passes to a place called Al-Khafḳa,* and there is now taken from it the (canal called) Nahr-al-Bazzāzīn (of the Cloth-merchants); here it turns about and comes out in the road of Al-Muṣawwir (the Painter). Thence it passes to the (house called) Dār Ka'b, and flows on to the Gate of Al-Karkh. Here it enters (the quarter of the Cloth-merchants, called) Al-Bazzāzīn, thence passing to that (of the Cobblers, called) Al-Kharrāzīn.† Here it enters the quarter of the Soap-makers, and then finally flows out into the Tigris under the Dār-al-Jawz (the House of the Nut).

(Now to return to) the main canal, this passes on from Al-Khafḳa, to where it skirts the Murabba'a-az-Zayyāt (the Quadrangle of the Oil-merchant), and here there branches from it a canal called the Nahr-ad-Dajāj (the Fowl's Canal).[6] This last, turning off, extends to (the quarter of) the Canal-diggers, and thence passes to (the quarter of) the Reed-weavers, and the road of the Pitch-workers; and finally it falls out into the Tigris at the place of the Sellers of Cooked-food. (Returning to the main canal), this passes on from the Quadrangle of the Oil-merchant to Dawwāra-al-Ḥimār (the Mound of the Ass), and there turns off from it at this point a canal called Nahr-al-Kilāb (the Dogs' Canal), which goes along the

* Reading of MS. doubtful.

† In the MS. this name may be read Al-Jazzārīn, "the Butchers."

road of the Fief of the Dogs, and flowing on finally falls into the Nahr 'Īsā at (the bridge called) Ḳanṭara-ash-Shawk. But the main canal passes on from the Dawwāra-al-Ḥimar to a place known as the Quadrangle of Ṣāliḥ, and here there turns from it a canal called (after the Cooks who sell Fried-meats) Nahr-al-Ḳallāyīn, which passing on extends to (the place called) As-Sawākīn, and thence to the Reed-weavers' quarter, where it flows out into the Nahr-ad-Dajāj (before described), and from this point the two form one canal. (Returning to) the Quadrangle of Ṣāliḥ, the main canal passes on to a place where it becomes the Nahr Ṭābaḳ, and then finally it falls into the Nahr 'Īsā at a place known as Mashra'at-al-Ās (the Myrtle-passage), which is over against the Melon-house (Dār Battīkh).

Such, therefore, are the Canals of (the quarter of) Al-Karkh; and there remain over the canals of the Ḥarbiyya (quarter), and these, if it please Allah, may He be exalted! I will also detail unto thee.

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[1] In order to understand the following description, a few lines must be devoted to a summary account of the topography of ancient Baghdād. The original city, as founded by the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, was circular, being surrounded by a double wall and ditch, with four equidistant gates. From gate to gate measured an Arab mile (about one English mile and a quarter), and the circumference being thus four Arab miles, the diameter of the town was rather over one mile. This circular city stood on the western side of the Tigris, immediately above the point where the Ṣarāt Canal, coming from the Nahr 'Īsā, joined the Tigris, and the Ṣarāt flowed round the southern side of the city. The four gates were: first, the Baṣra Gate, opening S.E. and down-stream, overlooking the Ṣarāt where it was crossed by the New Bridge; second, the Kūfa Gate, opening S.W., and at a short distance above the Ṣarāt, across which, by the Old Bridge,

lay the great Kūfa high road; third, the Syrian Gate, opening N.W. on the Ḥarbiyya quarter; and fourth, the Khurāsān Gate, opening N.E., overlooking the Tigris and the great Bridge-of-Boats which crossed the river. In after times the name of this fourth gate, the Bāb Khurāsān, was transferred to the gate of the city on the eastern bank, through which passed the great high road to Persia (see Section X.).

Such was the city founded and finished by Al-Manṣūr in about A.H. 146 (763), but which, becoming the capital of the Abbasids, very quickly outgrew its earlier limits. Already under Al-Manṣūr the markets were removed from his circular (and walled) city, to a suburb built on the southern side of the Ṣarāt Canal. This market-suburb faced the Baṣra Gate, and was given the name of Al-Karkh. Ya'ḳūbī says (p. 246) that it extended two leagues in length by one league across. From Al-Karkh northward, and westward — past the Kūfa Gate and along the Ṣarāt, towards Al-Muḥawwal, a village three miles from Baghdād—the Caliph divided the ground into fiefs for his nobles, and the lands were soon covered with buildings which extended to beyond the suburb of the Anbār Gate. Lastly, on the northern side of the original city, up-stream, and beyond the Syrian Gate, lay the Ḥarb quarter, which was bounded to the north by the line of Ṭāhir's Trench.

In the century and a half which had elapsed, counting from the date of the foundation of the city down to the epoch at which Ibn Serapion wrote, Baghdād had undergone many changes. It had never recovered the destructive effects of the great siege, when Al-Amīn had defended himself, to the death, against the troops of his brother Al-Mamūn; and again it had suffered semi-depopulation by the removal of the seat of Government to Samarrā (see Section I. note 3). The original round-city of Al-Manṣūr had long ago been absorbed into the

great capital, which covered ground measuring about five miles across in every direction, and the circular walls must, at an early date, have been levelled. The four gates, however, had remained and had given their names to the first suburbs, which, in time, had been absorbed into the Western town and become one half of the great City of Peace (Dār-as-Salām), the Baghdād of the Caliphs.

[2] The Ṣarāt Canal dates back to Sassanian times. It is a prominent feature in the history of the Muslim conquest (*cf.* Bilādhurī, p. 246), and the name was apparently transferred in later times to the other Ṣarāt, mentioned above (Section VI. note 6). Ḳanṭara-as-Ṣīniyyāt may mean "the Porcelain Bridge" (Ṣīn being the Arab name for China). Possibly, however, the word is of Aramaic origin, signifying "of the Date-palms," for Aṣ-Ṣīn, with this sense, is a name common to many places in Babylonia (*cf.* Z.D.M.G. XXXIX. p. 9, note 4). Yāḳūt (III. 378) in the place of Aṣ-Ṣīniyyāt, gives Aṣ-Ṣabībāt, probably a clerical error, for the MSS. of Al-Khaṭīb confirm Ibn Serapion.

The Patrician's Mills are described by Ya'ḳūbī (p. 243) and Yāḳūt (II. 759). The name of the bridge near these is written by Al-Khaṭīb (f. 104) Az-Zabd, and Zabad is given in Yāḳūt (II. 914) as the name of a place in Western Baghdād "mentioned in the Histories." Al-Manṣūr granted these mills in fief to Al-'Abbās, his brother, and after him, doubtless the neighbouring Bridge of Al-'Abbās was called. The Old Bridge, opposite the Kūfa Gate, Ya'ḳūbī (p. 244) states, was one of the first to be built by Al-Manṣūr; the New Bridge, opposite the Baṣra Gate, Bilādhurī (p. 295) ascribes to Al-Mahdi.

The famous Ḳaṣr-al-Khuld, "the Palace of Perpetuity," on the Tigris bank, Yāḳūt (II. 459) states, was built by Al-Manṣūr. It was the favourite residence of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, and apparently fell

to ruin after the great siege of Baghdād, during the civil war following the death of that Caliph; for Hārūn-ar-Rashīd's son, Al-Amīn, had, at the last, entrenched himself with his troops in this palace. It lay immediately below the great Bridge-of-Boats crossing the Tigris to the eastern quarter. On the site of the palace the Buwayhid prince 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla, in A.H. 368 (978), built his famous Hospital (Bīmāristān).

[3] The Trench of Ṭāhir took its name from the founder of the Ṭāhirid Dynasty of Khurāsān, who had been the General of the troops of Al-Mamūn during the civil war. He crushed the power of Al-Amīn, and was responsible for his death. The Ḥarbiyya quarter was named after Ḥarb-ibn-'Abd-Allah of Balkh, who, Yāḳūt (II. 234) states, was a favourite of Al-Manṣūr. By the thirteenth century A.D. the Ḥarbiyya had come to be a separate walled-suburb, with its own markets, lying two miles distant from old Baghdād. Ibn Hawkal (p. 164) describes the Harbiyya as lying opposite, on the western bank of the Tigris, to the Shammāsiyya on the eastern side. Isḥāḳ, son of Ibrāhīm the Ṭāhirid, near whose Dār (or palace) the Trench flowed out into the Tigris, is, I presume, the member of that family who, according to Mas'ūdī (VII. 381), was Governor of Baghdād under Al-Mutawakkil, while that Caliph was living at Samarrā. Yāḳūt (III. 378) is certainly in error in stating that the Trench of Ṭāhir flowed out into the Tigris, "in front of the Gate of Al-Baṣra." He must here have confounded it with the Ṣarāt.

Umm Ja'far (the Mother of Ja'far) was the surname of the famous Zubayda, cousin and chief wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, and mother of Al-Amin (see Section V. note 3). The Zubaydiyya Fief (mentioned below) is referred to by Yāḳūt (II. 917, IV. 141).

[4] From Al-Muḥawwal to the first bridge (the Yāsiriyya) on the 'Īsā Canal, measured one mile, and as the Karkhāyā is said to have branched off "a short distance" below Al-Muḥawwal, I presume its head to have been above the Yāsiriyya. Yāḳūt (IV. 252) quotes the present account of the Karkhāyā, but adds that by the thirteenth century A.D. all trace of this canal had disappeared. Of the places here mentioned most do not occur again in Yāḳūt. The Hospital (Bīmāristān) is not to be confounded with that built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla (see note 2). Ya'ḳūbī (p. 244) describes the gate called Bāb Muḥawwal as leading out to the suburb of Ḥumayd, which Yāḳūt (II. 750) says was called after one of the nobles of Al-Manṣūr—Ḥumayd, the son of Al-Ḳaḥṭaba, who gave his name to a road mentioned below (see Section XII. note 3). The Suwayḳa, "little Sūḳ" or Market of Abu-l-Ward, Yāḳūt (III. 201) describes as having been built by a certain judge, in the reign of Al-Mahdi. The same authority (I. 592) states that Zalzal, who dug the Pool called after him, was the great lute-player, brother-in-law of the celebrated musician Ibrāhīm of Mosul, whose music was the delight of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd and his court. The gateway called the Arch (Ṭāḳ) of the Ḥarrānian was built by a certain Ibrāhīm, whom Yāḳūt (III. 489) calls a freedman of Al-Manṣūr.

[5] The two places called Ad-Darrābāt—which may mean "the female musicians"—and Al-Khafḳa are mentioned by Al-Khaṭīb (f. 104), who quotes this passage. Khafḳa, which means "a short sleep, a nap," is curious as a place-name. Al-'Amūd signifies the "main-stream" of a river or canal.

[6] Nahr-ad-Dajāj, "the Fowls' Canal," is mentioned by Ya'ḳūbī (p. 250) and Yāḳūt (IV. 838). The Poulterers had their market here. The Nahr-al-Kilāb, "the Dogs' Canal," took its name from *the Dogs' Fief*, adjacent thereto, which Al-Khaṭīb mentions

(f. 83) as having been so called by Al-Manṣūr (and for want of a better designation) by reason of the number of these animals which had congregated there. The Nahr-al-Ḳallāyīn, named from the cooks who fried fish and lived on this canal, is mentioned by Yāḳūt (IV. 843). He adds that a village called Warthāl stood on this spot before the building of Baghdād. He also describes (IV. 841) the Nahr Ṭābaḳ, stating (III. 486) that it derived its name from the great "tiles" (*ṭābaḳ*) made here, with which it was customary to pave the houses in Baghdād. Yāḳūt adds that this canal was originally called the Nahr Bābak, having been dug by Bābak or Papak, the Sassanian. It apparently flowed out into the Nahr 'Īsā near the palace called the Ḳaṣr 'Īsā. Ya'ḳūbī, on the other hand (p. 250), says that this canal took its name from a certain man called Ṭābaḳ-ibn-Ṣamyah. The Dār-al-Battīkh, "the Melon House," is mentioned by Yāḳūt (II. 517), but he gives no details.

[SECTION XII.]

Canals of the Ḥarbiyya.[1]

Of these is a Canal, which is brought from the Dujayl and is called the Nahr Baṭāṭiyā.[2] Its point of origin is six leagues below the head of the Dujayl. It passes thence, watering many domains and villages, and goes by the midst of (the district of) Maskin, whence it flows out through the domains, and here is lost.

But there is brought from the Baṭāṭiyā, from a point a little below the Bridge-of-Boats of Baṭāṭiyā, a canal which flows on towards Baghdād, into which it passes, by the conduit of the Kūraj at the Bridge of the Gate of Al-Anbār. It enters Baghdād at this point, passing along the road of the Bāb-al-Anbār, and, traversing the road of Al-Kabsh, there disappears.

Now from the Nahr Baṭāṭiyā aforesaid is brought another canal, its origin being at a point lower down than

that of the first canal. It flows towards Baghdād, and passes (into the city) by a conduit called 'Abbārat-al-Kūkh, which crosses (the Trench of Ṭāhir) between the (gates of the) Bāb Ḥarb and the Bāb-al-Ḥadid. Passing this, it enters Baghdād, running down the road of Dujayl to (the Quadrangle of the Persians) Murabba'at-al-Furs. Here there is taken from it a canal called Nahr Dukkān-al-Ibnā (of the Shops of the Persian-Arab nobles), which flowing off disappears.

The main canal passes on from the Quadrangle of the Persians to the Bridge of Abu-l-Jawn.[3] Here there is taken from it a canal to the place of the Scribes for the Orphans, and thence to the (Quadrangle called) Murabba'a Shabīb, and there it falls out into the canal of the road (near the Syrian Gate), as we shall describe below.

The main canal passes on from the bridge of Abu-l-Jawn to the road of the (palace called) Ḳaṣr Hānī, thence it passes to the (garden called) Bustān-al-Ḳass, and finally it flows out into the canal which passes down the road of the Ḳaḥṭaba's.

From the Nahr Baṭāṭiyā is brought a canal, whose origin is from the (channel called) Ḳanāt-al-Kūkh; and it flows to Baghdād. It passes by the Conduit, which is a Ḳūraj, over the bridge of the Bāb Ḥarb, and there enters Baghdād. Flowing down the middle of the road of the Bāb Ḥarb, it comes to the road of (the house called) Dār Ibn Abu-'Awn,[4] and next to the Quadrangle of Abu-l-'Abbās. Thence it passes to the Quadrangle of Shabīb, where there falls into it the canal (of the Scribes for the Orphans), as we have already mentioned; and from this point it passes to the Bāb-ash-Shām (the Gate of Syria).

These, therefore, which we have discussed, are the Canals of (Baghdād), the City of Peace. Now the canals which are in (the quarter called) Al-Ḥarbiyya are (the kind of water-courses called) Ḳanāt, and they run underground, but (their courses outside the city) where they begin are (canals and) uncovered, as, please Allah, may He be exalted! thou hast understood.

[1] The water of the Ḥarbiyya Canals had to cross the Khandaḳ, or Trench of Ṭāhir, in order to reach the Ḥarbiyya quarter, and the conduits generally passed over by the bridges crossing the trench in front of the several gates. A water-conduit, crossing at right angles a lower canal, appears, in Baghdād, to have been called either Ḳūraj or 'Abbāra. Ḳūraj is the name which Yāḳūt (IV. 198) gives to one of the canals of the Western quarter, which was brought down from the Ḳāṭūl, and which, whenever it broke its banks, laid the whole of that part of Baghdād under water. M. de Goeje says (*Histoire des Carmathes*, 2nd edition, note 3 to p. 13), that Ḳūraj is the Arab form of the Persian *Kūra* "a canal." The word *'Abbāra*, which Ibn Serapion also uses, does not occur in this sense in our Arabic dictionaries; but it is evident from the present and the following passages that *'Abbāra* means "*a small aqueduct or* water-conduit crossing a canal." *In many cases* the word *Ḳūraj* of Ibn Serapion's MS. *is replaced* in the corresponding passage of Al-Khaṭīb by the word *'Abbāra*—which is a noun formed from the verb *'abara*, "to cross over," following the grammatical form of such words as *Kallāsa*, "a lime-kiln," and *Ḳayyāra*, "a bitumen-pit," (*cf.* W. Wright's Grammar, 2nd edition, I. 199).

[2] The paragraph on the Baṭāṭiyā Canal is given, in a mutilated form, by Yāḳūt (IV. 835), who quotes it at second-hand from Al-Khaṭīb. Shāri'-al-Kabsh, "the Road of the Ram," is mentioned by Yāḳūt (IV. 233), who speaks of Al-Kabsh-wa-l-Asad, "the Ram and the Lion," as a quarter of Western Baghdād, in his day long gone to ruin. It was the limit, according to Al-Khaṭīb (f. 67), of the houses of Baghdād on the west. Murabba'at-al-Furs, "the Quadrangle of the Persians," Yāḳūt states (IV. 485) was a fief granted by Al-Manṣūr

to certain men of that nation. The reading *Nahr Dukkān-al-Ibnā* is from the Paris MSS. of Al-Khaṭīb. The word *Dukkān* is used by so early an authority as Bilādhurī (p. 281) in the usual sense of a "balcony," or "shop"; while *Ibnā* is the term applied by the Arabs to the nobles of Persian race who ruled in Arabia (see Mas'ūdī, IV. 188).

[3] The Bridge of Abu-l-Jawn is mentioned incidentally by Yāḳūt (III. 277). The Quadrangle of Shabīb the same authority states (III. 489) was named after a certain Shabīb-ibn-Rāḥ; Bilādhurī (p. 296), however, gives him as Ibn Wāj. The Garden of Al-Ḳass is mentioned by both Bilādhurī (p. 296) and Ya'ḳūbī (p. 247) as being named after a certain freedman of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr. The road which was called after the family of the Ḳaḥṭaba, since their houses and fiefs bordered it, is referred to by Ya'ḳūbī (p. 246), who speaks also of the Suburb called after Al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḳaḥṭaba (see Section XI. note 4).

[4] The House of Ibn Abu-'Awn took its name from the son of Abu-'Awn, who, according to Yāḳūt (II. 750), was a freedman of Al-Manṣūr, and at one time Governor of Egypt. He was a native of Jurjān, near the Caspian Sea, and was called 'Abd-al-Mālik ibn Zayd or Yazīd, according to Ya'ḳūbī (p. 249). The Quadrangle of Abu-l-'Abbās is given in Yāḳūt (IV. 485), and is ascribed to a certain Abu-l-'Abbās-al-Faḍl-ibn-Sulaymān of Ṭūs, who was one of the nobles of Al-Manṣūr.

[SECTION XIII.]

And now as regards the canals Al-Baṣra, and the description of Al-Batīḥa[1] (the Swamp), and (the estuary of the Tigris called) the Dijla-al-'Awrā; verily all these I will describe unto thee, and grace comes from Allah!

DESCRIPTION OF AL-BAṬĪḤA[1] (THE SWAMP).

Now the beginning of the Swamp is at Al-Ḳaṭr. This place is a strait of water growing with reeds. Next to this comes what is called a Hawr; and Hawr is the name for a great sheet of (clear) water wherein no reeds grow.[2] The name of this first Hawr is Baḥaṣṣā.* Following this comes a strait full of reeds, and then the second Hawr, which has the name of Bakamṣā. Next comes another strait growing with reeds, and then the third Hawr, the name of which is Baṣrayāthā. Then another strait with reeds, and next the fourth Hawr, the name of which is Al-Muḥammadiyya, on which is the (tower called) Mināra Ḥassān. This last is the largest of all the Hawrs. Finally there is a last strait with reeds, which extends down to (the channel called) the Nahr Abu-l-Asad.[3] This stream passes by Al-Ḥāla and the village of Al-Kawānīn, and it finally falls out into the (Blind Tigris or) Dijla-al-'Awrā.

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[1] The great Swamps formed by the Euphrates and the Tigris are called, in Arabic, Al-Baṭīḥa or, in the plural, Al-Baṭāyiḥ. Bilādhurī (p. 292) dates the origin of the Swamps as far back as the reign of the Persian king Kubādh I., towards the end of the fifth century A.D., when the dykes on the Tigris, having been for many years neglected, the waters poured through a breach below Kaskar and flooded the low-lying lands. During the reign of Anūshirwān the Just, son and successor of Kubādh, the dykes were partially repaired and the lands brought back under cultivation; but under King Khusraw Parwīz, the contemporary of Muḥammad, and about the year seven or eight after the Flight (A.D. 629), both the Tigris and the Euphrates rose in such flood as had never before been seen, burst their dykes in various places, and laid all the

* Reading uncertain.

surrounding country under water. According to the account in Bilādhurī, King Parwīz himself superintended the repair of the dykes, sparing (he writes) neither men's lives nor money, "crucifying forty dyke-men, at a certain breach, in one day, and yet was unable to master the water." The Swamps, thus formed, became permanent, for, during the succeeding years, when the Muslims were overrunning Mesopotamia and destroying the Persian monarchy, the dykes naturally were left uncared for. "Then breaches came in all the embankments, and none attended, for the Dikhāns (the Persian landlords) were powerless to renew the great dykes, and so the Swamps lengthened and widened."

Ibn Rusta (p. 94) describes the Swamps in his day as occupying a space measuring thirty leagues (about 100 miles) across in every direction. They were covered with reeds, and their waters abounded with fish, which were caught, salted, and exported. In another passage (p. 185) the same author describes how the Tigris below Al-Ḳaṭr divides into three branches, through which its waters flowed into the Swamps. These waterways were too shallow to float the river-boats, and the cargoes from them were therefore transferred to skiffs, which were able to navigate the channels through the swamps, and pass out into the open spaces of clear water, the name of which Ibn Rusta writes "Hawl" (p. 185). He continues:—"Now, in among these channels, dry places have been made on platforms formed of reeds, and huts have been built, where shelter may be had from the gnats. In each of these huts five men are stationed as guards."

[2] The names given for the four *Hawrs* (in Ibn Rusta written *Hawl*), or sheets of open water, in the Swamps, are not, to my knowledge, mentioned by any other geographer. The first Hawr, called Baḥassā, is written in the MS. without diacritical points,

and the first letter (which I have pointed to read B) may just as likely be read T, Th, N, or Y. Bakamsā and Basrayāthā are written clearly, with points. Al-Muḥammadiyya, a name common to many towns, does not occur in other authorities as the name of a place in the Swamps. Ḥassān, the Nabathæan, whose tower, or minaret, existed at this place, is referred to by Bilādhurī (p. 293) and Kudāma (p. 240) as having been employed by the Governor, Al-Ḥajjāj, to drain and reclaim lands in the Swamps, during the days of the Omayyad Caliphs.

[3] The main channel leading out from the Swamps was the canal called the Nahr of Abu-l-Asad, who is stated by Bilādhurī (p. 293) to have been a Freedman of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr. He was at one time in command of troops at Al-Baṣra, and either dug or widened this canal, so as to allow boats to pass along it; for more probably the canal already existed from Persian times, as Yāḳūt remarks (IV. 830).

[SECTION XIV.]

Description of the Dijla-al-'Awrā.

Now, where the (water) flows out from the Nahr Abu-l-Asad, the Dijla-al-'Awrā (the Blind Tigris)[1] lies in front, going crosswise. The road to Al-Baṣra is that on the right hand where the (water) flows out; while to the left is the road leading to 'Abdasī and Al-Madhār.[2] And in this last direction there is no exit or river-mouth, for on the contrary (the water flowing up it) this is the limit reached by the ebb and flow of the tides. When the (water) comes out from (the channel called) the Nahr Abu-l-Asad, and turning leaves the same, the (main-stream) passes near the following places, namely[3]: Ad-Daskara, Al-Maftaḥ, 'Abbādān, and Sulaymānān; and finally it flows out into the sea below 'Abbādān. We will later on detail to thee the positions of these villages and cities on the two banks of

the Blind Tigris, at the time when we describe the Roads and Ways; if it please Allah, be He exalted!

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[1] I have translated Dijla-al-'Awrā by "Blind Tigris," for the word *'Awrā*, which means in Arabic "blind of one eye," is applied, as an epithet, to rivers that have become silted up. In the same sense a road is said to be "blind," along which there is no sign of the way. The corresponding verb, which is used by Ibn Rusta for the "silting up" of the Tigris, has in the dictionaries (cf. those of Lane and Dozy, s.v.) the meaning "to become blind," and also "to become halt or maimed."

The Blind Tigris, called in Persian Bahmanshīr (*Tanbih*, p. 52; and Yāḳūt, I. 770), also known as the Fayḍ or "Estuary" of Al-Baṣra, corresponds exactly (as described by Ibn Serapion) with the present Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab, extending from modern Korna downwards as far as 'Abbādān, for in the tenth century A.D. the Persian Gulf came up north to this line. The distances between the Baṣra Canals (given in the next Section) tend to the conclusion that the Nahr Abu-l-Asad was identical with the last reach of the present Euphrates, before its confluence with the Tigris at Korna; while the present Tigris, or rather the last six leagues of its course above Korna, is the channel referred to in this and the next Section as the Nahr-al-Madhār, which is said to have been dammed up towards 'Abdasī and Al-Madhār. The exact position of these two cities is uncertain; but they must have been situated on or near what is at present the course of the Tigris immediately above Korna. According to Ibn Rusta (confirmed by Yāḳūt, I. 669, line 15), in Sassanian times, and before the bursting of the dykes which led to the formation of the Swamps (see note 1 to Section XIII.), the Tigris of those days followed

the same *eastern* channel which it does at the present time. The account in Ibn Rusta (p. 94) appears to me of sufficient importance to be worth translating: "Now, as to the Blind Tigris, verily before the days of Islām it used to go straight up from Al-Madhār, where at the present day the channel is stopped; for passing up thence by 'Abdasī, which is of the districts of Dastī-Maysān, the channel came out (from the present Tigris bed) at Al-Khayzurāniyya, above Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ, in the district of Wāsiṭ. From thence you pass up to Al-Madāin. Now sea-going ships used, of old, to sail in from the land of India, coming up the Tigris of Al-Baṣra, and thence could attain to Al-Madāin, for they would sail up (from the Estuary of Al-Baṣra) and come out above Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ, passing into the Tigris of (the part below where in later times was) Baghdād, whence they came to Al-Madāin. But after those (ancient) days the river burst its banks, flowing out over the land in front (and south) of the place where Wāsiṭ afterwards stood, and here its waters formed the Swamps, as these are known at the present time. . . . . Now of old there used to be Swamps at a place called Jūkhā, lying between Al-Madhār and 'Abdasī, where the waters of the Tigris had collected in the days prior to the shifting of the river-bed into the present (western) course down by Wāsiṭ. But when this change of course took place and the water of the Tigris ceased to flow down its old channel, this place became a desert and arid, so that he who now passes through (Jūkhā) in the summer time suffers from the full force of the Simūn wind." Al-Khayzurāniyya, above Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ, where the ships are said to have passed into the reaches of the Tigris, above where the Swamps afterwards formed, is doubtless the same place which Ya'ḳūbī names (p. 322) Ḳanāṭīr-al-Khayzurān, "the Bridges, or Arches of Khayzurān," and which he

places on the eastern bank of the river, between Al-Mubārik (opposite Nahr Sābus) and Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ.

[2] 'Abdasī, according to Yāḳūt (III. 603), was the Arabicized name of the Persian Afdasahī, which was one of the hamlets of Kaskar, and the name passed to the Arab township which came to occupy the older site.

Al-Madhār was a city of much importance at the date of the Arab conquest, being the capital of the province of Maysān. As already noted, it must have stood on or near the ancient, *eastern*, course of the Tigris, which was more or less identical with the modern course of the river. In Bilādhurī (p. 342), the city is described as not far from Dasti-Maysān. Although no trace of its ruins can be found on the modern maps, Yāḳūt (IV. 468), in the thirteenth century A.D., writes as though Al-Madhār still existed, and states that it lay four days' journey from Al-Baṣra, being situated between Al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ. It was celebrated for its beautiful mosque and venerated for the tomb of 'Abd-Allah, one of the sons of the Caliph 'Alī.

[3] Of the other towns mentioned in this section, 'Abbādān is the only one of which the exact position is known. It exists at the present day, but lies more than twenty miles inland from the present sea-coast. In the tenth century, Muḳaddasi (p. 118) describes 'Abbādān as a city on the sea-coast, standing on the island formed by the estuaries of the Tigris and the Dujayl (or Kārūn river). He adds: "There is no land opposite to 'Abbādān, only the open sea." It was counted as twelve leagues march from Al-Baṣra.

To judge from the native map in the Paris MS., Sulaymānān lay on the Persian side of this island. Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 173) describes the town as lying "over against (or opposite) 'Abbādān," and Bilādhurī (p. 364) states that it took its name from a

certain Sulaymān ibn Jābir, surnamed "the Ascetic." Ad-Daskara, meaning "the flat-land," Yāḳūt writes (II. 575), is a name common to many places, but the position of this particular As-Daskara is not given. Al-Maftaḥ is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal (p. 171) as situated near the western frontier of the Khūzistān Province, on the line between Bayān and Al-Madhār. Yāḳūt (IV. 586) refers to it as a village lying between Al-Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, belonging to the province of Al-Baṣra. The native map in the Paris MS. places Al-Maftaḥ opposite the exit of the Nahr Ma'ḳil, and it must have stood near the great estuary, for in the *Tanbih* (p. 52) the Blind Tigris is given the name of the "Tigris of Al-Maftaḥ."

[SECTION XV.]

Description of the Canals of Al-Baṣra.[1]

Now Al-Baṣra lies near (the estuary called) the Fayḍ of (Al-Baṣra), and into this estuary its canals empty themselves. Further, the ebb and flow of the tide comes up to the utmost limit of these canals, and flows back therefrom.

The first canal which branches from the (estuary), after you come out from the Nahr Abu-l-Asad, is that which lies on the right hand, and it extends as far as Al-Baṣra.[2] It is called the Nahr-al-Marāh, and its beginning is two leagues from the exit of the Nahr Abu-l-Asad.

The second canal is that called the Nahr-ad-Dayr; and it begins three leagues from the Nahr-al-Marāh.

The third canal is the one called Bithḳ Shīrīn; and it begins six leagues below the Canal of Ad-Dayr.

The fourth canal is that called the Nahr Ma'ḳil,[3] and between it and the Bithḳ Shīrīn is a distance of two leagues.

The fifth canal is that called the Nahr-al-Ubulla; and Al-Ubulla is at its head. Between this and the Nahr Ma'ḳil* is a distance of four leagues.

* MS. reads Nahr-al-Ubulla, in error.

The sixth canal[4] is called Al-Yahūdī; and between it and Al-Ubulla is four leagues.

The seventh canal is that called the Nahr Abu-l-Khaṣīb, and it lies a league below the canal of Al-Yahūdī.

The eighth canal is that called the Nahr-al-Amīr; and it flows at a league below the Nahr Abu-l-Khaṣīb.

The ninth canal is called the Nahr-al-Ḳandil, and it is two leagues below the Nahr-al-Amīr.

These nine canals all flow out into (the estuary called) the Fayḍ of Al-Baṣra. They are each some four leagues in the length, but some are more, some less. Now this estuary has its mouth by the Dijla-al-'Awrā (the Blind Tigris) at 'Abbādān, at the time of the ebb, and it forms a considerable body of water. The town of 'Abbādān lies on the sea-shore, and the sea comes close up to it. And in regard to all these nine canals, there is none but from it have been taken numerous smaller canals, which water the adjacent domains.

These, therefore, are the celebrated and mighty canals of Al-Baṣra, which flow out by the western bank of the Dijla-al-'Awrā, and there remain to mention those of the eastern side, which next I will describe to thee, if it please Allāh, be He exalted!

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[1] Al-Baṣra, the great commercial port of Baghdād and Mesopotamia, lay on the Arabian side of the Estuary of Al-Baṣra, in other words the Blind Tigris, and was about twelve miles, as the crow flies, from its bank. Two great canals—the Nahr Ma'ḳil on the north-east, and the Nahr-al-Ubulla on the south-east—brought the ships up from the estuary to the quays of the town, which stood at the junction of these two canals. Muḳaddasi (p. 117) describes Al-Baṣra as having its greatest length along this junction-canal, with houses extending back to the desert border behind, where a single gate opened to the plain. In its width, from the canal bank to this gate, the city measured three miles across. The

modern village of Zubayr now occupies the site of old Baṣra, for the present town named Baṣra stands on the estuary of the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab, and is probably identical in situation with the ancient Al-Ubulla.

[2] Of the nine canals lying on the western or Arabian side of the Tigris estuary, the highest up, called generally the Nahr-al-Marāh or "the Woman's Canal," appears to be identical with a Nahr Murra, which, according to Bilādhurī (p. 360), was dug by a certain Murra, the Freedman of one of the sons of the Caliph Abu Bakr. In explanation of the name Al-Marāh, another tradition given by Yāḳūt (IV. 844) states that the "woman" after whom the canal was named was a certain Persian princess with whom Khālid, General of the Muslim army, made a treaty of peace. The Nahr-ad-Dayr took its name from a Dayr or "Cloister" which stood at the mouth of this canal; and a village of that name still exists at the spot indicated. According to Yāḳūt (II. 660, IV. 839), a monastery called Dayr-ad-Dihdār had stood here from the days before Islām. Many monks lived in it, and the place was held in high honour by the Christians. The town was noted for the excellent porcelain dishes, which were manufactured here, and exported for sale to Al-Baṣra. According to Bilādhurī (p. 367), the Nahr Bithḳ Shīrīn takes its name from Shīrīn, the beautiful wife of King Khusraw Parwīz. *Bithḳ* means a "cutting" in the dyke, through which water flows.

[3] The fourth canal, the Nahr Ma'ḳil, is, as before stated, the chief waterway from the north by which ships reached Al-Baṣra. It was called after Ma'ḳil-ibn-Yasār, a companion of the Prophet, who dug this canal during the reign of 'Omar (Yāḳūt, IV. 845). The Persian pilgrim, Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (p. 85), who visited Al-Baṣra in A.H. 443 (1051), describes the Nahr Ma'ḳil and the Nahr-al-Ubulla as being each

four leagues in length. Between the two lay a tract of land forming a great island, oblong in shape, for the ends were each but a league across. One short side of the oblong lay on the Tigris Estuary going from Al-Ubulla up to the mouth of the Ma'ḳil Canal, and the parallel short side was the waterway, joining the ends of the two canals already named, and on the desert-side of which stood the city of Al-Baṣra. These measurements of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw agree very exactly with what is found on the modern maps, for a place called Ma'ḳil still exists about one league north of Al-Ubulla (which is the modern town of Baṣra), on the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab. The distance separating these two canals, given at "four leagues" by Ibn Serapion, is therefore probably an overstatement, and we should read "one league," as reported in the diary of the Persian pilgrim. Al-Ubulla took its name from an ancient town which the Greeks called *Apologos*. It stood at the end of the Nahr-al-Ubulla, the waterway by which ships left Al-Baṣra when setting sail for the Indian seas. Al-Ubulla, lying at the mouth of this canal on its northern bank, had the great Estuary of the Tigris to the eastward. Facing Al-Ubulla, on the southern bank of the canal mouth, was the hamlet called Shiḳḳ 'Othmān, *Shiḳḳ* meaning "a cutting," or "breach in a dyke." Opposite Al-Ubulla, across the great Estuary of the Tigris, here about a league wide, lay the town of 'Askar Abu-Ja'far, whence, according to Muḳaddasi (pp. 118 and 135), the caravans set out for Al-Ahwāz.

[4] Of the four remaining canals on the western side, the Nahr-al-Yahūdī, the "Jew's Canal," appears to have left no trace of its name on the modern maps, and I can find no notice of the origin of the name. The Nahr Abu-l-Khaṣīb is stated by Bilādhurī (p. 362) to have taken its name from Abu-l-Khaṣīb Marzūḳ, a freedman of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, who

granted him the lands here in fief. The name is still found on the present map. The Nahr-al-Amīr, according to Bilādhurī (p. 362), was called originally the Nahr Amīr-al-Muminīn, "the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful," to wit the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, who caused it to be dug, and granted its lands in fief to his son Ja'far. The last canal is the Nahr-al-Ḳandil, which Yāḳūt (IV. 843) pronounces Ḳindal, and Abu-l-Fidā (p. 57) Ḳundul. The origin of the name appears to be unknown. It is worth noting that Abu-l-Fidā (pp. 56 and 57) has copied this Section XV. of Ibn Serapion, almost verbatim, into his Geography.

[SECTION XVI.]

Canals to the west of the Baṣra Estuary.

Of these, on coming forth from the Nahr Abu-l-Asad, the first is a canal called the Nahr-al-Madhār.* From it are taken many minor canals, but at the end of the canal is a dam. Its length is six leagues.[1]

The second canal is that called the Nahr-ar-Rayyān; and it is situated thirteen leagues from [Al-Madhār].† From it are taken many minor canals, and it was originally one of the highways to Al-Ahwāz, but it is now dammed. Its length is six leagues.

The third canal is that called the Nahr Bayān,[2] and this at the present time is the highway to Al-Ahwāz. From the head of this canal you pass to Ḥiṣn Mahdī,[3] and thence to Fam Dahastān, which is on the (Estuary from the) sea. Thence to Sūḳ Baḥr,[4] from which you pass along in the Nahr-as-Sidra, and from whence (you descend) to the sea. From Sūḳ Baḥr to (the canal called) Al-Masrukān is the river of Al-Ahwāz, which is but a little way, going across, and thence you travel to the cities of Al-Ahwāz.[5]

* MS. Al-Minār, in error.
† The MS. reads Al-Mubārik, probably a mistake.

Now the canal of Al-Masruḳān we will describe later on,* if it please Allah Almighty.

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[1] The channel leading up to Al-Madhār has been already discussed (see Notes 1 and 2 to Section XIV.). The second canal, the Nahr-ar-Rayyān, appears to have started from a place marked Riyān on Kiepert's map. Ar-Rayyān is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 12) as one of the three districts of Kaskar. Other canals of this name occur in the works of Bilādhurī and Yāḳūt, but not this Nahr-ar-Rayyān. For "Al-Mubārik" in the MS. I have substituted "Al-Madhār," for the distance given agrees. However, Yāḳūt (IV. 408) mentions Al-Mubārik as one of the canals of Al-Baṣra, which was dug by Khalid-al-Kasri, governor of the Two 'Irāḳs under the Omayyad Caliph Hishām; but the position of the canal is not given by Yāḳūt.

[2] The Nahr Bayān, called after the town of that name—which, according to Iṣtakhrī (p. 95) and Yāḳūt (I. 773), stood on the eastern side of the Tigris Estuary, five leagues below Al-Ubulla—raises a question of some interest. A reference to the map shows that the Bayān Canal occupies the position of the Haffar Channel, by which, at the present day, the waters of the Kārūn River are for the most part discharged into the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab. The modern Mohammerah, which stands at the western end of this channel, must very nearly be identical in site with the older town of Bayān. A passage in Muḳaddasi, who wrote about three-quarters of a century later than Ibn Serapion, assigns the digging of this important channel to his contemporary, the Buwayhid Prince 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla, who reigned from A.H. 338 to 372 (949–982). The canal, however, must have existed before his time, and even before the date of

* See next section.

Ibn Serapion, for it is referred to by Kudāma (p. 194), who wrote in A.H. 266 (880), under the name of the Nahr-al-Jadīd, "the New Canal." Doubtless under the orders of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla it was sufficiently widened to permit the passage of sea-going ships; and this is what is referred to in the following passage, which I translate from Muḳaddasi (p. 419): "From Ḥiṣn Mahdī to the beginning of the 'Aḍudī Canal is a day's journey, and thence you reach the Tigris. You may also ride from Ḥiṣn Mahdī to Bayūn in one day's march, across a Sabkha (or Salt-Marsh). Now the River Dujayl of Al-Ahwāz, and the Tigris, each of them forms a broad estuary (Fayḍ) which opens out to the China Sea (or Persian Gulf), and between these two estuaries lies the Salt-Marsh above-mentioned. In former times people, travelling by boat, were forced to go down by the Estuary of the Dujayl out to the sea, and then turning round sail back again and enter the Tigris Estuary, and thus from the sea reach Al-Ubulla. But in doing this they encountered both danger and fatigue, and hence it was that 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla opened the Great Canal which leads from the upper part of the Dujayl Estuary to the Tigris Estuary. This canal is four leagues long, and the waterway from Al-Ahwāz to Al-Ubulla is at the present time along the same."

[3] Ḥiṣn Mahdī, "Mahdi's Fortress," lay at the head of the ancient estuary of the Dujayl or River of Al-Ahwāz, which is the modern Kārūn. Ibn Hawkal (p. 172) writes: "The rivers of Khūzistān, which flow down from Al-Ahwāz, from Ad-Dawraḳ, from Tustar, and from other quarters adjacent to these, all come together at Ḥiṣn Mahdī and form an estuary, where the waters are so abundant and copious as to be near a league across, and thence they flow down to the sea." Ḥiṣn Mahdī apparently corresponds with the site of no modern town. It lay one day's march

above the place where the Bayān Channel flowed off to the Tigris Estuary. According to Kudāma's distances (p. 194), this fortress was twenty leagues distant from Al-Ahwāz; but I have no authority for determining whether Ḥiṣn Mahdī lay on the western or on the eastern bank of the estuary of the Dujayl, and I have only marked it on the western side because it is more generally mentioned in connection with the towns of Al-'Irāḳ.

Fam Dahastān is apparently mentioned by no other Arab geographer, and it may be a false reading of the MS. If, however, the reading Dahastān be correct, it would possibly be the name of the canal, whose head (*Fam*) was below Al-Ahwāz, and which, after serving to carry off some of the waters of the Dujayl for irrigation purposes, finally ran out into the Persian Gulf. Yāḳūt (I. 411) quotes the account of a geographer called Ibn-al-Muhalhal, who died in A.H. 330 (942), and this author mentions a Wādī (river or canal) as branching from the Dujayl below Al-Ahwāz, and flowing down past Al-Bāsiyān, a town that lay half-way between Ad-Dawraḳ and Ḥiṣn Mahdī.

[4] Sūḳ Baḥr is given by Yāḳūt (III. 193) as the name of a place in the province of Al-Ahwāz, where certain Custom-houses had stood, previous to the date when the Wazīr 'Ali-ibn-al-Jarraḥ was in office for the first time. This 'Ali, who died in A.H. 334 (946) was several times Wazīr under the Caliph al-Muḳtadir. He was celebrated for his righteousness and piety, and had abolished these barriers as unlawful. The position of the place is not indicated by Yāḳūt, but it probably lay on the River Dujayl. The word *Baḥr*, in this and the following paragraphs of the text, doubtless refers to the great Estuary of the Dujayl and not the actual open sea, for *Baḥr* in Arabic, though signifying literally "the sea," is also used for any great river, or estuary.

The Nahr-as-Sidra, "The River of the Lotus," is apparently the name given to that part of the Dujayl which lies immediately below Al-Ahwāz.

[5] Sūḳ-al-Ahwāz, "The Market of the Hūz" (for *Ahwāz* is the Arabic plural of this latter name, which, with *kh*, the stronger aspirate, is preserved in the name of the province), is the capital of Khūzistān, the Land of the Khūz or Hūz. The town still exists. Muḳaddasi (p. 411) describes it as lying for the most part on the eastern bank of the Dujayl, in which quarter the Markets and the Great Mosque were found. This eastern quarter was connected by a long bridge—built of brick arches, called the Ḳanṭara Hinduwān—with an island in the river Dujayl, which was also covered with the houses of the city. On the further, or western side of this island, lay the mainstream of the Dujayl, whose waters, at a distance of a bow-shot below the city, poured over a great Shādhurwān, or weir, built of rocks, which served to dam back the stream for irrigation purposes. The remains of this weir still exist, crossing the Kārūn river.

[SECTION XVII.]*

Description of the River Dujayl of Al-Ahwāz.[1]

Its source is in the mountains of the country of Iṣfahān, and passing by the cities of Al-Ahwāz, it flows out into the Eastern Sea (or Persian Gulf). Into the (Dujayl) flows the River of Junday Sābūr, across which is the Roman Bridge. (Its source is also in) the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, and it flows into the Dujayl of Al-Ahwāz.

From the Dujayl of Al-Ahwāz is brought a canal called Al-Masruḳān.[2] Its point of origin is above (the weir

* This is the paragraph referred to in the last line of Section XVI. It is copied from folio 47*a*. of the MS.

called) Ash-Shādhurwān, and it flows out into the Eastern Sea (or Persian Gulf).

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[1] The Dujayl of Al-Ahwāz is, as already noted, the modern Kārūn. The River of Junday Sābūr is what is now known as the Āb-i-Dīz. The bridge called by Ibn Serapion Ḳanṭara-ar-Rūm (of the Romans or Greeks), Ibn Rusta (p. 90) calls Ḳanṭara-ar-Rūdh, "the Bridge of the River," and in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 176) it is given as Ḳanṭara-az-Zāb. This is, doubtless, the great bridge at Dizful.

[2] The canal called Al-Masruḳān (or Al-Mashruḳān, as Ibn Hawkal and most other authorities spell the name) is the artificial channel, apparently that now known as the Āb-i-Gerger, which was led off to the eastward from the Dujayl, through a cutting in the rocks, above the great Weir at Shustar or Tustar. Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 176), following our author, says that the waters of the Masruḳān flowed out "into the sea," but the tidal Estuary of the Dujayl is, doubtless, to be understood, here as elsewhere, under the word *Bahr* (sea), the term used. The course of the various streams of Khūzistān in the tenth century A.D. will be best understood by the following passage, which is translated from Ibn Hawkal (p. 172): premising that the town of 'Askar Mukram probably occupied the site of the modern Band-i-Kīr, and that the River of Tustar, otherwise the Dujayl, flowed in those days by a more westerly course than it does at the present time, Ibn Hawkal writes: "The largest of the rivers of Khūzistān is that of Tustar, and this is the river across which, at the gate of Tustar, King Sābūr built a Shādhurwān (or weir), in order to raise

the water to the level of the city-lands, for Tustar lies on an elevation, very similar to the heights adjacent in the country near by. Then this river flows on, passing at the further side of 'Askar Mukram, and thence goes down to Al-Ahwāz, where it comes, by the Nahr-as-Sidra, to Ḥiṣn Mahdī, and thence it flows down to the sea. The Nahr-al-Mashrukān runs from the neighbourhood of Tustar till it reaches 'Askar Mukram, which town it divides into two halves. Further on it attains Al-Ahwāz, but its end is here, and it does not pass beyond the capital. When the stream has come to 'Askar Mukram it is crossed by a great bridge of about twenty boats, and in these parts large boats can navigate its waters. And I myself (Ibn Hawkal) have travelled by it from 'Askar Mukram to Al-Ahwāz, a distance of ten leagues. For the first six leagues we voyaged by boat, but afterwards we got out and rode along the course of the stream, for the remainder of the way from this point to Al-Ahwāz was a dry road in the river-bed. The reason of this was that, being then at the end of the month, the moon was waning, and the flood-water in this canal is dependent on the ebb and flow of the tide, and the tide reaches both its lowest ebb and its highest flow in connection with the waxing of the moon."

[SECTION XVIII.]

These, therefore, are the great and celebrated canals of (the district of) Al-Baṣra; and having now accomplished the detail of the same, it will behove thee to work out the streams which fall into the rivers of the Greek country, and those of the city of Malaṭya, in order that thou mayest thus know all the affluents that flow into these two noble and mighty rivers (the Euphrates and Tigris), and that

none of them remain over to thee unexamined, if it please Allah Almighty.*

Of these, then, is the Nahr Arsanās. Into this flows a stream called the Nahr-adh-Dhīb (the Wolf River). Its source is in a mountain in the neighbourhood of Ḳālīḳalā. It turns and passes by many fortresses, and falls into the Arsanās a short distance above Shamshāṭ.

There also falls into the Arsanās a river called Nahr-as-Salḳiṭ. It flows forth from the mountains called Jabal Marūr (or Mazūr), and passing by many fortresses it falls into the Arsanās, one mile below the city of Shamshāṭ, near a mountain that is over the city, and which closes it in.

Another of these is the Nahr Abrīḳ. Into this river there falls a stream called the Nahr Zamra. It flows out of the mountains of Jabal Marūr a little way above where the Nahr Lūḳīya takes its rise; and it falls into the Nahr Abrīḳ a little way below the Castle (Al-Ḳal'a).

Another of these is the Nahr Jarjārīya. Into this there flows a stream called the Nahr Ghawth; its source is in the mountains of the Abrīḳ country, and it falls into the Nahr Jarjārīya in the midst of a meadow in that country.

The Nahr Ḳubāḳib also has affluents; for there flows into it a stream called the Nahr Ḳarāḳīs. This rises in the provinces of the Greek country, and flows near to the gate of Zibaṭra, and at length falls into the Ḳubāḳib.

There also flows into (the River Ḳubāḳib) a stream called the Nahr-az-Zarnūḳ. Its source is in a mountain lying between Malaṭya and Ḥiṣn Manṣūr. It flows into the Ḳubāḳib below the mouth of the Nahr Ḳarāḳīs.

From the Nahr-az-Zarnūḳ is taken a canal called the Nahr Malaṭya. Passing on it irrigates the domains of Malaṭya, and falls into the Ḳubāḳib at a point below the mouth of the Nahr-az-Zarnūḳ.

From this Nahr Malaṭya is taken a canal, from which come the water-channels of the Nahr Malaṭya. These irrigate the gardens that lie along the same, and after

* What follows is almost a repetition of Section IV., and such points as offer any novelty have already been discussed in the Notes to that Section.

passing through the suburb of Malaṭya, they ramify throughout the city. Then, after leaving the city, they flow out into the river Ḳubāḳib, near to, but below, the Bridge of Ḳubāḳib.

So, therefore—through the aid and power of Allah—this description of the rivers of Al-'Irāḳ, to wit, the Tigris and the Euphrates, with the streams that flow into them and the canals that are derived from them, is now concluded.

CONTENTS: Section I., The Tigris, p. 33.—Section II., The Euphrates, p. 46.—Section III., Affluents of the Euphrates, p. 53.—Section IV., Streams flowing into these Affluents, p. 62.—Section V., Canals between the Euphrates and Tigris, p. 68.—Section VI., Canals of the Lower Euphrates, p. 255.—Section VII., Affluents of the Tigris, p. 261.—Section VIII., Canals of the Tigris, p. 265.—Section IX., The same continued, p. 270.—Section X., Canals of Eastern Baghdād, p. 277.—Section XI., Canals of Western Baghdād, p. 285.—Section XII., Canals of the Ḥarbiyya Quarter, p. 293.—Section XIII., The Great Swamp, p. 296.—Section XIV., The Blind Tigris, p. 299.—Section XV., Canals of Al-Baṣra, p. 303.—Section XVI., Canals to the West of Al-Baṣra, p. 307.—Section XVII., The River Dujayl, p. 311.—Section XVIII., Affluents of the Euphrates, p. 313.

Art. IX.—*On the Origin and Earlier History of the Chinese Coinage.* By L. C. Hopkins, M.R.A.S.

The origin and earlier history of the Chinese coinage have been discussed in several European works, of which the most important are, in order of date, Dr. W. Vissering's "On Chinese Currency," Leiden, 1877; Professor S. M. Georgievsky's "Drevneishia moneti Kitaichev" (The Ancient Chinese Coins), 1889; and M. Terrien de Lacouperie's "Catalogue of Chinese Coins," printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1892.

The second of these productions, being in Russian, is to my great regret inaccessible to me. Curiously enough, the other two are both in English, though neither of their authors claims that nationality.

In many ways Vissering's volume is a most meritorious achievement. The scheme of the book is excellent; the author has obviously spared neither time nor labour nor zeal on his task, and wherever he gives a full translation, he adds the Chinese text. Here unfortunately is the weak point of the work. The translations are so very defective as in many places to be useless. I do not know whether I am right in my conjecture, but this part of Vissering's undertaking gives me the impression that his translations of a text which offers numerous difficulties, have been made with the help of dictionaries only, and without the immense, the indispensable advantage of references to and consultations with living native scholars. I do not believe there exists a single Occidental student who has acquired Chinese in China or amongst Chinese, that will dispute the opinion of Dr. Bretschneider, quoted and confirmed by Professor G. Schlegel in the T'oung Pao, vol. i. p. 119, in

these words—"The mistakes he [Dr. Hoffmann] made were principally due to the insufficiency of our Chinese dictionaries, and to his never having been in China. We quite agree, in this respect, with Dr. Bretschneider, when he says: 'that *it is impossible to make correct translations* from Chinese *in Europe* [the italics are not mine] without the assistance of a good native scholar; excepting, of course, those sinologues who have studied the language in China, and who have studied it for a long time.'"

Hence every allowance ought to be made for Vissering's shortcomings in this respect, if, as seems to have been the case, he had learnt Chinese in Europe only.

M. Lacouperie has not dealt, I regret to point out, fairly by his predecessor in these numismatic studies. The only reference to Vissering's work that is to be found in the whole of the "Catalogue" is in a single footnote on p. lxviii. of the Introduction, and is to this effect: "It [viz. Ma Tuan-lin's Section on Currency] forms . . . the bulk of Dr. W. Vissering, *On Chinese Currency, Coin and Paper Money*, Leiden, 1877." Yet M. Lacouperie is abundantly indebted to the Dutch author. Over and over again he makes use of Vissering's work, sometimes without alteration, oftener with slight verbal changes, omissions, or additions, frequently with somewhat more material modifications, but always without acknowledgment. Between pages 338 and 431 of the "Catalogue," I have marked no less than forty-four passages thus silently adopted.

With regard to the "Catalogue of Chinese Coins" itself, I wish to be perfectly frank. Having had occasion to examine it closely—and I doubt if any other person has spent so much time over this book as I have—I came to certain conclusions which led to the preparation of the present paper. I found, as I believed, many demonstrable errors, many mere conjectures of the author's stated as though they were well ascertained and acknowledged facts, and a number of difficult points which merited much more thorough investigation than they had yet received. In view, therefore, of the authoritative character of a volume issued

by the Trustees of the British Museum, I felt impelled to endeavour to the best of my powers to present the available data of this obscure and intricate subject, as they emerge after what has been, I know, a long and careful, and, I hope, an unbiassed examination of all the materials accessible to me which throw light on the first stages of the Chinese monetary system.

Before plunging into the rather tangled details which it has been necessary to gather together and arrange, it may be as well to indicate concisely what appears to be shown, and what, though not demonstrable, is suggested, by the evidence available for forming conclusions.

The actual origin of the earliest form of their metallic money is clearly unknown to the Chinese. But tradition, already embodied in the work known as Kuan Tzŭ, and afterwards repeated in the Lu Shih of Lo Pi, attributes to the founders of the Hsia and Shang dynasties the casting of metal from mountains which are named into what may have been merely ingots, with the object of relieving distress in times of flood and drought.

But Kuan Tzŭ gives us, and in considerable detail, particulars of the use of "treasure" in the administration of his agrarian polity by a still earlier ruler, the legendary Emperor Shun. Chinese numismatists, relying upon these passages in Kuan Tzŭ, believe that a few of these "treasures" have come down to historical times, and that they are represented by the archaic inscribed pieces of peculiar shape discussed below under the heading of *Pi ch'êng ma*. This attribution is by no means free from doubt, and is partially founded on a reading of the legends on the pieces which is itself most questionable.

It would appear probable that at a later epoch, say about the beginning of the Chou dynasty, two distinct types of metal money, with corresponding names, possibly characterizing different regions or political centres, were already in existence—the knife-money and the wedge-handled *pu*. The former seems to have been mainly current in what is now the province of Shantung. Whether a third type, the

circular coin pierced in the centre, may not also have been in use in some parts of the country seems impossible to decide. The History of the Earlier Han dynasty is the ultimate source of our knowledge of the next stage.

According to this work, a Minister, not himself a native of the Chou State, but employed by the founder of that dynasty, instituted (which may mean either invented, or simply introduced), for his master's benefit, a "system of currency." This system included squares of gold of a fixed weight, lengths of silk and hempen cloth of definite dimensions, and, lastly, round copper or bronze coins having a central square hole, which the historian speaks of as *ch'ien*, a name the true origin of which is most obscure, but which remains their designation to this day. It is a matter of question whether the term *ch'ien* was, in the first instance, applied to this round copper coin, or whether it was preceded by the word *ch'üan*, and, if either of these names *was* so applied, whether other terms may not have been employed besides. Further, we do not really know whether these coins were inscribed or not.

The next point is reached in the statement recorded in the same history that a larger coin than was then current was cast by the Chou sovereign Ching, and was inscribed with the words *pao huo*, "valuable exchange." Specimens of archaic appearance are preserved which have this legend on them, as well as others bearing the numbers "four" and "six" before the character for "exchange."

It would be unsafe to infer that there had been no change whatever in the currency of the Chou realm in the interval of nearly six hundred years that had elapsed between the reign of Ching and the establishment of the dynasty. Still less should we be justified in assuming that in the various other States, one uniform and continuous type had prevailed during this considerable period. Probably some of the round coins which have come down to us, and the date and locality of whose issue cannot be certainly determined, may reach as far back. Many of them have round instead of square central holes.

After the consolidation of the Empire under the Ts'in dynasty, the History of the Earlier Han tells us, two forms of money alone were in use—gold, and copper *cash* inscribed *pan liang*, "half ounce"—the other varieties of currency, such as pearls, jade, tortoise-shell, shells, silver, and tin being discarded.

Such is a brief outline of the main facts collected in the entries that follow below, bearing on the origin and the earliest stages of money in the group of States and principalities which have since become the Chinese Empire.

There are two extracts from native works which must be considered somewhat fully, and may conveniently stand here at the head of the separate entries dealing with the numismatic terminology.

The first is a famous passage from the Section on Food and Commerce, of the History of the Earlier Han dynasty. The second is taken from the Section on Money in the great Imperial Encyclopædia, the T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng.

Brief as the Ch'ien Han Shu passage is, and simple as it looks, it contains two or three short clauses which were very perplexing to me at first, but having had the great advantage of consulting both Dr. Legge and Mr. Watters, and quite recently, H. E. Shao, the present Governor of Formosa, I believe the meaning to be substantially as here given. The text runs:—

凡貨金錢布帛之用夏殷以前其詳靡記云太公爲周立九府圜法黃金方寸而重一斤錢圜函方輕重以銖布帛廣二尺二寸爲幅長四丈爲匹故貨寶於金利於刀流於泉布於布束於帛太公退又行之於齊

"No particulars are recorded concerning media of exchange, gold and copper money, hempen cloths and silks, before the time of the dynasties of Hsia and Yin. T'ai Kung instituted the currency of the Nine Treasuries, on behalf of the Chou: gold, in pieces of an inch square,

weighing one *chin*; copper coins, circular with a central square, their weight reckoned in *shu*; hempen cloths and silks, in breadths of two feet two inches, and in length four *chang* [40 feet of the period]. Hence, with regard to commodities, high value [was reflected] in the gold, utility in the knives, their onward flow in the [copper] currency, their diffusion in the cloths, and their compactness in the silks. After the retirement of T'ai Kung [from Chou] the system was again applied in Ts'i."

The first point to which I would draw attention is that the expression *yüan fa*, which I translate 'currency,' seems, on the face of the text, to be applied to all three varieties mentioned, the gold, the cloths and silks, and the copper coins. But Chinese writers on the subject, so far as I have seen, restrict the term to the last of the three.

It will also be remarked that the passage really consists of a statement of fact, for which the author probably had documentary warrant extant in his time, and of a highly symbolizing gloss or comment on the facts, proceeding from the author, Pan Ku, himself, or some earlier scholar whose view commended itself to him.

Vissering, on p. 8, referring to this passage, which is partially quoted in an extract from Chêng Chia-chi, translates the words *liu yü ch'üan*, etc., "it streams faster than a fountain, spreads more (widely) than cloth-parcels, is more precious than gold, and more advantageous than knives"; and he is followed in this by the late Professor von der Gabelentz in his *Chinesische Grammatik*, p. 292. Beyond all question such an idiom is commonly employed in expressing adjectival comparison, but there can, I think, be little doubt that in this instance such an interpretation cannot be put upon the text.

The remaining passage, which is extracted from the Section on Money in the great Imperial Encyclopædia, is in the nature partly of a paraphrase of, and partly of a gloss upon, the previous extract, and is from the pen, if I mistake not, of the Editors of the Encyclopædia themselves.

"'The Nine Officers [viz. the chiefs of the Nine Treasuries] controlled the offices for valuables and treasure,' and the objects of their control were of three classes, viz. gold, stuffs of cloth and silk, and copper money (錢 幣, *ch'ien pi*). The gold pieces were designated by the name Gold [*cf.* Gulden]; the cloths and silks were measured by the piece; the copper money was weighed by the *shu*. Accordingly, whenever any commodities were paid in or out, it was by means of the copper currency (*yüan fa*) that their values were equalised and made convertible (均而通之, *chün êrh t'ung chih*). Thus one catty of gold was equivalent to so many copper *cash* (錢, *ch'ien*); one piece of silk was equivalent to so many copper *cash*, and so on. In this way the Government had a standard of measure. All sorts of commodities reflected their [respective] characters—of high value in the gold pieces, of utility in the knife-coins, the power of circulating in the copper currency, the power of distribution in the cloths, and of accumulation in the silks (一切財貨寶之以金利之以刀流行之以泉施布之以布收聚之以帛).

"The term 'gold' indicates the 'square inch weighing one catty' of the [Ch'ien Han Shu] text; the term 'knives' indicates the 'knives forming the lowest class of valuables,' of Kuan Tzŭ; the term *ch'üan*, 泉, refers to the *yüan fa*, or copper currency; and the 'stuffs of cloth and silk' refer to those described as 'in length four *chang* the piece.'"

Here, we may note, the editors regard the terms *ch'üan* and *yüan fa* as synonymous.

In the ensuing entries I have purposely inserted the Chinese text of passages translated only where it is really indispensable. The system of transliteration is that of Sir Thomas Wade, from which I have only departed in the cases of one or two dynastic or geographical names, such as Ts'i for Ch'i, and Ts'in for Ch'in, from a desire to follow the more usual spelling of these words, and thus avoid

a source of confusion. Words within square brackets are always comment, explanation, or amplification of my own. Thus inserted, they interrupt the reader less, I think, than when subjoined as footnotes.

I wish to express my thanks to the Rev. Dr. Legge for valuable assistance given me on various points in the earlier part of the preparation of this article.

Ch'an pi, 鏟幣 } Spade money, or perhaps Plane money,
Ch'an pu, 鏟布 }

for the definitions of *ch'an* in the Shuo Wên and Liu Shu Ku point to a plane or chisel rather than a spade.

In M. Lacouperie's Introduction to the "Catalogue," p. xviii., we find the entry, "*Pi tch'an.* Spade money. Name given by numismatists to the copper currency of that shape issued by private people, and afterwards regularly in the seventh century, in imitation of small implements of husbandry, which had been found convenient for barter."

Both Williams and Giles have *pi ch'an* in their dictionaries, but I have, so far, not met the term in any Chinese work.

The Chin Shih So heads its illustrations of these coins with the reversed and more natural form *ch'an pi.*

The Ku Ch'üan Hui classifies these so-called spade coins as *k'ung shou pu*, or hollow-headed *pu*, and says (Section Yüan, ch. 10): "Their shape resembling a *ch'an*, they are popularly called *ch'an pu*, or spade money. The upper piece is hollow. The Chi Chin Lu says, 'the hollow was fitted with a handle to hold them by when in circulation,' and adduces from the Odes the passage '抱布貿絲, to carry *pu* to barter for silk.' [But the accepted interpretation of this passage holds *pu* to be *cloth*, and not the metal money which the Chi Chin Lu sees in the word.] The Huo Pu Wên Tzŭ K'ao says the hollow part was fitted with a vertical slip of bamboo, which was pinned in from the side to prevent it slipping out." Li Tso-hsien, the author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui, concurs in all the above, and adds that this type of *pu*, being mostly dug up in Chung Chou, the modern Honan province, dates probably from the Liu-Sung, or Wei dynasties [fifth and sixth

centuries A.D.], though some specimens must, he thinks, be earlier.

M. Lacouperie regards the *pu* money, in the restricted sense in which he uses that term, as degenerate forms of the Spade money, but such evidence as there is affords no support to this view.

Ch'êng ma huo, 乘馬貨 } See *Pi ch'êng ma.*
Ch'êng ma pi, 乘馬幣 }

Ch'i tao, 契刀. A graving knife, or knife for carving wood. The name of a coin shaped like the combination of a *cash* and a knife blade, issued by Wang Mang.

Vissering, followed by M. Lacouperie, has misunderstood the meaning of *ch'i tao,* which the former translates (p. 50) "Knives to make agreements or bonds," and the latter by "Bond-knife" (Intr. p. xvii.) and "Binding-knife" (p. 312). Neither writer remembers to enlighten us as to what meaning they attribute to these expressions.

In the Ch'ien Han Shu the form of the character *ch'i* used has the radical *ta, great,* but the author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui, supported by the extant specimens of the coin, maintains that this form is wrong, and that the character should have been written with the radical *mu, wood.* The word signifies to *carve,* being synonymous with, and in Kanghsi defined by, 刻, *k'ê, to carve.* The Liu Shu Ku states that *k'ê* implies deeper carving than *ch'i.* According to the Ku Ch'üan Hui, Wang Mang, who affected antiquarian tastes, reproduced in these coins an ancient variety of knife.

Chia ch'ien. See under *Yü chia ch'ien.*

Chien chin, 兼金. Double gold.

Couvreur in his dictionary, quoting this expression from Mencius, defines it as "or très fin qui valait deux fois l'or ordinaire." But M. Lacouperie, p. xix., asserts that the first word "must be read 鎌, *sickle,* appropriate name of the curved knife-shape of the currency of Ts'i." As, however, the above character for *sickle* is read *lien,* and never *kien* (or *chien*), M. Lacouperie, to be consistent, should transliterate the phrase *lien-kin* instead of *kien kin* as he does.

The knives of Ts'i are, moreover, quite unlike a Chinese or any other sickle. The whole statement is a mere guess which will not bear examination.

Ch'ien, 錢. Copper money.

Considerable obscurity surrounds the origin of the word *ch'ien*, an obscurity that affects both the date of its introduction and the history of its meaning.

In the first place the syllable has another, probably earlier, and possibly unrelated meaning. Thus in the Odes the character occurs once, with the sound *tsien*, in the "rising tone," and standing for the name of some field implement usually translated "hoe." So again we find in the Shuo Wên, under this character, this entry: "A hoe (銚). In ancient times a field implement. From 金, *chin, metal*, and 戔, *chien*, giving the sound. The Odes have, 'prepare your hoes (錢) and mattocks.' One authority says, 'valuables' [一曰貨也]." Tuan Yü-ts'ai, commenting on the above passage of the Shuo Wên, observes that the Elder Hsü's edition does not contain these last four words.

Under the character 貝, *pei, a shell*, the Shuo Wên is rather more communicative, for we there read, "In ancient times they exchanged shells and prized tortoise-shell. Under the Chou they had money (泉, *ch'üan*). By the time of the Ts'in, shells went out of use, and *ch'ien* were current." Tuan Yü-ts'ai notes a suggestion that the reading here should be 泉, *ch'üan*, not 錢, *ch'ien*.

The Shuo Wên's recognition of *ch'ien* in the sense of money may not be free from doubt, but that the word had been so used in literature before the date of its publication is certain. It is frequent in the work known as Kuan Tzŭ. The Kuo Yü also contains it (as M. Lacouperie points out), and a commentator on the Chou Li affirms that the name Ch'üan Fu, or Treasury of Money, mentioned in that work, was sometimes written Ch'ien Fu. With that possible exception, the character does not seem to be met with in the Chou Li.

But there is a consensus of opinion among native

scholars that *ch'ien*, as a term for money, was preceded by an earlier word, or, as some of them think, by an earlier form of the same word. This prior form is now written 泉 and pronounced *ch'üan*, and is fully treated below in a separate entry.

Li Tso-hsien, the author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui, cites the T'ung Chih (I presume Chêng Ch'iao's work of that name) as asserting that under the Emperor Yao money was called *ch'üan*, while the term *ch'ien* did not come into use until the introduction of the "coinage of the Nine Treasuries" at the beginning of the Chou dynasty, or, as he considers the Kuo Yü to imply, until much later, under the Emperor Ching, the 24th sovereign of that dynasty. "There are," adds Li, "slight discrepancies in these accounts, but, summing up the evidence, we see that *ch'üan* was the earlier and *ch'ien* the later term, and that while *ch'üan* includes *ch'ien*, the latter does not include *ch'üan*."

Tuan Yü-ts'ai, in his notes on the Shuo Wên under the word 貝, *pei*, after quoting a statement of Chêng Ssŭ-nung that "in old books *ch'üan* is occasionally found written *ch'ien*," observes that Chou dynasty authors sometimes used 'borrowed characters,' as in this case, and that the writers of the Ts'in dynasty treated the borrowed character *ch'ien* as the correct form. "Hence," he concludes, "it is clear that what the Ts'in and the Han called *ch'ien*, the Chou called *ch'üan*," adding that we have here an instance of what Chinese philologists designate 古今字, *ku chin tzŭ*, literally "ancient and modern characters," that is, the same word written under an earlier and a later form. So, too, a commentator on the Kuo Yü is quoted by the Editors of the T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng, in the Section on Money, who says, "anciently they spoke of *ch'üan*, which was afterwards modified into *ch'ien*."

The question then arises, What was the cause and explanation of this substitution of *ch'ien* for *ch'üan*? The data at present seem too few to permit more than conjecture on the point. Perhaps in this substitution we

should see the introduction of a new and entirely unrelated term, though why, if so, the new term for circular money should be one that properly denoted a hoe or some such implement is not evident. But this clearly was not the opinion of Tuan Yü-ts'ai and others. Tuan seems to imply some gradual change, apparently, of pronunciation, such that the borrowed character 錢 answered better to the altered pronunciation of the word for money than did the former and proper character 泉. This again implies that only part of the senses of this word *ch'üan* had changed in sound, viz. the sense of *money*, for had all changed uniformly, there would have been no discrepancy felt and no new character needed. This variety in pronunciation would be compatible with the retention of the old sound for the probably original sense of *water-spring*, and the evolution of a modified sound for the secondary meaning of *money*.

There is still a third possible explanation. At the time when, and in the region where, *ch'ien* first came to be used instead of *ch'üan*, the two characters may have had the same sound, and confusion may thus have arisen. In favour of this hypothesis the character 線, *hsien*, *thread*, may be brought forward. In all the accessible dialects the word itself agrees closely in sound (apart from tone and what is technically called 'series,' which affects the quality of the initial) with the sound of *ch'ien*. And the character is composed of *silk* + a phonetic which is now 泉, *ch'üan*, but was once 戔, *or the same phonetic as* that of *ch'ien*. Hence we should infer that 泉 and 戔, and therefore 錢, were once homophones, for the initial is really the same in all.

On the other side, it may be urged that though in the modern Chinese dialects there is no great dissimilarity between the sounds of the two words 錢, *ch'ien*, and 泉, *ch'üan*, and in some the approximation is very close, in the Japanese form alone is there an identical pronunciation —*sen*—for both characters. But if the modern dialects do not support this last-mentioned hypothesis, neither do they

afford convincing evidence in disproof, and with this negative conclusion I will leave that part of the question.

Tai T'ung, the author of the Liu Shu Ku, has an interesting passage under the word *ch'ien*, in which he gives his views as to the rise of metal money. He defines the word as "Money, 泉 布, *ch'üan pu*. In ancient times," he goes on, "they carried on trade merely by using what they possessed in exchange for what they did not possess. Owing to the impossibility of an exact equivalence in value between commodities, the numberless differences in price could not be equalized. Accordingly, cloth and silk were made into currency, 幣, *pi*. Such was the origin of currency. Owing to differences of length, breadth, and texture in cloths and silks, fabrications sprang up. Hence came the use of metal knives and tortoise-shell as media of exchange, and the supply of these having been exhausted, there arose *ch'ien* or metal money. Thereafter commerce throughout the Empire was first made uniform. T'ai Kung established the Coinage of the Nine Treasuries, where he cast metal money, *ch'ien*, round externally and square internally (外 圓 內 方), its weight being reckoned in *shu*. From that time onward successive ages valued it as the medium of exchange. The author Po [伯 氏 = ?] writes: 'the designation *ch'ien* was the abdication of the terms *ch'üan* and *yüan* (員).'"

What, finally, was the origin of the *cash*, this round coin with its distinctive square central hole, and what suggested such a type?

M. Lacouperie's answer appears simple enough if we take only what he says on p. 319 of the "Catalogue" under the heading of "Round Money," for he there derives this Round Money—the *cash* of common parlance—from an alleged Ring Money of the Chou dynasty referred to in the Shu King. But this explanation is complicated by the statement made on p. xviii. of the Introduction, under entry 24, which runs as follows: "錢 *Tsien*, hoe money. *Tsien* was formerly a light instrument of husbandry, perhaps a hoe or sickle, although it is applied at present

to the mattock." [This is an error: *ch'ien* as a name for any field implement is unknown in modern Chinese. M. Lacouperie has misunderstood the passage of Williams to which he refers.] "When currency in the shape of various implements of the kind was an historical fact, the term was used as a general designation . . . ."

It does, I confess, seem to deserve more explanation than M. Lacouperie gives it that a word meaning *hoe* should have come to be specially attached to a round coin in every way unlike a hoe, and, as he contends, not derived by modification of its shape from the latter, but from a ring. However, as will be seen under Huan, 鍰, there is no evidence that the latter was a ring. Even had it been so, a mere ring has too vague a likeness to the *cash* type to make the identification convincing.

Another opinion is that the *cash* represents the round and pierced end of the handle of the old knife-coins, of which it should be considered a sort of degenerate survival, and certain knife-coins of Wang Mang the Usurper, for instance those figured in the "Catalogue" on pp. 311–318, are pointed to as exhibiting an intermediate stage. Against this must be set the plain and unmistakable statement of the History of the Earlier Han dynasty, already cited, that coins essentially similar to the modern *cash* were cast as far back as the beginning of the Chou dynasty. This appears almost conclusive against the degeneration theory.

I venture to suggest a different origin which had occurred to me before I found it expressly asserted in Kanghsi's Dictionary under the word 錢, *ch'ien*. It is that the *cash* is a mere reproduction in metal of the 璧, *pi*, or jade-stone token, which with the 圭, *kuei*, resembling it in material and function though not in form, was variously used under the Chou dynasty as a badge of rank, a proof of diplomatic authority, and a sacrificial symbol. It will be seen below that the same symbolical character is attributed to the *pi* as to the *cash*, and, what is noteworthy, the same peculiar terms are used to describe the parts of each. "In the course of time," we read in Kanghsi, "changes were made.

The Emperor Ching cast large coins called *pao huo*. The field and the central hole had raised rims . . the coins were in shape like 璧, *pi*, and so the terms *field* (肉, *jou*) and *hole* (好, *hao*) were also applied to them."

We may devote in conclusion a few lines to the *pi*, or jade-stone token.

The Shuo Wên defines the word as a "token of jade round in shape." The Liu Shu Ku writes thus: "A circular token of jade, rounded externally and having a central hole. Its substance is termed its flesh, 肉, *jou*; the hole is called *hao*, 好." From the Shuo Wên's definitions of the two characters that follow *pi* in that work, and from the Erh Ya, we also learn that when the field was double the hole, the token was called a *pi*; when the field and the hole were equal [in breadth], the name was *huan*, 環; and when the hole was double the field, the token was styled a *yüan*, 瑗.

Ch'ien fan, 錢 范. A mould for making coins.

Ch'ih tsê ch'ien, 赤 仄 錢. Red and sloping money, or, possibly, red-edged money.

This is a name given to certain 5-*shu* pieces coined apparently in the second year of the Yüan Ting period of the Han Emperor Wu, answering to the year B.C. 115. The name was given, according to one view, because of a raised rim of red copper added to prevent the filing away of the body of the coin.[1] But this is not accepted by others. The Ku Ch'üan Hui devotes a page to the point:—

"The P'ing Chun Section of the Shih Chi, or Historical Records, states that the Emperor Wu directed the coinage authorities of the Capital to cast *ch'ih tsê cash*. The commentator Ju Shun observes that the raised rim was of red copper. We are ignorant," adds the author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui, "of the method of casting employed, but I think that the *pan liang* coins [which preceded the 5-*shu* pieces] were not filed after casting, whereas the 5-*shu*

[1] Another popular and apparently similar name is given in the Chin Shih So, viz. 字 緡 錢, *tzŭ kan ch'ien*, the exact meaning of which I cannot ascertain.

coins were subjected to filing by the people for the sake of the copper dust, and a raised rim was accordingly added. But they continued to be filed down. As a result of filing, the colour of the rim looked new and therefore red, hence the name 'red-edged,' but there was no distinct type of coin made with that name." A certain Liu Ch'ing-yüan is also quoted to the effect that in Shensi he had seen 5-*shu* coins which were thin on the side where the character "5" was, and thicker on that where "*shu*" stood, so that when three of them were put one on the top of another, they looked like a horse's hoof. This presumably means that when the thicker part of each rested on the corresponding part of the one below, the outline of the three together resembled a horse's hoof seen in profile. Liu points out that in the Ch'ien Han Shu, *tsê* is written 仄, which is defined by the Shuo Wên as meaning "inclining, sloping" (側 傾); the expression 赤 仄, *ch'ih tsê*, then, would mean *red and sloping*, but the former word applies not to the rim only. Li Tso-hsien thinks this view is worth consideration.

Vissering has fallen into a most elementary blunder in transliterating these two characters as *Yik-tseu* (p. 43). What his mistake has been caused by is clear enough, though it is singular that such a slip should have escaped him in reading the proofs. He has printed 赤 and translated "red" correctly, but has transliterated the word as *yik* as though the character were 亦, "*also*," which differs, as will be seen, by one stroke.

But if Vissering's blunder be strange, what shall we say when M. Lacouperie follows his predecessor into the same pitfall, and this not merely once, but several times, as on pp. xix. and xxx. of the Introduction, and on p. 360, though he is right on p. 326? There was only one thing left to do to complete the confusion, and M. Lacouperie has done it. On p. 404 he writes: "It was in the first year *Tch'ih-wu*, 亦 烏 [*sic*], *i.e.* 328." The first year of *Ch'ih-wu* was A.D. 328, but the characters as printed in the "Catalogue" are *i niao*!

Chin, 金. Besides its ordinary meaning of *metal* and *gold* (the latter by abbreviation for 黃 金, *huang chin*, "*yellow metal*"), this word has had also a technical sense denoting a special monetary unit, which has varied at different periods.

A writer quoted in the Jih Chih Lu (ch. xi., art. 黃 金) as Ch'ên Tsan, who is perhaps Hsieh Tsan, 薛 瓚, states that under the Ts'in dynasty one *yi*, 鎰, made a *chin*, while under the Han one *catty* made a *chin*, the value of the *chin* thus being considerably less under the later than under the earlier line, for the *catty* was and is 16 *liang* or ounces, while the *yi* has been variously equated with 20, 24, or 30 ounces.

Yen Shih-Ku in his edition of the History of the Earlier Han has a note on the words of the text which speak of the Han using 黃 金 一 斤, "one *catty* of gold," to the effect that this was a reversion to the Chou system, but with a substitution of 斤, *chin*, a *catty*, for the latter's 金, *chin*, a *gold piece*.

Nor, apparently, was it under the Chou dynasty that this gold *chin* unit was first known. For we find in the chapter on Yu Yü Shih, or the Emperor Shun, in the Lu Shih, a passage telling us that the money or metal pieces made by that shadowy ruler was of one *chin*, 金, two *chin*, two *chin* four, and two *chin* five (what the fractional parts may have stood for is not clear), and the same authority adds that the two *chin* five pieces were the heaviest, and the one *chin* the lightest.

And this leads us directly to another character, the relation of which to this is rather enigmatic, viz. 斤, *chin*.

Chin, 斤. This character appears, or seems to appear (the qualification will be explained below), on the so-called "money of Shun" (M. Lacouperie's Weight-Money), and on some archaic-looking round coins, figured *e.g.* in the Ku Ch'üan Hui, part 利, ch. i., pp. 4–6, and one in the "Catalogue," p. 327. The legends on these round coins, at any rate, show that it represents some unit of weight or value.

Now the character appears to cover more than one word. An analysis of the definitions and sounds given in the dictionaries shows that it is read both *chin* and *yin*.

When read *chin*, it is said to mean *axe* or *to cut with an axe*, and it does not seem unlikely, therefore, that the character is a mere variant of the simpler form 斤, and a second way of writing the same *word*.

But it has also the pronunciation *yin* (this both in the "upper even" and in the "rising" tones). In the latter, the Shuo Wên says it means *to cut into two parts*. (The Kuang Yün and Chi Yün dictionaries also attribute this sense to the character when read *chin*). When read *yin* in the upper even tone, there is still a third sense, that of a rasp or file for smoothing wood, "like a *t'ang*, 鎕," says the Liu Shu Ku, "but smaller."

If we assume that on the coins this is a single character, we may reasonably suppose also that we have to do with the sound *chin* meaning an axe, since that harmonises with the numismatic use of the form 斤, which has the same sound and sense.

M. Lacouperie does assume this, and here, at least, I incline to his opinion for the reason I am about to submit. But he gives no hint that there is any doubt about the matter. And there is grave doubt. So much indeed, that the authors of the Chin Shih So and the Ku Ch'üan Hui decline to treat this combination of strokes as one character, but as two, viz. *huo*, *object of exchange*, and *chin*, *metal*. The element which in 鈇 forms the right-hand half, and at any rate appears to be the old form of 斤, *chin*, an *axe*, they consider to be really a distinct character, viz. an old form of 化 (= the modern 貨), *huo*.

What makes this a difficult theory to accept is that, although the need for economy of space might explain the two characters being packed closely together on the wedge-handled pieces, no such necessity existed with the round coins above referred to, and yet, in their case also, the two elements are juxtaposed even more closely than on the wedge-handled money. The inference seems to me cogent that one character and not two is in question.

Chin ch'ien, 金 錢. Metal money.

The expression is found in Kuan Tzŭ. Sometimes, as in the opening sentence of the already quoted passage from the Ch'ien Han Shu, both gold and copper are implied.

Chin pi, 金 幣. Metal treasure.

This expression occurs in Kuan Tzŭ, and may possibly have a wider scope than the previous one, and include mere ingots of metal.

Chin tao, 金 刀. Metal knives. See under *Tao ch'ien*.

Ch'ing chung, 輕 重. Relative weight or relative value.

This combination is very common in works on economic subjects or matters relating to coinage. A long section of the book known as Kuan Tzŭ is thus entitled, and "On Values," or even "On Economics" would be a fair rendering, considering the scope of its contents.

Where metal money is in question, it is well to remember that it is not so much mere weight, as what we should speak of as a high or a low denomination that is sometimes denoted.

Chou kuo, 周 郭. The surrounding rim or raised edge of a coin, whether *cash*, knife, or *pu* money.

Ch'üan, 權. The movable hanging weight of a balance, a balancing weight; figuratively, balance, equivalence; and as a verb, to balance or be equivalent to; to adjust the balance, to try the weight of, and figuratively, to estimate.

This word need not detain us long, but there is a peculiar phrase of which it forms part, that ought not to be passed over. One version of this is 子 母 相 權, *tzŭ mu hsiang ch'üan*, literally, "children and mother mutually balancing," that is the equivalence between a unit and the sum of its fractional parts.

In another shape the expression occurs near the beginning of the second part of the Food and Commerce Section of the Ch'ien Han Shu, in a passage quoted by Vissering on p. 25, and translated, but so imperfectly that a new rendering is necessary.

"The Emperor [Ching, of the Chou dynasty] was going

to cast large coins, and Tan Mu Kung said, 'It must not be. In old times Heaven sent down calamities. Then they reckoned their riches and estimated values, to save the people. If the people objected to the low value [*lit.* lightness] of the money, then they made for them money of a higher value, and put it in circulation. Thereupon they had '*the mother balancing the children*,' and the people were benefited. If the people were dissatisfied at the overhigh value of the current coin, then more coins of a smaller value were made and put in circulation, without abolishing the higher coin. In this way there were '*the children balancing the mother*' also in circulation, and both small and large coins were of use."

The expressions I have underlined are the literal rendering of the words 母 權 子, *mu ch'üan tzŭ*, and 子 權 母, *tzŭ ch'üan mu*, and can hardly mean anything else than an equivalence between a unit of given value and the sum of the fractional parts into which it was divided for purposes of currency, as though, for example, the English shilling were considered the 'mother,' and the penny the 'child,' —then the mother is equal in value to the twelve children.

Ch'üan, 泉. Closely involved with *ch'ien* as a numismatic term, we find the word *ch'üan*, either singly or combined with *pu* in the binomial 泉 布, *ch'üan pu*.

The present and perhaps the primary meaning (if we are justified in assuming that we know the primary meaning of a word in any language) of *ch'üan* is a *spring of water*, or more precisely, according to the Liu Shu Ku, a deep pool fed by a spring, the spring itself being called 源, *yüan*.

"It is," says Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his note on the word in the Shuo Wên, "by extension that the ancients spoke of money as *ch'üan pu*."

The old form of the character was 泉, which the Liu Shu Ku considers pictorial.

M. Lacouperie correctly says (p. xvii.), "The term was used in ancient times for currency in general, and so far

as it was paid in, not paid out." He notes its occurrence in the Chou Li, or Institutes of the Chou Dynasty, and that "One of the Treasuries of the Board of Finances derived his name, Tsiuen fu, 泉 府, from it."

Chêng K'ang-ch'êng, commenting on the section of the same work relating to the Wai Fu, or Office of the Exterior, which with the above-named Ch'üan Fu, had control of the money collected for the State, observes, "the term *pu*, 布 [currency], is equivalent to the term *ch'üan*. . . . Money when stored up was called *ch'üan*, when in circulation, *pu*, taking its name *ch'üan* from *shui ch'üan*, a *spring of water*, which flows in all directions. At first the *ch'üan* coins were of one sort only, but a second came into existence when Ching, Emperor of Chou, cast large coins, 大 泉."

Upon the identity of the *pu* with the *ch'üan* the native critics are in general agreed, as well as on the derivation of the latter term from the word meaning a *spring*, though they differ in their interpretations of the metaphor. Thus, Wang Shao-yü says: "The money as collected was called *pu*, when paid in to the Treasury it was styled *ch'üan*, for the word *pu* [literally, *spread* or *distribute*] expresses the fact of its spreading gain abroad, while *ch'üan* indicates that this gain issues from a single orifice (— 孔)," by which we are to understand presumably the spot where coins were cast, their place of issue.

Chêng Ngo writes: "Money—*ch'üan pu* as the Chou called it, *ch'ien* as we call it—was named *ch'üan* in allusion to its issuing as from a spring, and *pu* from its unchecked diffusion." Elsewhere the same scholar says: "If we inquire the reason for the terms applied to money, we shall find it denominated *ch'üan* from its issuing from a single orifice, and *pu*, because it spreads (布 散, *pu san*) throughout the realm. The money (錢 布, *ch'ien pu*) stored up in the Ch'üan Fu or Treasury was styled *ch'üan* and not *pu*, simply because the control over prices and over its storage or issue lies in the public authorities, just as a spring of water issues from a single opening."

A rather different interpretation of the term is that of

Li Shih-chên, the author of the great botanical work, the Pên Ts'ao Kang Mu, who is cited in the T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng Encyclopædia, as follows: "Under the Chou, T'ai Kung established the coinage (泉法, *ch'üan fa*) of the Nine Treasuries. The coins, 泉, *ch'üan*, were in structure circular with an inclosed square [hole], so many *shu* in weight, their complete circumfluent outline delineating a spring, for which reason they were so called." This extract illustrates that symbolizing tendency so dear to the Chinese mind, where it prevails perhaps as a necessary reaction from the grinding materialism of their daily life, like the backwaters in a rapid river.

Very different and very interesting is the account given by the great Sung dynasty critic, Chêng Ch'iao, or Chêng Chia-chi, as he is also called, from the place where he lived in retirement. Vissering (*Chinese Currency*, p. 8) has quoted the passage, omitting, however, thirty-one words near the beginning, for which reason, and because his rendering is otherwise faulty, I have made a fresh translation:—

"Money was called *ch'üan* in allusion to its outline; *chin* [*metal*] in allusion to its material; *tao* [*knife*] in allusion to the form given to it [器, *ch'i*]; *huo* [*exchange*] and *pu* [*distribution*] in allusion to its functions. The word money, 錢, *ch'ien*, used to be, in the most ancient documents, written 泉. Then it [viz., the shape of money] was altered to the common knife, and then again to the *yüan fa* [or round *cash*; a note on the text adds, 'which T'ai Kung made']. In that form it became generally diffused. The people approved of it, and accordingly, the *ch'üan* and knife-coins fell into disuse, and later generations did not have any knowledge of these terms. If we examine the ancient money, we find its shape is that of the Seal character for *ch'üan* [for which see the second paragraph of this entry], for which in after times the word *ch'ien*, 錢, was substituted. Hence the character 泉, *ch'üan* [no longer required or used for its original meaning of *money*], was borrowed to write the word *ch'üan* of *shui ch'üan*, a *spring*

of water. The lower part of the true Seal character form of *ch'üan* does not consist of the character *water*. The early scholars, ignorant of the history of the character *ch'üan*, spoke of 'the onward flow of commodities being reflected in the *ch'üan*, their diffusion in the cloths, their high value in the gold, their utility in the knives.' Such a view is extremely forced."

There is both ingenuity and originality in this argument, frankly opposed as it is to the received opinions on the subject. We should, however, note two or three points arising from the statements expressed or implied by Chêng. On the one hand, it is true that the Seal form, at any rate the normal antique Seal form, as shown above, does not seem to be composed with the radical *water*, although the native dictionaries treat it as being so composed, even so independent an authority as the writer of the Liu Shu Ku concurring, and including *ch'üan* as a pictorial character. The picture, it must be confessed, is by no means convincing. On the other hand, I have met, so far, with no author agreeing with Chêng that the true and primary meaning of the term *ch'üan* was *money*, and that the same character was only used at a later date to transcribe an homophonous but distinct syllable signifying a *spring*. Chêng's words show moreover that he does not admit that the earlier forms of money were round, nor that *ch'üan* can be taken as equivalent to the *yüan fa*, as alleged by some. Far from that, he obviously identifies the former with the wedge-handled pieces classified by numismatists under the general designation *pu*, which we shall examine later.

Meanwhile a comparison of the Seal form of the character with two types of *pu* money illustrated in M. Lacouperie's Catalogue on pages 23 and 72 is instructive. The general likeness of outline, due allowance being made for the constraining effect of conventional treatment on a perhaps originally pictorial form, though not convincing, has a certain persuasive suggestiveness.

A scrutiny of the statements contained in the various

extracts already collected shows that they support the following propositions:—

1. A regular metallic currency, including both square plates of gold and circular copper pieces with a central square hole, was instituted at the foundation of the Chou dynasty, as tradition asserts, by the Minister known as T'ai Kung.

2. The threefold currency thus introduced is spoken of in the History of the Earlier Han dynasty as *yüan fa*, though the term has since been restricted to the copper coins only.

3. But these earliest copper *cash* were at first apparently called by another name, the exact form of which is open to some doubt, but which the balance of criticism inclines to show was first *ch'üan* and afterwards *ch'ien*.

4. If the substantial genuineness of the Chou Li is assumed, another denomination of this copper currency, namely *pu*, must have been in use either at the same time or soon afterwards.

This confronts us with the following difficulty: If the copper money was round and was called *ch'üan*, and if *pu* was merely another name for *ch'üan*, then the *pu* must have been round coins. Yet by general consent among the Chinese numismatic writers the *pu* are *not* the round but the wedge-handled and shouldered pieces. So, conversely, if the *pu* were of this last described type, and if *ch'üan* be a mere synonym of *pu*, then the *ch'üan* also could not have been round coins. Yet if the *ch'üan* were nothing else than *ch'ien*, which are expressly stated to have been originally, as now, round coins, then the *ch'üan* also must have been round.

Out of this apparent *impasse* I can see only three ways of escaping.

Assuming *ch'üan* and *ch'ien* to be identical, perhaps there were *some* that were not round coins. For example, Chêng Chia-chi may be right in declaring that *ch'üan* were earlier than, and of a different type from, the circular *yüan fa*, just as we know the knife-coins were.

Or secondly, there may have been some *pu* which were not of the wedge-handled shape now exclusively associated with that name by the numismatists, and such might have been circular. There is nothing in the name *pu*, or "currency," to limit the pieces so called to any special shape.

Or thirdly, the *ch'üan* and the *ch'ien* may *not* have been identical. It is conceivable that the *ch'üan* included both the knife and the wedge-handled types, and that when round coins were cast, a new designation—*ch'ien*—was also introduced for them. The use of both *ch'ien* and *ch'üan* in Kuan Tzŭ seems rather to make for this hypothesis, for it is hardly likely that the author would employ two distinct terms to describe exactly the same object.

There is one other explanation which would remove the difficulty, and that is to suppose the statement of the Chou Li is simply a wrong or at least an inadequate one. The genuineness of that work has of course been a vexed question.

Ch'üan fa, 泉 法. Coinage. This expression occurs in the Pên Ts'ao Kang Mu, in the passage quoted in the last entry, in place of the customary *yüan fa*. I have not met it elsewhere.

Ch'üan pi, 泉 幣. Metal money. A synonym of the next.

Ch'üan pu, 泉 布. Currency, literally "issue and currency."

"In ancient times," says a comment on the T'an Kung, "they spoke of money as *ch'üan pu*."

Hao, 好. The central hole in a *cash*. The much smaller hole pierced in some specimens of the *pi ch'êng ma* is also so called.

The original application of the term was to the similar central hole in the 璧, *pi*, or *jade token*. M. Lacouperie has evidently misread the latter character as 壁, *pi*, a *wall* or *screen*, for he renders *hao*, "*lit.* a hole in a wall."

Huo, 貨. Exchange; object or medium of exchange; article of commerce.

This is a frequent term in the literature relating to the

early history of money, especially in binomial combinations with various other words.

The Shuo Wên briefly equates it with *ts'ai*, 財, *commodities, things of value.*

A comment on the Chou Li, cited in Kanghsi, explains that "gold and jade are styled *huo.*"

The first page of the opening chapter of the Section on Food and Commerce in the History of the Earlier Han dynasty has the statement, "*Huo* designates hempen cloth and silk which can be used as clothes, as well as metal knives and tortoise-shell, by means of which goods can be divided, profit distributed, and commerce carried on."

In the Ku Ch'üan Hui, part 元, ch. 12, p. 2, Li Tso-hsien writes: "*Huo* was anciently the general designation of knife- and *pu*- coins."

The etymological history of the word is not without interest. As will be remarked, the authorities quoted seem to imply a fundamental identity, or at least a close kinship, between *huo* and 化, *hua, to change.* In none of the modern Chinese dialects, however, is a phonetic identity to be now found. But in the Korean, Japanese, and Annamese pronunciations of the two characters, the sounds are the same.

The Kuang Yün dictionary says, "*Huo* signifies *hua*: objects that are changed and converted: hence the character contains [the element] *hua.*"

In the Liu Shu Ku *huo* is always written 貨, the element *man* being omitted, and the author thus discusses the word:—

"The signification of *huo* is *hua* [which he writes simply 七=化]: that by means of which commodities are exchanged and transported. Anciently written simply 七. Exchange (*huo*) began with shells, hence the element 貝, *pei, shells,* in the character. Money—*ch'ien*—and shells, gold and jade, when exchanged in commerce, are termed *huo.*"

Huo ch'ien, 貨錢. Exchange money. This is the phrase used in the Liu Shu Ku to explain *ch'üan,* 泉.

Huo pi, 貨幣. Exchange treasure. This expression seems restricted to the metallic money, or perhaps rather

ingots, alleged by traditions (which are preserved, for example, in the Lu Shih) to have been made by the mythical Fuhsi and Huang Ti. The Ku Ch'üan Hui contrasts *huo pi* with *yüan ch'ien* or round coins.

(1) *Huan*, 環 (2) „ 鐶 (3) *Yüan* or *Huan*, 瑗 (4) *Yüan*, 鍰	This group of four characters, though not of special importance, needs to be touched on, and the sounds and meanings correctly distinguished.

(1) *Huan*, 環. A ring of jade.

Such is the definition of the Yü P'ien dictionary. The Shuo Wên has, "A kind of *pi*, 璧, or token of jade." And the Erh Ya, describing the several varieties of the latter, says, "When the field and the hole are of equal breadth, the *pi* is called a *huan*."

It was by this particular kind of ring that, according to Hsün Tzŭ, the Sovereign in old times used to recall to favour an official previously in disgrace.

The Liu Shu Ku asserts that this word was anciently written 8, representing two rings linked together.

The Erh Ya contains the curious statement that "knives were at first called *huan*, the shape being like rings," which no doubt refers to the ring-like extremities of the handles of the large knives of Ts'i, the former being called *huan*. Many examples are figured by M. Lacouperie in the "Catalogue," from p. 215 onwards.

In this connection it is worth quoting a curious and ancient example of that particular species of word-play, greatly affected by the Chinese, which may be described as a sort of pun round the corner. The Chin Shih So cites this instance from an old song. The line runs 何日大刀頭, that is, "On what day [will there be] a large knife end?" The end of the handles of the large knives of Ts'i consisted of a 環, *huan*, or *ring*, which has exactly the same sound and tone as the word 還, *huan*, to *return*, the character required for the sense, so that the speaker — doubtless a woman — says one thing, implies another, and means a third.

The character 環 is also interchanged with the third of this group, 瑗, in its reading of *huan*, and also with 圜, but only, apparently, when that is read *huan*.

(2) *Huan*, 鐶. A ring.

Defined by the Kuang Yün dictionary, cited in Kanghsi, as "a finger ring," while the Chêng Tzŭ T'ung says, "all circular discs having a hole to enable them to be strung together are known as 鐶, *huan*." This character does not appear either in the Shuo Wên or the Liu Shu Ku, which latter evidently treats the preceding form, 環, as the correct way of writing the word for 'ring.'

(3) *Yüan*, 瑗. A variety of the *pi* token.

According to the Shuo Wên, "a *pi* with a large central hole." The Erh Ya informs us that "when the hole is double the [breadth of the] field, [the *pi*] is termed a *yüan*."

This character is sometimes also read *huan*, and is then equivalent to 環.

(4) *Huan* or *Yüan*, 鍰. The name of an ancient weight.

The Shuo Wên defines this as equalling one *lüeh*, 鋝. (But the "Ssŭch'uan edition" has "six *lüeh*.") Another determination is that of K'ung An-kuo, who held that the weight meant was six ounces of "yellow iron," supposed by later scholars to be copper [see Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Shu King, vol. ii. p. 605].

Kanghsi adds, "Also, same as 環."

M. Lacouperie's rendering of this word on p. x. of the Introduction, and on p. 319, as "ring money," is unsupported by any of these authorities, as is his equation of it with 瑗, *yüan*.

Jou, 肉. "*Lit.* the flesh, *i.e.* the field of the piece," as M. Lacouperie says, Introduction, p. xx.

This term, with *hao*, the hole, and *chou kuo*, the rim, appears in the Section on Food and Commerce, of the History of the Earlier Han dynasty.

Jou hao, 肉好. This expression does not have, as M. Lacouperie supposes, the same meaning as *hao* alone, but stands for "the field *and* the hole" of a *cash*.

Ku chu, 鼓鑄. Literally, to smelt and cast; to cast coins. The first character does not mean, as M. Lacouperie says, a "smelting furnace," but, as Kanghsi explains, to make a fire blaze up by using a fan or bellows. On p. xx. of the Introduction, the second character has not only been misprinted as *shou, old age*, but is also so transliterated.

Kuo, 郭. As M. Lacouperie says, "*lit.* a city wall, *i.e.* the raised edge." Often distinguished as *wai kuo*, the outer rim, and *nei kuo*, the inner rim, viz. that round the central hole.

Lai tzŭ, 來子. The seed of the *lai* plant.

Under the Emperor known as Fei Ti, or "the Deposed," of the Liu-Sung dynasty, the debasement of the currency was extreme. Vissering has some account of the matter from Ma Tuan-lin, where the various derisive nicknames given to the wretched little *cash* by the people are mentioned, such as "Goose-eyes," 鵝眼, *ngo yen*; "Fringe-rings," or perhaps "Thread-rings," 綖環, *yen huan* (the allusion is not quite clear); others were called 來子 or 萊子, *lai tzŭ*, and 荇葉, *hsing yeh*. The appropriateness of the latter name, "leaves of the *hsing* plant," is sufficiently shown by Bretschneider's description of this plant, *Limnanthemum nymphoides*—"The leaves are of a purplish red colour, they are orbicular (peltate), more than an inch in diameter. They float on the surface of the water." I have been unsuccessful in discovering what plant the "seeds of the *lai*" referred to, for the seeds of *chenopodium*, for which *lai* usually stands, do not appear to meet the required shape. There is one thing that is certain though, namely, that when Vissering, on p. 76, says these coins "were called fetus (來子, *lit.* "coming children"), he took a wild leap in the dark, inasmuch as the Chinese themselves know nothing of any phrase of the sort either in the book language or the vernacular. M. Lacouperie has misprinted the character *lai* as 夾 [*chia*] on p. xix., but merely speaks of the term as "a sobriquet," in a wisely non-committal manner.

Lun kuo, 輪 郭. Synonymous with *chou kuo*, *q.v.*

Man, 幕. The reverse of a coin. Li Tso-hsien, in the Ku Ch'üan Hui, in view of the definition given in the Chi Yün dictionary, "flat and without characters," considers this term inapplicable to the reverses of coins having on that side a raised rim and an inscription. He, therefore, always employs the word 背, *pei*, *back*.

Nü ch'ien, 女 錢, and
Kung shih nü ch'ien, 公 式 女 錢 } Female money and Male-pattern Female money, respectively.

These are names given to an issue of *5-shu* pieces of the Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, distinguished by having no raised rims, or only a rim round the central hole. According to a writer quoted in the Ku Ch'üan Hui, in Chapter VI. of the Section on Round Coins, those *cash* that had a raised rim round the hole on the reverse, were called *kung shih nü ch'ien*—freely translated, Hermaphrodite money; those that were destitute of any rim whatever, were called simply *nü ch'ien*, or Female money.

M. Lacouperie has, without authority, altered these terms, and made an imaginary 公 式 錢, *kung shih ch'ien*, which he translates "male money" (Introduction p. xix., and Catalogue p. 420), and wrongly states to be another name for the *nan ch'ien*, 男 錢, in contrast with the *nü ch'ien*. The true names, however, are as given above. See also the "Coins of the Southern Liang" in the Chin Shih So.

The *nan ch'ien*, or Male money, were *cash* with the legend 布 泉, *pu ch'üan*, issued probably by Wang Mang. According to Hung Tsun's Ch'üan Chih, cited in the Ku Ch'üan Hui, it was of these pieces that it was believed that a woman who wore one would have male offspring. Vissering, however, p. 83, relates this of some of the money of the Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, and M. Lacouperie in his entry, No. 54, Introduction p. xix., follows him, quoting him word for word, though without acknowledgment.

Pao huo, 寶 貨. Valuable exchange.

We now come to a small group of perplexing questions, the best way of treating which seems to be to state the difficulties as clearly as possible, in the hope that solutions may be more easily reached, if distinct issues are raised.

Now we find in the Ch'ien Han Shu that "the Emperor Ching, finding the existing coins too light, cast new and larger pieces with the inscription *pao huo.*"

We are also told by Hsün Yüeh in the Han Chi, as quoted in the Ku Ch'üan Hui, that under the Chou dynasty, money was inscribed and round, with a square central hole. Chêng Ch'iao is also quoted to the effect that the *yüan fa*, or circular coins of the Chou, had on them the word *huo, exchange*, thus showing, it is contended, that the designation on the money at the beginning of the Chou was *pao huo.* The Emperor Ching retained the inscription, but enlarged it to "4 *huo*" and "6 *huo.*" Li Tso-hsien inserts figures of specimens inscribed simply *pao huo*, and others "*pao ssŭ huo*" and "*pao liu huo*" [four and six *huo*], and points out that the formation of the characters in all is identical, and incontestably belongs to Chou times.

Now in the well-known passage of the Ch'ien Han Shu recording the institution of a currency for the Chou by T'ai Kung, the commentator adds a note that the coins were one *ts'un* or inch [of that period, apparently, meaning, in diameter—the words are 圓 一 寸], and weighed nine ounces [of that period]. Ku Huan, a numismatic writer, assigns twelve *shu* as the weight. To both of these determinations the well-known writer Li Hsiao-mei takes exception. "How," he asks, "could coins weighing nine *liang*, or ounces, have been objected to in the reign of Ching as too light?" On the other hand, "if we suppose twelve *shu* to have been their weight, what addition to the latter was made by the new issue of his reign?" for the new pieces were of that very weight.

The author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui finds these two criticisms very just, but observes that Wêng I-ch'üan considers that the 12-*shu* pieces must refer to the *new* issue of the Emperor Ching. Li Tso-hsien then sums up all

these statements, and deduces from them that the coins which Ching thought too light were the small pieces inscribed *pao huo*, the earliest coins of the dynasty; that the "new and enlarged coinage" indicates the *pao ssŭ huo* and *pao liu huo* pieces, while the words of the Ch'ien Han Shu, 子母相權, literally "equivalence between sons and mother," refer to the sequence of coins of which the "sons" are the small *pao huo*, and the "mothers" the larger and heavier pieces that succeeded them.

Such is the view of Li Tso-hsien, whom M. Lacouperie well calls "one of the ablest and most sober of modern numismatists," but whose judgment in this matter he will not accept on the following grounds:—

"But," he objects on p. xxxvii., "this ingenious arrangement cannot be accepted: the latter coins, being inscribed, value 4 *hwas*, value 6 *hwas*, do not answer to the requirement concerning the innovation of *King Wang*; their mark indicates their relative value, and the actual weight of the specimens answers approximately to the standard weights; they do not therefore weigh more than the market value of the time. Moreover, a double peculiarity in their make, *i.e.* their outside rims, and the fact that they were cast in clusters, show beyond any possible doubt that they were not coined before the fourth century B.C."

Now let us examine some of these statements.

The four and six *huo* coins, we are assured, "do not answer to the requirement concerning the innovation of *King Wang*." Why not? They are both heavier and larger than the simple *pao huo* coins. As for the "standard weights" and the "market value of the time," I have tried to understand M. Lacouperie's argument, but have not the faintest idea what he means. His next objection, however, is abundantly clear. The fact of these coins having an outside rim and being cast in clusters is fatal, in M. Lacouperie's eyes, to Li Tso-hsien's view. For, he says on p. lvi., they have rims, "sign of a later make which the others [viz. the *pao huo* coins] are without," and on p. 329 a rimless *pao huo* coin is figured. But M. Lacouperie

must have known and ought to have mentioned that Li Tso-hsien expressly says, and shows by his illustrations, that "both the field and the hole have surrounding rims" (肉好俱周郭). The specimen in Mr. Gardner's collection is probably a mere forgery and not a good one. Thus the fact of the *pao liu huo* and *pao ssŭ huo* having rims is rather in favour of Li Tso-hsien's argument than otherwise.

The only support for the statement that the casting of the *pao liu huo* and *pao ssŭ huo* in clusters disproves Li Tso-hsien's view, is of the strictly "because it does" order. M. Lacouperie says on p. xxxix., referring to the mould for casting these coins, that the latter "have been incorrectly attributed to TCHEOU *King*, in 523 B.C., by whom they cannot have been issued." Why, he does not mention, except to refer the reader to p. lvi. for "the reasons which indicate their issue in Kiü *circ.* B.C. 350." The "reason" given on that page is that "they were most probably issued" there.

Whether the theory of the Ku Ch'üan Hui is right or not, M. Lacouperie has brought nothing stronger than assertions against it.

Another difficulty—its connection with the last will be seen later—is the following:—

The knife-coins of Ts'i are the largest and finest of their class, but we are only concerned now with their inscriptions. On many of them are found on one side three large and clearly cut characters in an abbreviated style. There is no dispute about the first and third. All agree that they represent the modern characters 齊, *ch'i* (Ts'i), and 貨, *huo*, the first standing for the name of the State, the last being one of the common terms for money. It is the second word that forms a standing puzzle for numismatists and antiquarians, and its very simplicity adds to its difficulty.

In the first place it seems to be, or rather, so far as form goes, it is, the old mode of writing 去, *ch'ü*, to *depart* or *remove*. But as *ch'ü huo* is senseless, it is

generally agreed that *ch'ü* must be an abbreviation of some more complex character, or characters, but the widest divergence exists as to what the full form should be.

Let us examine first the theory advanced in the "Catalogue," Introduction, p. xix., where M. Lacouperie explains the symbol as "merely a simplified form of 弆," *ch'ü*, which he renders by "treasure," the binomial 去化 meaning, according to him, "treasure to exchange," *i.e.* "currency." The difficulty, however, in accepting this supposition is that the assumed original, an exceedingly rare word, does not appear to mean "treasure," as a substantive, but only "to treasure," as a verb, if we may judge from the only quotation given in Kanghsi. There a passage from the Ch'ien Han Shu is adduced in which the recipients of a certain personage's letters are said to have admired the handwriting so much that they treasured them up, 藏弆, *ts'ang ch'ü*, as works of art. Of course this word, like *ts'ang*, might have been used both as noun and verb, but there is no evidence to show that it was, besides that its extreme rarity greatly reduces the probability of its use on coins.

The author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui believes that we have to do with a shortened form of 法, *fa*, and he explains that *fa huo* would mean legal or standard money. M. Lacouperie says this cannot be, as *fa* "was not thus spelt in former times," and declares that the word "is always written" in a more elaborate form in old dictionaries and texts. This is inaccurate. The shorter form 法 is added in the Shuo Wên as a variant, and is also not infrequently found in the text of that work.

But Li Tso-hsien's identification, though possible, is perhaps a little far-fetched, and certainly not convincing.

Different, and very ingenious, is the explanation put forward in the Ch'ien Chih Hsin Pien, 錢志新編. The author of this work would have us look upon the, apparently, three characters as standing for four, viz. 齊太公貨, or "Money of T'ai Kung of Ts'i," the two sloping strokes of 太, *t'ai*, being made to do duty also

as the two upper strokes of 公, *kung*, the apparently simple character 本, *ch'ü*, thus being really the above two characters welded together, a process, he declares, often met with on knife and *pu*-coins.[1]

One obvious objection to this theory is that there would not be sufficient motive for the abbreviation, where space was so ample as on these knives. But the force of the objection is somewhat lessened if Li Tso-hsien (who does not hold this theory) is right in supposing that the knives with three characters are later than those with four and six, as it might be argued that the economy of space necessary at first, was continued from mere use and habit.

There seems little to be said in favour of reading the character as a variant of 合, *ho, harmony*, and an identification with 吉, *chi, lucky*, which in point of conformation is very near, is negatived by the fact that on some of these knife-coins both *chi, lucky*, and the character under discussion occur together and are perfectly distinct.

There remains the proposal of the Ch'ien Shih T'u and the Chin Shih So to take 去 as an old form of 寶, *pao, valuable*, the whole legend in this way reading *Ts'i pao huo*, or Money of Ts'i.

The author of the latter work asserts positively that the character usually read *ch'ü* was an old form of *pao*. Of course if he is right, *cadit quæstio*. But such a form is not to be found in the Shuo Wên, the Liu Shu Ku, or the Liu Shu T'ung. Moreover, the form of *pao huo cash* discussed above is not the same nor at all similar, and though that alone is not fatal to the interpretation, it affords it no support.

For the present, then, the data seem insufficient to solve the question, which is one of considerable epigraphic interest.

Pi, 幣. Treasures, objects of value.

[1] In our own Office of Works the passion for economy is carried out in such an unfaltering spirit that the V.R. marked on Government furniture, boundary stones, etc., is carved thus ℣R, a single line serving as the right-hand stroke of the V and the upright of the R.

This is a common and important word in all that relates to the monetary system of the ancient Chinese. It is curious that the Shuo Wên defines it simply as "silks," 帛. The Liu Shu Ku is rather fuller, and we read that "silks which are used in friendly intercourse are called *pi*: money and shells are thence also termed *pi*."

So too, the great scholar Chêng K'ang-ch'êng (cited in Kanghsi under the word 布, *pu*), commenting on a passage in the Odes, declares that "*pi* is what is used to buy with. This word *pi* is a general term for objects of exchange (貨), such as clothes and silks and metal money."

And Kanghsi quotes one authority who specifies gold, jade, ivory, hides, and metal money (泉 布, *ch'üan pu*) as *pi*; and another who includes horses among tributary *pi*; and a third who adds weapons to this list.

M. Lacouperie, therefore, well renders the word on p. ix. by "valuables (*i.e.* metal implements or commodities easy to barter)."

In numismatic works the word has usually a more restricted sense. It serves there as a generic term for any of the early forms of metal money. The binomial 錢 幣, *ch'ien pi*, is the fuller expression in this usage.

Kuan Tzŭ has a passage running, "Yü with metal from the Li mountains cast *pi* to relieve men's distress." The same statement is also found in the Lu Shih. "This," says the author of the Pên T'sao Kang Mu, who quotes Kuan Tzŭ, "was the beginning of money, 錢."

It seems rather surprising that a word meaning specially silks, as we are told, and written, be it remarked, with the radical 巾, *chin, a cloth*, should have been applied, and that at an early period, to metallic money. Certainly there exists another form of the character, where the radical *cloth* is replaced by 貝, *pei, a shell*, which appears a more suitable classifier for such a general term. This variant is not found in the Shuo Wên, though given in the next earliest dictionary, the Yü P'ien, dating from the sixth century A.D., and in the Lei P'ien. The former work states that the form 幣 is the more modern one.

Pi ch'eng ma, 幣 乘 馬 "Team money."
Ch'êng ma pi, 乘 馬 幣 „
Ch'êng ma huo, 乘 馬 貨 „
Ts'ê ma huo, 策 馬 貨 "Reckon horses money."
Ts'ê ch'êng ma, 策 乘 馬 "Reckon teams."
Ts'ê ch'êng ma pi, 策 乘 馬 幣 "Reckon teams treasure."
Tang chin huo, 當 金 貨 "Equal to *chin* money."
Tang chin ts'ê ch'êng ma, 當 金 策 乘 馬 "Equal to *chin* reckon teams."
Shun pi, 舜 幣 "Shun's treasure."

The full explanation of these grotesque-looking terms will be found further on. Meantime it will be sufficient to say that the objects to which the names are applied, the legends inscribed on them, and even the names themselves, furnish the hardest tangle of obscurities and difficulties to unravel that confronts us anywhere in this branch of inquiry.

In order to clear the ground, a good deal of destructive criticism will be necessary, inasmuch as M. Lacouperie has further perplexed an already perplexing subject by some gratuitous and serious errors.

His observations (Introduction, p. xviii.) are as follows:—

"16. 幣 乘 馬 *Pi tch'eng ma*, Saddle money;
17. 車 馬 *Kiu ma*, same meaning;
18. 筴 策 馬 *Kia tsch ma*, Slip-weight money;
19. 策 馬 *Ts'eh ma*, same meaning.

Appellatives of a curious shape of copper money, bearing its weight value, and the name of its place of issue, from the seventh to the fourth century B.C."

To this must be added the subjoined passage on p. 18 of the "Catalogue," under the heading of "Weight-Money."

"Tchang-I 張 儀, who was Prime Minister in Tchao until 357 B.C., was granted by his sovereign Su 肅 (348–325 B.C.) the privilege of issuing *Kiü-ma* 車 馬 money. Such was one of the appellatives of this class of currency. Another one was *Pi tch'eng ma* 幣 乘 馬, or 'Riding Money,' so called from its likeness of shape to that of a saddle. But the oldest was *Kia ts'eh ma*, 筴 策 馬, or

better *Ts'eh ma*, 策 碼, 'Slip-Weight Money,' whence Weight-Money."

Thus M. Lacouperie. Now for a methodical examination of his statements.

16. *Pi ch'êng ma* cannot possibly mean Saddle money, and in so naming it M. Lacouperie has supplied a conjectural reason for an imaginary fact. It could, however, have meant "riding money," if the second word of the phrase were in the 'lower even' tone, for *ch'êng ma* then means *to mount a horse*, but, as we shall see, the word is to be read in the 'departing' tone, and then the meaning of *ch'êng ma* is *a team of four horses*.

17. No such expression as 車 馬, *chü ma*, is applied to any form of money. This is one of the worst of the errors into which the author of the "Catalogue" has fallen. I shall return to it shortly.

18. I believe I am correct in saying that no such phrase as 筴 策 馬 is to be found, but that it is in some way due to a confusion on M. Lacouperie's part, arising from the word *ts'ê*, 策, being sometimes written 筴, the normal sound of which is *chia* (*kia*), but which when used for 策 also takes the same sound—*ts'ê*. But had such a phrase existed, it could not possibly mean "slip-weight money," if indeed those three words convey any meaning, which to me they do not.

19. *Ts'eh ma*, 策 馬, has the same meaning, we are told. But on p. 18 we find this phrase "better" written 策 碼. What does M. Lacouperie mean by "better"? Neither in Kuan Tzŭ, whence the actual terms are derived, nor in any of the coin books I have examined, is *ts'ê ma* ever written with the character 碼, which does mean a *weight*, whereas 馬 means a *horse*. *One* of the two must be chosen. Both cannot be right. If 馬, a *horse*, be selected, a *weight* must be abandoned; if 碼, a *weight*, be chosen, the authority should be given, for it is altogether inconsistent with the history of the term, as I shall show shortly.

But before doing this, we must go back to the words *chü ma*, literally "carriage and horses," which for the

moment stop the way. The explanation is very simple, and M. Lacouperie had little reason for falling into so disastrous an error.

Besides the passage quoted above from p. 18, the author writes on p. lii. of the Introduction, "the king of Tchao issued *kiü ma* currency (發金幣車馬) or saddle money, and granted the use (奉以車馬金錢) of it to Tchang Y, a political adventurer from Ts'in, where he returned in 317 B.C." A statement in the same sense appears on p. xiv. under the years 325-317 B.C.

The two passages which M. Lacouperie quotes are from the original narrative in the Chang I Chuan, or Memoirs of Chang I, in the Shih Chi. Not only has he completely misunderstood the text, but he has mistaken the fundamental facts of Chang I's relations to the States of Chao and Ts'in.

Chang was never "Prime Minister in Chao," nor was he, when he came to that State, an "adventurer from Ts'in," nor did the Prince of Chao ever grant him "the privilege of issuing" money.

Chang I came as a penniless adventurer to Chao to seek his friend and former fellow-student, Su Ts'in, who, and not Chang, was Prime Minister to the Prince of that State. Su did not give the new-comer the welcome he looked for, and Chang left the country to try his fortunes in Ts'in. Su Ts'in seems to have desired that Chang should succeed in gaining access to the ruler of Ts'in, and as that would have been difficult for a needy adventurer, he used his influence with the Prince of Chao in the way explained in the following passage from the above-mentioned Memoirs:

趙王發金幣車馬使人微隨張儀與同宿舍稍稍近就之奉以車馬金錢所欲用爲取給而弗告張儀遂得以見秦惠王

"The Prince of Chao gave out money (金幣), and a carriage and horses (車馬), and sent a messenger to follow Chang I unobserved, to lodge in the same places as he, and gradually to grow intimate with him, putting at his disposal (奉) the carriage and horses and the money (金錢), and

providing for him whatever he might stand in want of, without telling him [probably, "who had really provided it," should be understood]. In this way Chang I was able to gain access to Prince Hui of Ts'in."

Never, surely, have a carriage and horses been put down and turned into money, to meet a less urgent necessity!

For the true explanation of these terms we must turn to the works of Kuan Tzŭ, where, in the Section entitled Ch'ing chung, or Economics, the clue is to be found.

Put in the briefest possible way, the facts are these: Native numismatists have identified certain forms of the *pu* type of money as surviving examples of the *pi*, or metal "treasures," said by Kuan Tzŭ to have been used by the Emperor Shun in connection with his system of taxation and administration. To that system Kuan Tzŭ gives the name of 筴乘馬之數, *ts'ê ch'êng ma chih shu*, shortened sometimes to *ts'ê ch'êng ma*, which expressions mean literally, "to devise, or the devising of, the scheme of teams of horses." This again may be interpreted either in a literal sense, which on the whole seems to me the more natural, as the system [of taxation] based on teams of horses; or, as the Chinese critics themselves seem to prefer, the words may be taken figuratively as the management of the team of State by the Imperial driver, in which case *ts'ê* must be given its meaning of a *switch*, or to *use a switch*. As I hope to show, this fiscal system was one in which a definite area of cultivated land was assessed as liable to provide one chariot and four horses fully equipped for the armed forces of the State.

If the Ch'ing chung Section is from the hand of Kuan Tzŭ, or even if it embodies and combines genuine older materials, the contents deserve attention as an outline—and often more than that—of the agrarian policy of the prehistoric dynasties believed to have preceded that of Chou, and to have witnessed under the legendary Emperor Shun the first beginnings of the use of money. I trust then it may not be out of place to append here a close paraphrase of the opening chapter of this Section on "Economics,"

the less so as the function of *pi* or *treasure*, probably in some metallic form, is also illustrated.

The text is thrown into the form of dialogue between the Duke Huan of the State of Ts'i and his Minister Kuan, generally styled in this work Kuan Tzŭ.

The Duke asks Kuan Tzŭ to explain to him the *ch'êng ma*.

The Minister replies in that oracular manner which might in these hurrying times be deemed irritating, but which seems to have enjoyed considerable vogue in days of yore, "The State's lack of stores comes from the Ruler's commands."

"How so?" inquires the Duke.

"One farmer," is the reply, "can only till a hundred *mou* of land. The labours of Spring are limited to the twenty-five days."

"And what are the twenty-five days?"

Kuan Tzŭ replies: "Sixty days after the winter solstice, the surface of the ground thaws; seventy days after, the ground below the surface thaws. Then the farmer sows his millet. After one hundred days from the solstice, he ceases sowing. Thus the labours of Spring are limited to twenty-five days. The Rulers of these times now build Palaces, and the people all have to work at them. If Spring is allowed to pass without stopping the work, the people lose 'the twenty-five days,' and all the land from which they are drawn will be neglected land. If one man is forced to work at this *corvée*, a hundred *mou* go untilled; if ten men, then a thousand *mou*, and so on. After Spring is past, there are Rulers who still exact *corvée* in the Summer. In this way, the fruits alike of Spring and Summer are lost. When *corvée* is not stopped even in Autumn, then the saying applies that 'crops and land are lost several times over.' When the season has passed without crops, the merciless Ruler still exacts his taxes. The share of the harvest required to feed the people is five-tenths, and the Ruler has already exacted nine-tenths, and sometimes even, in default of grain, will cruelly demand

treasure (幣, *pi*) instead. It is by such conduct that lawlessness arises and penalties abound."

"Excellent!" somewhat hurriedly observes the Duke, and continues, "Pray explain fully to me the policy of the *Ts'ê ch'êng ma* (策乘馬之數)."

"Those Rulers [*i.e.* of antiquity]," answers the Minister, "did not take the time of the people, and so the crops were plentiful, the officials (士) needed but light salaries, and the people but scanty donations. The wise Rulers of those times caused the farmers to plough in the winter and to weed in the summer, and fruits of their labours fell to the Ruler. The women being diligent at their needlework, their weavings accrued to the Treasuries. The motive for this [levy on the produce of men and women's toil] was not to grieve or afflict the people, but because the scheme of fiscal control required that thus it should be."

The Duke then asks how such a policy may again be carried out.

His Minister answers: "In the State of Yü [有虞國—the native State of Shun] was devised the system of *Ch'êng ma*. That system was one of grants made to the man of a hundred *mou*." [There here seems to be a lacuna in the text, which continues as though the ancient Ruler—perhaps Shun—were addressing the people.] "'In general, the twenty-seven [*sic*] days are the time of your Spring labours, and of assisting you with treasure (幣). When your Spring and Autumn harvests are plentiful, the State's share of your grain will be a heavier levy.' Addressing the farmers [*sic*], he said, 'The value of the treasure (幣, *pi*) in your hands will be reckoned in grain and stored in the district granaries. The share of the grain due to the State is first and foremost [國在上, *in orig.*]. The importance of that share is tenfold, as providing the salary of the various officials of all sorts. When implements and arms are furnished in full, then a State exists. In the absence of treasure, the equivalent in grain is fixed. Of the State's provision for contingencies [? literally, screens], 90 per cent. consists of grain repaid [as taxes] to the State,

and of grain to meet [expenses]. Arms being fully provided, there is no further levy for them from the people.' Such was the *ts'ê ch'êng ma* of Yu Yü."

To this passage I must add another short one from the ninth chapter of the same Section. Translated, it runs as follows :—

"Duke Huan asked Kuan Tzŭ as to the *pi ch'êng ma* (幣乘馬).

"Kuan Tzŭ replied: 'At first taxes were levied from the establishments of the three grades of Great Officers (三大夫之家), one chariot and team of horses with twenty-seven men to serve it for each piece of land of six square *li* [? 方六里]. As to the *pi ch'êng ma*, if a piece of land of that size were of such and such a quality, the yield of grain would be of such and such a quantity, and the value of the grain of such and such an amount. For each such area of land, then, so many treasures, or *pi*, were used [presumably in payment of the tax], and according to the heaviness of the crop upon it [also], so many *pi*. Hence by this *pi ch'êng ma* system, these *pi* were distributed throughout the State, were a measure of the cultivable land of the realm, and were known by the name of *pi ch'êng ma*.'"

It remains to analyse the various terms at the head of this entry, which designate the supposed survivors of these ancient treasure-tokens.

The first is *pi ch'êng ma*, a strange-looking compound, for the syllable *pi*, which I believe is never found except as a substantive, seems, at any rate at first sight, to be used adjectively here, and even so the expression is difficult to explain. The clue appears to be given in the following sentence, which occurs a little further on than the passage last referred to: 軌國之筴貨幣乘馬者也. Slightly expanded, this means, "the plan which serves as the cross-piece to the pole of the car of State [that is, which enables the driver to control the horses, or, in other words, the *sine quâ non* of continuous existence as a State] is the *huo pi ch'êng ma* system."

Here, instead of the previous *pi ch'êng ma*, we have the fuller and more intelligible combination *huo pi ch'êng ma*, which appears to stand for "metal currency (*huo-pi*) and the [system of taxation known as] *ch'êng ma*."

Ch'êng ma pi and *Ch'êng ma huo*, which occur in coin-books, are, of course, nothing but "money of the *ch'êng ma* system."

Ts'ê ch'êng ma pi, or *Ts'ê ch'êng ma*, or *Ts'ê ma huo*, various forms of the same term, are names based on the statement as to Shun's taxation already quoted above, where the alternative explanations of the phrase are given.

Tang chin huo (and in the Lu Shih, *Tang chin ts'ê ch'êng ma*). This name has come into use from the fact that the two characters 當 金, *tang chin*, in the old script, are found on many of the pieces of this type. The current opinion among the native writers is that the *chin* here refers to a unit of value, which has already been discussed under a separate entry.

Shun pi, or "Shun's treasure," explains itself.

On the whole, the evidence seems to me insufficient to decide whether these curious pieces with their enigmatic legends are rightly identified with the *pi* or *treasure* which Kuan Tzŭ describes as in use in Shun's time. They have a very archaic look, but the true reading of the inscriptions is still exceedingly doubtful. It appears not unlikely, however, that they offer us the oldest form of the *pu* type that has come down to our times. It would be interesting to discover what that form represents.

Po hsüan, 白 撰. Meaning somewhat uncertain, but probably, "White and choice."

Among various coins issued by the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, there were three types known to numismatists apparently by tradition only, and called respectively Dragon-money, Horse-money, and Tortoise-money. They are described as being made of an amalgam of silver and tin. The Dragon-money was round, symbolizing Heaven, and having the figure of a Dragon encircling a central round

hole. The name, it is recorded in the Section on Food and Commerce of the Ch'ien Han Shu, was *Po hsüan*, the import of which is probably as rendered above.

Vissering, *On Chinese Currency*, p. 40, gives the traditional illustrations of the three coins, as well as the text relating to them from Ma Tuan-lin, but he reads 曰, *yüeh, to say*, instead of 白, *po, white*. This is also the reading in some texts in the Ch'ien Han Shu, but not that followed by the editors of Kanghsi, who have 名白撰, *ming po hsüan*, "it was named *Po hsüan*." Vissering translates, "its name shall be *tšuan*" (a wrong transliteration, as a reference to Kanghsi shows), adding in a note that the word "has the signification of regulator, a pattern." It has no such meaning. M. Lacouperie has, again without acknowledgment, closely followed Vissering in this error. On p. xix. of the Introduction, he has "撰, *Tchuan*, pattern," and words to the same effect on p. 358, in both cases omitting all mention of the first part of the name.

Pu, 布. (1) Cloth, (2) Currency.

The treatment of the term *pu* requires some little care, because it appears in connection with the early history of money in two senses which need to be sharply distinguished. The first of these senses, and the only one mentioned in the Shuo Wên, is that of *hempen cloth*. The second is that of a *metallic currency*.

It is, according to Kanghsi (*s.v.* 布), synonymous with *ch'üan*, 泉, in the sense of money, and Yen Shih-ku is quoted to the same effect,—"*pu* is the same as *ch'ien*. It is so termed to express its distribution (分布) and general currency."

Vissering is confused and misleading in regard to this word of double functions, and M. Lacouperie also, in some degree, fails to observe the distinction sufficiently.

The Shuo Wên and the Liu Shu Ku both consider the meaning of "cloth" to be the original one, and the latter asserts that the character was 'borrowed' to write the *pu* in *chan pu* (展布), *to spread out, unfold*, and in *hsüan pu* (宣布), *to spread abroad, proclaim*, whence it came also to

be used for the *pu* in *huo pu* (貨布), *currency of exchange*, from the meaning of *diffusion* or *distribution* (流布), borne by that term. So, too, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, in his notes on *pu* in the Shuo Wên, holds that the general sense of *distribution* is derived by extension from that of *cloth*.

It is more likely, however, that the reverse is the case, and that the original sense of *pu* is the general one, equivalent to our word *spread*. Of this, "cloth," or literally "spreading," as a term for a fabric with a certain spread of surface, would be a particular application. And a currency of metal would be a second specialized use of the parent word, applicable to any form of money, from its widespread diffusion as a circulating medium.

Vissering has not realised this. Thus on p. 3 of his work he translates Ma Tuan-lin's 商人謂之布 by "the people of *Šang* and *Ts'i* called it Pu, a hempen or silk piece of cloth," and immediately afterwards, "The money of the first three dynasties . . . was made of three different sorts of metal, yellow, white, and red, and consisted further of cloth, knives, and tortoise-shells." In both instances it is clearly the metallic *pu* that are intended to be understood.

M. Lacouperie has the following entry, on p. xviii.: "*Pu*, cloth, afterwards money. First applied to hempen or silk pieces of cloth. Used as a medium of exchange and regulated into a currency in 1091 B.C., it [*sic*, Qy. the term] came into use in a looser way as money, and was especially applied to all small plates of metal employed for currency, except the knives. It is chiefly applied by numismatists to the small shape of money derived from the spade and saddle money." On the same page, he translates *huo pu* by "exchangeable (cloth) money," and *ch'ien pu* by "hoes and cloth"; so, on p. xii., "*Pus* (hoes or adzes)," while on p. 32, speaking of these *pu*-coins, he says, "Their name *pu*, 布, which means 'spread out,' was used in olden times for this money in the Ts'i State."

So far as I can follow M. Lacouperie, I suppose him to consider that the term *pu* means cloth, but that the metal

shape to which the term was applied represents a hoe or an adze.

Now it may again be pointed out that we learn from the Ch'ien Han Shu that there was a medium of exchange consisting of pieces of hempen cloth, and also of silk, of definite size, forty Chinese feet in length, and two feet two inches in breadth. It is to these ancient "piece-goods" that the common expression 布帛, *pu po*, or "cloths and silks," is applied.

But when a currency of copper is denominated *pu*, it assuredly cannot be associated with such cloths. Could there be a more infelicitous name for a small piece of metal money than "a cloth"? Vissering does indeed put forward an explanation, but, so far as I am aware, it is not supported by any historical evidence. He says on p. 4: "Hempen and silk cloth and knives were the earliest articles of trade generally used for money, and as the first weighed metallic money was an imitation of the shape and a representation of those articles, the same denominations remained to designate those coins. The *pu*-coins represent a piece of cloth, a dress, and the *tao*-coins are in their outward form an imitation of a sword or knife." He further thinks that the likeness between the character 布 and the form of the coin so named can be traced. Vissering's statement that the first "metallic money was an imitation of the shape and a representation of" knives, seems probable enough, but surely not of a piece of cloth (for *pu* does not mean "a dress"). We are told exactly the dimensions of the cloths, which were long strips of uniform breadth, whereas the *pu*-coins are wedge-handled, shouldered plates, the lower part of which is broader than the handle. The latter is usually pierced, and the lower edge of the coin is always interrupted by a deep wedge-shaped or elliptical opening, as may be seen in M. Lacouperie's abundant illustrations of the series. If the *pu* are imitations in metal of strips of cloth, how are these peculiarities of design to be explained? Whatever may have suggested the shape of these odd-looking coins, it can hardly have been a simple length of

cloth. The coincidence of the name is probably responsible for Vissering's hypothesis, and one may surmise that Chêng Chia-chi's ingenious theory as to the *ch'üan* has also had something to do with it. In fact, however, these very *pu*-coins seem to be the "ancient coins" to which Chêng refers as originating the old seal-character form of *ch'üan*.

Accepting as beyond dispute the meaning of "metal currency" for *pu*, we may note that in the Chou Li it is by this designation only that money is spoken of, unless we except the title of *Ch'üan fu*, or Treasury of Money, where alone we meet the word *ch'üan*. Further, the Ku Ch'üan Hui (vol. i. 凡 例, p. 2) represents Kuan Tzŭ apparently as stating that at the beginning of the Chou dynasty, *yüan fa* (which the K.C.H. always treats as round coins) were called *pu*. I have not found this statement in Kuan Tzŭ, but it may be there.

M. Lacouperie in his "Catalogue" has made a separate division for certain specimens of early money to which he has given the title of "Weight-Money." The pieces of this type in Chinese coin-books are, with others, often styled 異 布, *i pu*, that is, exceptional or unusual *pu*. There are other names which are discussed under the entry *Pi ch'êng ma*, but to my thinking it would have been better to have treated these coins as a subdivision of the *pu* than to set up a separate class for them. The so-called "Weight-Money" bears a strong general resemblance to the ordinary *pu*-coins, being usually distinguished by having rounded instead of angular shoulders, and a conical or segmental concavity replacing the wedge-shaped opening of the normal *pu*. But the type seems the same, and we may perhaps regard M. Lacouperie's "Weight-Money" as the archaic predecessor of the angular *pu*.

As we have already seen, M. Lacouperie asserts that the *pu* are hoes, but he does not attempt to meet the obvious objection that they do not resemble the Chinese hoe, nor to account for the very characteristic opening in the lower edge.

I venture to put forward the following theory as a possible explanation in the absence of any other. It involves an

examination of two terms, *ch'iao* and *ch'a*, which occur both separately and also in a binomial combination. These are names of two ancient implements of tillage very similar, it would seem, in function. When the binomial is used, it probably stands not for "the *ch'iao* and the *ch'a*," but for the *ch'iao* variety of the *ch'a*, the latter term being generic. The character 鍫, *ch'iao*, is not in the Shuo Wên; but in the Liu Shu Ku it is defined as "a sort of 臿, *ch'a*. Used to shovel away earth and other things." In combination, as noticed above, we have 鍫 臿 as a distinct term.

As for 臿, *ch'a*, it is a character with two meanings. In the Shuo Wên it is described as a pestle for husking grain. But this alleged meaning is not represented in literature, at least, no example is cited in Kanghsi. *Ch'a*, however, has also the meaning of a spade or shovel, a fact which Tuan Yü-ts'ai explains as due to 'borrowing.' And the Shuo Wên itself, though silent as to this sense when defining the word, repeatedly defines other terms for implements of the nature of spades or shovels, as 臿 屬 也, "a sort of *ch'a*." In fact, as will be seen under the character *ch'iao* in Kanghsi, *ch'iao* and *ch'a* are synonyms, but are used in different localities.

Now in the Shantung sculptures which form the subject of M. Chavannes' fine work, "*La sculpture sur pierre en Chine*," and which have also been very well reproduced in the Chin Shih So, we find in several instances an implement represented to which I would draw attention. It looks like an abortive tuning-fork, or a hybrid between a two-pronged fork and a spade. One example occurs in the ninth panel of the chamber of the "pseudo-Ou Léang," where the Emperor Yü is figured holding it in his right hand. M. Chavannes calls it merely "un instrument aratoire," but the authors of the Chin Shih So in their notes on their woodcut describe it as a 鍫 臿, *ch'iao ch'a*. We meet it again twice in the curious sets of figures forming the third row of the first stone of the Posterior Chambers (Chavannes, plate xxix.). In the Chin Shih So the pictures represent

the figures on a white background, and are therefore far more distinct than the plates in M. Chavannes' volume. The authors of the Chinese work here describe the winged personages who hold this implement as "grasping a two-bladed *ch'a* (兩 刃 臿, *liang jên ch'a*)," not, as in the previous instance, a *ch'iao ch'a*. Now these words *liang jên ch'a* form the Shuo Wên's definition of the spade-shaped instrument known as a *hua*, and in modern times (but not in the Shuo Wên) written 鍤. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, in a long and valuable note, has these observations—"The words 'two-bladed *ch'a*' mean a *ch'a* both sides of which have an edge (or blade). A *ch'a* is an implement for cutting into the soil." This interpretation would agree with the illustration of a *hua* given in the T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng better than with the view of the authors of the Chin Shih So, who presumably see in the two flattened prongs the "two blades" mentioned by the Shuo Wên.

But for my argument it does not matter whether the implement figured is a *hua*, a *ch'iao ch'a*, or some other. That an agricultural tool of such a shape did exist once is certain from these sculptures, and the conclusion I venture to suggest is that in this implement, whatever its name and exact use, we have the formal origin of the *pu*-coins.

Pu ch'üan, 布 泉. Currency.

This expression, the ordinary phrase *ch'üan pu* reversed, was not only the legend on one of the various kinds of *pu* issued by Wang Mang, but it also occurs in Kuan Tzŭ, *e.g.* in ch. 24, p. 9—"The nobles of the Empire brought gold, gems, grain, ornamental fabrics (文 采, *wên ts'ai*), and currency (布 泉, *pu ch'üan*), to pay to Ts'i in exchange for its stone tokens (石 璧, *shih pi*)."

Shên lang ch'ien, 沈 郎 錢. Sir Shên's money.

Very small *cash*—some are hardly larger than a silver penny—were cast under the Tsin dynasty, by a personage named Shên Ch'ung, 沈 充. The Ku Ch'üan Hui extracts the following passages relating to their issue:—

"The Section on Food and Commerce in the History of the Tsin dynasty records that at Wu Hsing [now

Huang Chou fu in Chehkiang], Shên Ch'ung also cast small *cash* known as *Shên lang ch'ien*, or Sir Shên's money."

The second passage, from the Chi Chin Lu, runs thus: "The Emperor Ming, of the Wei dynasty, resumed the coinage of the 5-*shu* pieces, which continued in use until the Tsin dynasty. Shên Ch'ung, however, lessened their size while keeping the same inscription."

Such is the commonplace story of the designation of these diminutive coins. Vissering does not allude to them; but M. Lacouperie has this brief and staggering entry, on p. xix. of the Introduction—

"49. 不 沈 郎 *Puh tch'én lang*, unsinkable lads."

Having supplied the negative, *pu*, which does not form part of the name, and omitted the word *ch'ien*, *money*, which does, and taken 沈 in its meaning of "sink," and its sound *ch'ên* (*tch'én*), instead of correctly reading it *shên*, a surname, he finally renders *lang* by "lads" (a meaning the character often has), whereas it is really here a suffixed honorific. Surely the restoration has been carried rather far in this case!

Tao, 刀, or *Chin tao*, 金 刀, or *Tao ch'ien*, 刀 錢, or *Tao pi*, 刀 幣. Knives, or Metal knives, or knife money, or knife-treasure.

This curious variety of coin, if that term may be applied to it, forms the third of the types into which all Chinese copper money falls.

Kuan Tzŭ speaks of gold and "knife-treasure," *tao pi*, circulating among the people (Ch'ing-chung, Section 6), and of *tao pu*, "knives and *pu* money," being stored in the official treasuries (*loc. cit.*, Section 9, folio 25). And in numismatic works the knives are constantly associated with the *pu*-coins in the expression *tao pu*, "knives and *pu*," as distinguished from the round *cash*—*chin ch'ien* or *yüan fa*. Thus the P'ing Chun Shu Section of the Shih Chi says, "When the way of commerce was first opened to husbandmen, craftsmen, and traders, valuables of tortoise-shell, metal coins (金 錢), and knives and *pu* (刀 布) came into use."

On the first page of the Section on Food and Commerce in the Ch'ien Han Shu, we find mention of "metal knives and tortoise-shell, with which wealth was divided and gain distributed."

The Ku Ch'üan Hui cites the T'ung Chih, or Memoirs of? Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, for the statement that money was known as "knives" in the States of Ts'i and Chü, which occupied part of the modern province of Shantung; and it seems to be the fact that all the specimens that have come to light have been dug up in Shantung, except a few of the so-called "Ming knives," which were found in the neighbouring province of Chihli. Of the "large knives of Ts'i" especially, the Ku Ch'üan Hui says that they have all been excavated from Ts'i territory, and adds, what is noteworthy, that they belong undoubtedly to the system of T'ai Kung's Nine Treasuries. This proves that that system in the view of some of the native critics could not have been restricted to the issue of round money exclusively. The same work observes that "it has never been contested that the knife money dates from the Chou and Contending States' epochs"—say from B.C. 1120 to B.C. 250.

The Chin Shih So, referring to the specimens which in the "Catalogue" are Nos. 44 and 1029, considers they must date from an earlier period than the other knives, and, recalling the old legend contained in the Lu Shih, that "Huang Ti fashioned metal knives and instituted the Five kinds of treasure, *pi*," remarks that assuredly knives did not make their first appearance in the State of Ts'i.

But if knives were used as money in any other region than Shantung and Chihli, and specially the former, there seems to remain no record of the fact.

M. Lacouperie on p. xi. of the Introduction, under the years B.C. 679–675, informs us that "The State of Ts'i being at war during these years, Prince Hwan was finally afraid that his armoured bannermen were not sufficient in number: in order to facilitate enlistment he successfully authorized the payments of mulcts for slight offences with

their own metal knives, instead of the legal Ring currency, as heretofore since 950."

On p. 213 of the "Catalogue" we also find the following passage:—

"The introduction of the Knife money in the state of Ts'i, conterminous with the above [Shantung] peninsula, is attributed in a rather legendary way to the following circumstances, circa 650 B.C. At the eve of an expedition, the soldiers of the Duke Hwan, of Ts'i, proved dissatisfied with the stringent regulations on weights and money which had previously been enacted by the Prime Minister Kwan-Tze (see pp. 4, 18, and Introduction). Their General, afraid of their being disloyal, granted to them the authorization of making use of their metal knives for barter. The people were delighted with the innovation, which was giving them a more convenient medium of exchange, and adopted it eagerly. Hwai-nan tze, who died in 122 B.C., and to whom we are indebted for the preceding story, says that in his time they were still faithful to the practice, and, despite the changes and modifications which had happened in the currency, they continued to cast knife money similar to the patterns of former times."

I cannot account for this episode being attributed by M. Lacouperie to Huai Nan Tzŭ. As the extract from the latter author which follows, does not agree with M. Lacouperie's summarized narrative, and as no closer reference than to the Chinese author at large is given, I had the whole of his works searched through by a native scholar, with the result that no such story could be found, the only passage bearing upon the subject at all, apparently, being this:—

齊桓公將欲征伐甲兵不足令有重罪者出犀甲一戟有輕罪者贖以金分訟而不勝者出一束煎百姓皆說乃矯箭爲矢鑄金而爲刃

"Huan, Duke of Ts'i, wished to go to war, but his arms and accoutrements being insufficient, he commanded that for the graver crimes the offender should pay a cuirass of

rhinoceros hide and a three-pointed spear; for the lighter crimes the culprit should redeem himself with a portion of metal [or perhaps gold]; while unsuccessful litigants should pay a sheaf of arrows. The people were pleased at this, and made arrows out of the *chien*-bamboo and cast metal into blades, 刃."

It must be this passage which we find thus summarized in the Ku Ch'üan Hui (Section *Hsiang*, ch. 2, p. 1), but with an important variation:—

"Huai Nan Tzŭ says that Duke Huan, fearing his arms were insufficient, commanded that for lighter crimes the culprit should redeem himself with a metal knife. Duke Huan thus became rich and powerful. Throughout the history of the State of Ts'i, this was the traditional and unchanged coinage. As the natural result, specimens have been numerous up to the present day."

It will be seen that the characters 金 分, *chin fên*, of Huai Nan Tzŭ (I consulted the edition of Kao Yu, 高 誘), have become 金 刀, *chin tao*, in the Ku Ch'üan Hui. The variation in the two characters is easy to account for—omit the upper part of *fên* and there remains *tao*. *But which is right?* For unless the text of Huai Nan Tzŭ used both by the authors of the Ku Ch'üan Hui and of the Chin Shih So is the authentic one, this version of the origin of the knife money must be abandoned.

But I am fortunate enough to have discovered, as I believe, the source whence Huai Nan Tzŭ derived his information. That source is again Kuan Tzŭ, in whose eighth chapter, on the first page, occur these words:—

公曰民辦軍事矣則可乎對曰不可甲兵未足也請薄刑罰以厚甲兵於是死罪不殺刑罪不罰使以甲兵贖死罪以犀甲一戟刑罪以脅盾一戟過罪以金軍無所計而訟者成以束矢

"The Duke said, 'Now that the people understand the business of campaigning, is it feasible?' 'No,' was the

answer, 'arms and accoutrements are insufficient. I would beg that you lighten the punishments, and thus add to your arms.' Thereupon death was no more inflicted for capital offences, nor their [respective] penalties for those of which maiming was the punishment, but the guilty were made to redeem themselves by the payment of arms and accoutrements. For capital offences a rhinoceros skin cuirass and one three-pointed spear; for offences punishable by maiming, a shield and three-pointed spear; for offences committed by misadventure, fines of metal [or perhaps gold] were inflicted. Where a charge was brought not included in the military code [so the commentator understands the words *chün wu so chi*], it was settled by the payment of a sheaf of arrows."

If this passage be authentic, it seems clearly to be the basis of Huai Nan Tzŭ's version. The "offences committed by misadventure" answer to the "lighter offences" of the later author, and the single word "metal," or perhaps "gold," of Kuan Tzŭ becomes in Huai Nan Tzŭ "a portion of metal" (or of gold), which does not sensibly modify the meaning, and, if I may indulge in a little conjecture, a trifling accommodation of the latter text, a mere deletion of two insignificant strokes, so as to transform 分 into 刀, or "portion" into "knife," on the part, perhaps, of some one with a theory, and we have the origin of this story of how knife money came into existence in the State of Ts'i.

But another and more formidable difficulty in accepting the story is furnished by the knife-coins themselves. In no sense could they have been used as weapons. Even the biggest of them, the "large knives of Ts'i" are only large as compared with the feeble little objects known as "knives of Chü" or "Ming knives." What sort of a weapon is a thin bronze blade not longer than a razor, but which, unlike a razor, is constructed with an "edge" made by a raised rim or lip as if specially provided to prevent its cutting? Yet such is the make of one of these terrible weapons now lying before me. Whatever

may be the real origin of knife-coins, those that have come down to us are certainly not specimens of Duke Huan's ingeniously collected magazine of arms and accoutrements.

Ts'u tao, or *Chin ts'u tao*, 錯 刀 or 金 錯 刀. Inlaid knife, or Gold-inlaid knife.

Another form of knife-coin, very similar to the *ch'i tao*, was introduced by Wang Mang, and is so named because, as Vissering says, "the characters engraved on these coins, denoting the name and value, were washed with gold."

Ya shêng ch'ien, 壓 勝 錢. Coins of Domination.

This phrase is found written with 厭 for the first word, but in either case the reading is *ya* and not *yen*. The meaning of the name is Money possessing magic powers of dominating or subjugating (*ya shêng*) evil influences.

The term is said in the Po Ku T'u to have been introduced by Li Hsiao-mei, one of the earlier writers on numismatics, and is applied to various descriptions of medals and other pieces, used as charms—not true coins—of which figures will be found in the coin-books. The subjoined translation of a passage from a work entitled the Ch'i Shêng Chi, or Record of the Seven Holy Ones, is quoted in ch. 43 of the Ku Yü T'u Pu, and shows the functions of these Coins of Domination.

"The Supreme Ruler of the Tao [? Lao Tzŭ; 太 上 道 君 in the text] on the 15th day of the seventh moon ascended to the Lin Hall of the Nine Heavens, where he expounded the Law to the multitude of Devas, and thus addressed them: 'In the Earth below, the people are much afflicted with floods, drought, and pestilence.' Then was the Honoured Ruler of the Exquisite Dawn charged to convey a precious casket in which were placed two miracle-working Dragon Coins of Domination, to be left to guard the famous mountains and great rivers, and to remove disastrous influences."

Presumably these magic medals are of Taoist origin, but they are of little real importance to our subject. M. Lacouperie rightly remarks on p. xxxi. of the Introduction,

that "they have no regular connection with the currency," but disfigures a note on the same page by a grotesque misrendering of the term as "*yen* [sic] *shing tsien*, 厭勝錢, hardly-adequate-to-coins"!

Yü chia ch'ien, or *Chia ch'ien*, 榆莢錢, or 莢錢. Elm seed-vessel money.

Diminutive specimens of *cash* were cast in large quantities in the early years of the Han dynasty, to which the above terms were applied, and fittingly applied, considering the size, shape, and tenuity of the well-known seed-vessel of the elm tree. It is matter for surprise that with the word 莢, *chia*, a *pod* or *seed-vessel*, staring him in the face, Vissering should have gone out of his way to mistranslate the word as "elm-leaf," as he does on p. 29, thereby converting a distinctly apt comparison into a quite inappropriate one. But that M. Lacouperie should have blindly followed him into this blunder is stranger still.

Yüan, 員. A round object, specially a round coin.

Modern usage restricts this, as a numerative, to officials, curiously enough, while for foreign coins 圓 and 元 (both pronounced *yüan*) are written.

The Shuo Wên tersely defines the word as the "numerative of objects." But the author of the Liu Shu Ku is more communicative, and writes as follows: "Meaning: Money (錢). T'ai Kung first cast metal into circles, 員, to serve as a medium of exchange. They were round externally and square internally, hence the character consists of 口 [*wei*, of which the ancient shape was a circle] and 貝 [*pei*, a *shell*]. They are now called *ch'ien* or *cash*. The numerative of shells is 朋, *p'êng*, of coins, 員, *yüan*."

The Shuo Wên and the Liu Shu Ku do not, we may note in passing, analyse the character in the same way. According to the former, *wei*, the upper part, is merely phonetic. In the preferable view of the Liu Shu Ku, the character is an example of *hui i*, "suggestive compounds," in which the general idea of value indicated by 貝 is combined with the special distinction of circularity, 口, to

suggest the word, and make up the character, 員, *yüan*, a *round coin*.

It should also be noticed that in the Liu Shu Ku the term *yüan fa* is always written 員 法, and not, as ordinarily, 圜 法.

The *yüan*, it will thus be seen, are what we now call *cash*, and so the same with the *yüan fa* of T'ai Kung. We are not warranted, I think, in identifying either the thing or the word with 鍰, *huan*, a metal ring, as M. Lacouperie has done on p. xvii.

The character itself is actually found on the coins inscribed *pan yüan*, 半 員, figured on pp. 320, 321 of the "Catalogue," and attributed by the author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui to the epoch of the Contending States.

Li Tso-hsien, in his notes on these coins, explains that 圜 is interchangeable with 圓, while the latter was anciently written 員, so that these three characters are convertible, and he interprets the inscription as meaning that the coin was equal in value to half a *yüan fa*.

Yüan fa, 圜 法. Currency, coinage, especially, perhaps exclusively, the coinage or coins of copper *cash*.

This term has been a stumbling-block to Vissering and M. Lacouperie. The former, p. 17, says that the term means "Round or current Rule." The latter, p. xix. of the Introduction, writes, "*Yuan-fah*, current rule, or better, rules of currency." Both have misconceived the force of the syllable *fa*. This does not here have reference to *law* or *rule*, but illustrates a very common usage of the word, namely *method, system*. In the modern colloquial language, to quote from Mateer's excellent "*Mandarin Lessons*," p. 282, "法 is much used as an affix to verbs, to denote the manner of the action. It is sometimes also joined to nouns, which it practically turns into verbs; thus 兵 法 means *drill*, but must be analysed as *the method of drilling soldiers, or of soldiering*. In all cases 法 is without accent . . ."

Thus, at the present day, 錢 法, *ch'ien fa*, is the ordinary term for the copper coinage, the currency, and means

literally the coin-system or coin-method. So 鈔 法 occurs for the Chinese paper currency or note-system. And in the same way, precisely, the old term *yüan fa* was used. According as we consider *yüan* to mean "round" with some, or with Yen Shih-ku to signify "uniform and current" (均 而 通)—according, in fact, as we translate it "circular" or "circulating"—the full term will mean the system or method of round coins (*yüan*); or the system of circulating currency: introduced, in either case, as tradition constantly declared, by T'ai Kung when Minister to the sovereign of Chou. By a natural transition the coins themselves came to be spoken of by the same name, *yüan fa* thus becoming synonymous with *ch'ien*. In numismatic works *yüan fa* is used to distinguish the round *cash* from the knife- or *pu*-coins.

If the first analysis of the term be chosen, a word 圜, *yüan*, meaning a *round coin*, is logically implied. With that special meaning and in that special written form, I have not met it, though the character constantly occurs in the Shuo Wên's text, meaning *round, circular*, in general. But as shown under the previous entry, we have a *pan yüan* coin, while the Liu Shu Ku expressly affirms that the synonymous character 員 means *money, ch'ien*, and that T'ai Kung first cast money in the form of circles, 一 員, *yüan*. Elsewhere the same work quotes a remark that when *ch'ien* came into use as the word for money, the earlier names *ch'üan* and *yüan*, 員, became obsolete.

We do seem, therefore, to find traces of such a word as we are in quest of, and Tai T'ung in writing 員 法 for the term *yüan fa* is perhaps historically justified.

Yüan pao, 元 寶. (1) A name first applied to *cash* in the opening reign of the T'ang dynasty. (2) A "shoe" of sycee or silver bullion.

It does not seem certain which of these senses is the earlier, nor, supposing it to be the second, what the true significance of the name is. We might, perhaps, conjecture the meaning to be silver of "prime (元, *yüan*) value," *i.e.* of the highest purity, A writer named Wêng Shu-p'ei,

the author of a book on coins, and evidently much esteemed by his fellow-author of the Ku Ch'üan Hui, is quoted in the latter work (Section *Shou Chi*, ch. 4) on this point. He says:—

"The words *t'ung pao* (通 寶), or 'current valuable,' on coins derive their meaning from the currency (流 通) of the latter. But in the term *yüan pao* the word *yüan* has no derivation. It is nothing but a traditional phrase dating from the *K'ai t'ung* money [viz. the *cash* cast about A.D. 622, in the 4th year of Wu Tê]. At that time *yüan pao* was a name for a wealthy man. Under the Yüan dynasty, in the reign Chung T'ung, *yüan pao* was a term for a banknote, and subsequently the same expression was applied to silver ingots."

Wêng's opinion evidently was that there first existed a phrase associated with wealth, but the origin of which is obscure, and that under the circumstances, to be immediately explained, this phrase became, by a popular error, a name for the new copper *cash*, later for banknotes also, and lastly for silver bullion.

The origin of the term as applied to *cash* is curious. I do not know if it has been given before, but Vissering, who devotes some three pages to the *K'ai yüan cash* (pp. 100–102), does not allude to it.

It is thus narrated in the History of the Earlier T'ang dynasty, as cited in the Chin Shih So. After stating that in the fourth year of the Wu Tê period, A.D. 622, the *5-shu* currency of the preceding Sui dynasty was abandoned, and a new type of coins introduced, bearing the legend *K'ai yüan t'ung pao*, 開 元 通 寶, or "current money of the inauguration," various details are added, and the passage goes on—"The inscription commenced at the top, continued at the bottom, was resumed at the left hand, and ended on the right.[1] If the legend were read round the coin,

[1] As Vissering correctly points out, p. 102, note 2, the usage of these terms with respect to coins is exactly the reverse of ours, though it conforms to European heraldic practice. The "left" of a coin, as Chinese call it, is our "right." However, the practice must have varied, for "right" and "left" in the Ku Ch'üan Hui are the same as with us. Is this an archaism?

beginning at the top and going on to the left [our *right*], it also made sense, and so the common custom was to speak of *K'ai t'ung yüan pao* money." The same authority relates that for a short time in the subsequent reign of Ch'ien Fêng, A.D. 666–668, the legend was actually inscribed in conformity with the prevailing popular practice, but almost immediately reverted to the standard disposition of the characters, which usually obtained afterwards.

Although the adoption of *yüan pao* as a numismatic term was thus due to a popular freak, we are justified in supposing that the expression already existed, and most likely as the Ku Ch'üan Hui asserts, with such a sense that its association with coins would not seem inappropriate. The words *k'ai t'ung* are still used to denote the idea of *opening, commencing, initiating.*

The point is not strictly germane to the early history of money, but it may not be altogether out of place, in connection with this term, to notice the singular errors into which M. Lacouperie has fallen in the following passage on p. xxv. of the Introduction :—

"*Sycee,* Chinese 細 絲, fine silk, is the general term for lump silver, and is explained as meaning that, if pure, it may be drawn out under the application of heat into *fine silk-like* threads. This is, of course, a script-etymology, and pure fancy, derived from the ideographical meaning inherent in the symbols, while the historical etymology must be sought for in a foreign term transliterated thereby. *Yuen-pao,* 元 寶, is the common name among foreigners for the silver ingot which bears some resemblance to a native shoe."

Thus M. Lacouperie. Now for some facts. The statement as to *sycee* M. Lacouperie cites from Mr. Giles' "Glossary of Reference," and, as we have seen, he takes exception to the explanation of the term there given. That explanation, though usual, is not, I believe, in fact the correct one, as the subjoined translation of a note on the subject by a Chinese formerly in the Banking business shows, while it also disposes of M. Lacouperie's supposed "foreign term transliterated" by the characters.

"細 絲 紋 銀 [literally, Fine silk line silver]. The term *sycee* (fine silk) originated in the Five Northern Provinces [Chihli, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, and Honan]. When the Shansi Bankers melt silver into ingots, after it has been liquefied and poured into the mould, and before it has again solidified, the mould is lightly tapped, when there appear on the surface of the silver fine, silk-like, circular lines. The higher the 'touch' of the metal, the more like fine silk are these 'circlings' on the surface of the silver. Hence ingots of full quality are classified as *sycee*."

It merely remains to add that the pronunciation of the two characters as '*sycee*,' represents the Cantonese and *not* the northern sounds, due, no doubt, to the fact that the Europeans who first introduced this word heard it from the lips of their Cantonese Compradores, who adopted it from the Shansi Bankers—for it does not appear to be a Cantonese phrase at all — giving the characters their Cantonese values.

I was much mystified by M. Lacouperie's perversely incorrect statement that "*Yüen pao* is the common name among foreigners for the silver ingot which bears some resemblance to the native shoe," when any resident of six months' standing in China could have informed him that the term *yüan pao* is never used by foreigners. The explanation is simple. M. Lacouperie has taken this sentence from Mr. Giles' "*Glossary of Reference*," p. 128, omitting the initial words "Shoes (of Silver): 元 寶." It is, of course, the "shoe" which is "the common term among foreigners," and not *yüan pao*.

[It should be noted that this article was received some time before the lamented death of Mr. Lacouperie. The writer, having in the meantime returned to China, could not easily be consulted as to any alterations he would, under the circumstances, have wished to make in it; so it has been thought best to print the article without material change.—Ed.]

ART. X.—*An unpublished Valabhī Copper-plate Inscription of King Dhruvasena I.* By Dr. TH. BLOCH.

THE two copper-plates from which the subjoined transcript has been made were entrusted by Dr. Burgess to Professor Bühler for publication, and he has kindly allowed me to edit them. They are now in the British Museum.

They contain a Sanskrit inscription of King Dhruvasena I. of Valabhī, dated (Gupta) Samvat 217 (536–37 A.D.), Āśvayuja, ba. 13.

The plates are by no means in good preservation. Both in the upper margin and low down in the left-hand corner of the first some pieces are broken off, and the right-hand side of the second plate is in a similar condition, so that in the beginning of the inscription the name of the place from which the edict was issued has been totally destroyed; and, further, through the destructive influence of time, parts of many letters have been lost, leaving only a few, and in some cases almost unreadable traces of them. Nevertheless, it has been possible, by the help of similar inscriptions, to make out the majority of the words, and only a few have remained uncertain, amongst them, unfortunately, being the name of the village granted by the king.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in prose, with the exception of the two ślokas from the Mahābhārata, quoted as usual at the end, to indicate the blessings that follow land-granting, and the curses that will fall on those who steal land.

Concerning orthography or grammar there is nothing particular to notice except, perhaps, some of the usual clerical errors to be found in these plates, e.g. *Bhaṭakkaḥ* instead of *Bhaṭārkkaḥ* (line 3); *cf.* another grant of Dhruvasena I. (*Ind. Ant.* v. 205, plate i. l. 4), and Seal

of Maliya Copper-plate Inscription of Dharasena II. (Corpus Inscr. Ind. vol. iii. p. 164), *rāja-śrīḥ* instead of *rājya-śrīḥ* (l. 8); *cf.* another grant of Dhruvasena I. (*Ind. Ant.* iv. 104, plate i. l. 9), and the spelling *tāṇy=eva* instead of *tāny=eva* (l. 27), etc.

The inscription is in the usual form; after enumerating the well-known *vaṃśāvalī*, beginning with the founder of the dynasty, *śrī-senāpati-Bhaṭārkkaḥ*, up to King Dhruvasena I., it records the grant made by the king, strictly prohibiting any future alteration of it, and concludes with the subscription of the king's name and titles, the date and names of the *dūtaka*, *Bhaṭṭi*, and the writer, *Kikkaka*.

To give a translation, therefore, of the whole inscription would be a mere waste of time, and I think a few remarks will quite suffice to assign to the inscription its true place in the rank of similar historical documents. Concerning its age, it may be noticed that though the date (Gupta Samvat 217; 536–37 A.D.) does not precede the date of one other inscription published by Professor Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* v. 205, viz. Gupta Samvat 207, which still remains the first recorded date of King Dhruvasena I., nevertheless it is one of the oldest Valabhī Inscriptions which have come under our notice.

Its main object is to record a grant made by King Dhruvasena I., who calls himself by his usual titles—the great chamberlain, the great general, the great *kārttākṛtika*, and the great feudatory prince (l. 11), to the congregation of monks residing in the vihāra, founded by the king's sister, *Duḍḍā* (l. 17), and in another, founded by the teacher, the venerable Buddhadāsa (l. 18, *ācāryya-bhadanta-Buddhadāsa*). The grant consisted of a village, named, perhaps, *Vaṭaprajyaka* (?), which I have been unable to identify, described as situated in the neighbourhood of a district or village, the name of which is illegible, a few, most uncertain letters, alone remaining (l. 14). Of the two monasteries mentioned in our inscriptions, the first is well known from other inscriptions of the same king and his successors (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* iv. 175; *ibid.* 106; v. 63), and

very often was favoured with land-grants by them. The second is a new one, and, as far as I know, has not hitherto been found in any other inscription. Probably it was one of the some hundred *saṅghārāmas*, of which Hiuen Tsiang gives us a short account in his *Si-yu-ki* (translated by Beal, ii. 266), quoting by name only one great *saṅghārāma*, not far from the city which was built by the Arhat Ācāra (*'O-che-lo*), identified by Prof. Bühler with the monastery of *Aṭharya*, mentioned in a grant of King Dharasena II. (*Ind. Ant.* vi. 9), and to which certainly also belonged the other monasteries at Valabhī, whose names are found here and there in similar inscriptions.

However, this very fact that King Dhruvasena, himself a worshipper of Śiva and descendant of a Śivaitic family, is again seen in this inscription making a grant to Buddhist monks, is of no small interest, as it confirms one of the few historical accounts concerning these feudatory kings of Valabhī, exhibited to us by their epigraphical documents, viz. the fact that though themselves devoted to Śiva-worship, they were great protectors of the Bauddhas who lived in their country. And it may be said that the inscription forms an important link in the chain of historical records, and that together with kindred facts, viz. that Duḍḍā, the sister of several Śivaitic kings or princes, was a follower of the Buddhist faith (paramopāsikā: *Ind. Ant.* iv. 105 f., plate ii. l. 5), and a founder of a Buddhist monastery; that, perhaps, Bhaṭārkka, the founder of the dynasty, had already built a similar one (*Ind. Ant.* vi. 9), and that later on the illustrious King Guhasena, who formerly calls himself devoted to Śiva (paramamāheśvera: *Ind. Ant.* iv. 174) is suddenly called "the ardent devotee of Buddha" (paramopāsaka: *Ind. Ant.* v. 206), from which it appears that this ruler was actually converted to Buddhism; it confirms in the first place the wide extent of Buddhism in this country during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and in the second exhibits an example of religious tolerance among mediæval kings, not unworthy indeed of the two great emperors Aśoka and Akbar.

First Plate.

(1) Oṃ [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Skandha[vārāt . . . . . vāsa-kā]t=Pra[sabha]-pra[ṇa]t[-āmi]tr[āṇāṃ]M[ai]-trakānām=atula-bala-sa[ṃ]panna-ma[ṇ]ḍa[l-ā]-

(2) bhoga-saṃsakta-saṃprahāra-śata-[labdha-pratāpa]ḥ pratāp-opanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-opārjjit-ānurag-ānurakta-maulabhṛta-

(3) mit[t]ra[1]-śreṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śrīḥ parama-māheśvaraś=śrī-senāpati-Bhaṭakkaḥ[2] [||*] Tasya sutas=tac-caraṇa-rajo-ruṇ-āvanata-

(4) [pav]i[trī]-kṛta-śirāś=śiro-vanata-śat[t]ru[3]-cūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-vicchurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-dīdhitiḥ dīn-ānātha-jan-opa-

(5) [jīvya]māna-vibhavaḥ parama-māheśvaraḥ śrī-senāpati-Dharasenaḥ [||*] Tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ābhipraṇāma-praśasta[4]-

(6) [vi]mala-mauli-maṇir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddha-

(7) tir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhog-aika-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam-upahita-rājy-ābhiṣeka-mahā-

(8) [vi]śrāṇan-āvapūta-rāja[5]-śrīḥ parama-māheśvaraś=śrī-mahārāja-Dronasiṃhas=siṃha iva [||*] Tasy=ānujas=sva-bhu-

(9) ja-bala-parākkrameṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānīkānām=eka-vijayī śaraṇ-aiṣiṇāṃ śaraṇam=avaboddhā

(10) [śāstr-ā]rttha-tatvānāṃ[6] kalpatarur=iva suhṛt-praṇa-yināṃ yathā-bhilaṣita-kāma-phal-opabhoga-daḥ

(11) [parama-bha]ṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyāto mahāpratīhāra-māhādaṇḍanāyaka-mahākārttākṛtika-mahāsāmanta-

[1] Doubtful, whether spelt with one or two *t*'s.
[2] Read *Bhaṭārkkaḥ*.
[3] *tt* doubtful.
[4] The usual reading is *praśastatara*; *tara* is wanting also, *Ind. Ant.* v. 205, plate i. l. 7.
[5] Read *rājya*.
[6] Read *tattvānāṃ*.

(12) [mahārāja]-śrī-DHRUVASENAḤ [kuśal]ī sarvvān=eva svān=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-mahattara-cāṭa-bha-

(13) ṭ-ādīn=anyāṃś=ca yathā-saṃ[ba]dhyamānakān samā-[jñāpaya]ty=[||*] Astu vas=saṃviditaṃ yathā mayā . . . . . .

(14) . maṇ . . sthala[1]-sannikṛṣṭa-VAṬAPRAJYAKA[2]-grāmaḥ s-oparikaka(ra)s=sa-[d]i[tya]-dāna-vāta-bh[ūta-pratyā]-

(15) [ya]ḥ sah=ānyaiś=ca kīrttibhā . . i . ribhā . . aiḥ[3] bh[ū]mic[ch]i[dra-ny]āyena . . . . . .

SECOND PLATE.

(16) [mātā-pi]troḥ [puṇ]y-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=c=[ai]hik-āmuṣmika-yathā-bhilaṣita-phal-āvāpti-nim[ittam=ā]-

(17) [candr-ār]kk ārṇṇava-kṣiti-sarit-parvvata-sama-kālīnaḥ Valabhī-tala-sva-bhāgineyī-DUḌḌĀ-kārita-[vihāra ?]

(18) . . . . . -[ā]cāryya-bhadanta-BUDDHADĀSA-kārita-vihāra-kuṭyāṃ pratiṣṭāpita-bhagavatāṃ[4] Ssamya[k-saṃbu]-

(19) [ddhānāṃ Buddh]ānām gandha-dhūpa-puṣpa-dīpa-tail-opayogi vihārasya ca khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pati[ta]-

(20) [vi]ś[ī]rṇṇa-pratisaṃskāraṇ-ārtthaṃ catur-ddiś-ābhyāgat-obhaya-vihāra-prativāsi-bhikṣu-saṅghasya

(21) [. pi]ṇḍapāta-śayan-āsana-glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya-pariṣkār-opayog-ārtthaṃ ca pra-

(22) [tip]āditaḥ [||*] Yato bhikṣu-saṅgh[5]-ādhikṛtānāṃ bhuñjatāṃ kṛṣatāṃ pradiśatāṃ na kaiś=cit=svalpā=py=ā-

[1] The first letter looks like *ra* or *ka*; the third may have been *ṇḍa*, but only a small *ṇa* is visible; the *th* of *stha* seems also uncertain.

[2] *va* and *jya* uncertain.

[3] I am unable to make out the reading of these fragmentary letters. The last *ai* is uncertain.

[4] *āṃ* and the double *s* are rather doubtful, but the reading of the whole passage is obvious from a similar inscription of the same king, *Ind. Ant.* iv. 104 f., plate ii. l. 5 ff.: *Valabhyāṃ sva-bhāgineyī-param-opāsikā-Duḍḍā-kārita-vihāra-pratiṣṭhāpitānāṃ bhagavatāṃ Samyak-saṃbuddhānāṃ Buddhānāṃ*, etc.

[5] This reading is not quite certain.

(23) [bādhāk]āryy=āsmad-vaṅśa-jair=āgāmi-nṛpatibhiś=c=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=asthiraṃ mānuṣyaṃ sāmānyaṃ ca

(24) [bhū]mi-dāna-phalam=avagacchadbhir=ayam=asmaddāyo=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=ca [||*] Yaś=c=ācchi-

(25) [ndyād]=ācchidyamānaṃ vā=numodeta sa paṃcabhir=mmahā-pātakaiḥ s-opapātakais=saṃyuktas=syād=[||*] I[ty=a*]pi[1]

(26) [Vyā]sa-gītau ślokau bhavataḥ [||*] Ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge modati bhūmi-daḥ [|*] ācchettā

(27) [c=ānumantā]ca tāṇy=eva[2] narake vaset [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya

(28) [yasya yadā bhūmi]ḥ tasya tasya tadā phalam=iti || Sva-hasto mama mahāpratīhāra-mahādaṇḍa-

(29) [nāyaka-mahākārtt]ākṛtika-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-śrī-DHRUVASENASYA || Dūtako rājasthānīya-BHAṬṬIḤ [||*]

(30) [Likhi]taṃ KIKKAKEN=eti [||*] Saṃ 200-10-7 Āśvayuja ba 13[3] ||

[1] Or, perhaps, *I[hā=*]pi*.
[2] Read *tāny=eva*.
[3] Though only a small portion of the letters *saṃ* and *ba* is visible, and something is wanting of the numeral signs of 10 and 7, the reading is quite certain.

Art. XI.—*The History of Kilwa.* Edited from an Arabic MS. by S. Arthur Strong.

It would seem at first sight as if the history of a small African island were hardly worth the trouble of editing in its original and not very stylish Arabic dress. But it was a saying of Scaliger's that *omnis historia bona*, and no people seem to have realized the truth of this more than the Arabs. An event once recorded simply as and because it happened, may by the advance of time be brought into new clearness and significance. Once in possession of the fact we can agree upon the fiction at our leisure. And from this point of view we have every reason to be grateful that the influence of Islam tended to narrative rather than criticism, to veracity rather than profundity. In the present instance we have a record, scanty indeed and prosaic, but one to which in the excitement of the scramble for Africa we can hardly be indifferent. It is true that the author, after a fashion not uncommon in the East, conducts us to the crisis and turning-point of his story, and then suddenly relapses into silence, but not before we have seen and recognized "the intruder on his ancient home." The arrival of Vasco da Gama opens a new chapter of history, of which, with its complications and surprises, we have not yet come to the end.

The present edition is based upon a MS. believed to be unique, numbered Or. 2666 in the collection of the British Museum. The MS. was presented to the nation by Sir John Kirk, who himself received it as a gift from Barghash

b. Sa'īd, Sultan of Zanzibar. At the beginning the Sultan has written the following words in letters of gold :—

هذا الكتاب للمحب العزيز جون كرك وكيل الملكه
المعظمه فى زنجبار كتبه برغش بن سعيد بن سلطان
بيده يوم ١١ من شهر جمادة الاول سنه ١٢٩٤

The copy, which only fills seventeen folios, is quite modern, being dated 1877. The writing is neat and clear, but it is obvious that the scribe was more expert in penmanship than in philology. The author, though, as we shall see, he mentions the date of his birth, modestly suppresses his name, nevertheless in a MS. note on one of the blank leaves of the book, Sir John Kirk has preserved what was doubtless the local tradition, as follows: "Notes on the History of Kilwa, by Sheikh Moheddin of Zanzibar, 1862" (Rieu, *Catalogue, Suppl.*, p. 391). However, it seems not improbable that the text, as we have it, is a modern compilation from some ancient record closely resembling, if not actually identical with, the *Chronica dos Reys de Quiloa*, found by the Portuguese (De Barros, "Asia," i., viii. 6). In that case Moheddin would not be the author, but the compiler, who either did not know, or for some reason suppressed, the real author's name. 'The Kazi Muhiyy el Din,' honourably mentioned by Burton for his proficiency in Arabic ("Zanzibar," i. p. 423), is doubtless the same as our Moheddin; but the grammatical inaccuracies with which the text abounds, if they are not entirely the fault of the scribe, point to not more than a provincial level of attainment in the compiler.

After the usual pious invocations the author describes how he undertook the work at the request of the Sultan, whose name we shall learn later on. He tells us that he devoted special pains to the elaboration and adornment of the style, which, left to ourselves, we should hardly have guessed from the baldness and occasional clumsiness of the narrative as we have it. He divided the work into

a preface and ten chapters. From the nature of this preface it would seem that his conception of history resembles that of the late M. Taine, at least to this extent that, before entering upon his narrative, he is careful to lay a philosophical groundwork in the shape of a discussion of understanding and its rules of discipline. Understanding was God's first creation and His best. It has two forms or phases, of which one is susceptible of increase and decrease, while the other is not. There are certain features of character and conduct which point straight to the perfection of a man's understanding; others have no such value as evidence. It sometimes happens that a pretender to understanding is placed in a position, in which he can no longer hide the real meagreness of his resources. Such an impostor was Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz; and the story of his exposure and consequent expulsion from the place where he had duped his fellow-citizens is related in full.

The author now turns to the main business of his narrative, and, in the first chapter, describes the founding of Kilwa by Persian immigrants from Shīrāz. The story goes that there was a Sultan of Shīrāz named Ḥasan b. 'Alī. This Sultan had six sons, and one day he saw a vision of a rat with an iron snout nibbling and gnawing at the walls. From this he foreboded the ruin of the country, and so, his first thought being naturally of his own safety, he determined to make good his escape while there was yet time. He communicated the vision to his sons, who agreed with him as to its meaning and moral; but they urged the difficulty of inducing the amīrs, the wazīrs, and the other notables to consent to their departure. However, this difficulty was eventually solved by a stratagem of the Sultan's devising, and the whole family, seven in number, sailed away from the doomed country in as many ships. Of these it was the sixth that came to Kilwa. At the time of the immigration Kilwa was an island only at high tide, for the water, as it subsided, uncovered a neck of land which it was easy to traverse on foot. The new-comers

found a Muslim already settled there with his family, and a mosque. From him they learned that the country belonged to the chief of the neighbouring district of Almuli, who was then absent on a hunting expedition. After a few days he returned to Kilwa, and the stranger, being pleased with the island, offered, through the mediation of the friendly Muslim, to buy it. The chief named his terms, which were that the stranger should surround the whole island with coloured cloth. This was soon done, and the chief took the cloth and surrendered the island. All the while, however, he cherished the secret intention of returning with an armed force to destroy the immigrants and carry off their goods. This was guessed by the Muslim, who had acted as interpreter, so he warned the strangers to provide for their safety in time. Accordingly, as soon as the chief's back was turned, they set to work and dug a trench in the neck of land joining Kilwa to the continent. After a short time the chief reappeared at the usual spot, and waited for the tide to go down and leave a dry passage to Kilwa; but the water never subsided, so he returned to his own country defeated and disappointed. And this is how Kilwa came to be, what it now is, an island.

The author then proceeds to enumerate the early sovereigns of Kilwa. The first was 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, called Ighawumīj. He reigned in the middle of the ninth century of our era, and established his son, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, as ruler of a neighbouring island called in our text sometimes منفسيّة, and sometimes منفسة. After a reign of two years and a half Muḥammad died, and was succeeded by his brother Basḥat b. 'Alī. 'Alī himself, that is the Persian immigrant, reigned over Kilwa for forty years, and was succeeded at his death by another 'Alī, son of Basḥat.

The second chapter describes the political changes produced at Kilwa by the repeated incursions and encroachments of a tribe called المتمندلين. These people ravaged the country, overthrew the government, and set up a chief of

their own race, named Ḫālid b. Bakr. But after a reign of only two years and a half Ḫālid was expelled by the people of Kilwa, and the government then passed into the hands of Ḥasan b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī, a grandson of the first founder of the colony. However, he had not been long in possession before the enemy overran Kilwa a second time. Ḥasan fled to Zanzibar, and his place and power were given to an Amīr named Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mundhirī. But the people of Kilwa combined once more to overthrow the government of the stranger, and under the leadership of the son of the exiled Sultan they went to the house of the Amīr, and imprisoned him there. Then they sent a deputation to Zanzibar to bring back the Sultan. Meanwhile the Amīr, who had managed to escape, hurried to the sea-shore to encounter the Sultan and oppose his landing, but he was slain by the followers of Ḥasan, who thus returned in triumph to his kingdom. His reign lasted for fourteen years, and his successor was Ḥasan b. Dāūd b. 'Alī.

In course of time the supremacy passed from the house of 'Alī to that of Abū 'l-Mawāhib, whose career is described in the third chapter. He succeeded his grandfather Ḥasan b. Ṭālūt, who had taken the sovereignty by force, and kept it for eighteen years. In his youth Abū 'l-Mawāhib journeyed to Aden and Mecca, and acquired great proficiency in sacred science. The author now introduces the mother of Abū 'l-Mawāhib, but in an episode the abruptness and irrelevance of which show plainly that, though the MS. runs on without a break, something must have been left out by the scribe. But this, at least, seems to be clear, that Abū 'l-Mawāhi bowed his position to the voluntary renunciation by his brother Dāūd of his right or his claim to the kingdom. The first act of Abū 'l-Mawāhib, as soon as he felt that his power was secure, was to avenge his father[1] by chastising the people of منفسة. He ravaged their country, and

[1] Here again the author is alluding to a fact not otherwise described or explained.

subjected it to his rule. But at this point our author's besetting fear of prolixity comes upon him, so we are told nothing more about Abū 'l-Mawāhib, except the length of his reign and the fact that in his time the mosque at Kilwa had fallen into such a state of decay that the people were obliged to worship in tents. Abū 'l-Mawāhib had reigned fourteen years when he died, and was succeeded by his brother Dāūd. This king was noted for piety; nevertheless, when his reign was still measured only by days, he was dethroned and replaced by Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān al-Maṭ'ūn. Ḥusayn died a martyr in the holy war against the infidels of Almuli, and was succeeded by Ṭālūt b. al-Ḥusayn, who was presumably his son. Ṭālūt started on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but died before reaching [illegible], and his son Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān, who had acted as viceroy in his absence, became king. Ḥusayn himself afterwards accomplished the pilgrimage, and, with better luck than his father, returned safe and sound.

The fourth chapter opens with a brief account of the reign of Almalik al-'Ādil. His real name was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn, and from his original post of governor he was raised to supreme power by the will of the nobles and the people. At his death, after a reign of two-and-twenty years, he seems to have been succeeded by his son Sulaymān. It was in the reign of this Sultan that the mosque was rebuilt, which, in the time of Abū 'l-Mawāhib, we saw in a state of decay. A son of the Sultan Ḥusayn, named Ḥājj Rūsh, asked permission of Sulaymān to rebuild the mosque, and Sulaymān, while he granted permission, insisted upon defraying the cost himself with a gift of a thousand pieces of gold. Ḥājj Rūsh objected to the condition, but, feeling that if he refused the gift he would lose the grace, he outwardly complied and took the money; nevertheless, he built the mosque entirely out of his own resources, and when Sulaymān died, he was careful to return the thousand pieces to his heirs. The work, however, could not be completed without divine assistance. The original columns of the mosque had been

of planed stone, but the workmen were incapable of restoring them, so the new columns had to be made of wood, and the difficulty of procuring it of the right size had almost brought the work to a standstill, when the providence of God guided the people to the discovery of some wood that in size and quality was exactly suitable. And against such as might be inclined to doubt the miracle the author appeals to the credible eye-witness of two persons, one of whom was the Sultan Muḥammad, by whose order this book was written. At the death of Sulaymān, Ismā'īl b. Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān was chosen to succeed him, and he reigned thirteen years. About this time there appeared a pretender to the throne in the person of Sa'īd, son of the Sultan Ḥasan. He went to Zanzibar, and begged the Sultan there, namely Ḥasan, son of Abū Bakr, to aid him in his designs upon Kilwa. The Sultan consented, and accordingly Sa'īd and an Amīr of Zanzibar, named Zubayr, started for Kilwa at the head of an armed force. However, news of their approach reached Kilwa, and the threatening coalition was dissolved by means of a bribe, judiciously administered to Zubayr, by Ismā'īl's Amīr Muḥammad. Sa'īd himself reached Kilwa, with only four attendants, to learn that a reward had been offered by Ismā'īl to anyone who should bring his head. At first he went in disguise to the house of the Qāḍī, but finding himself recognized, he fled, and his goods were then seized by order of the Sultan. Eventually the tide of popular feeling seems to have turned in his favour. Ḥasan, son of the Sultan Sulaymān, sought him out, and presented him to Ismā'īl, by whom he was pardoned. Nevertheless, he thought it prudent to live disguised and in retirement until the Sultan Ismā'īl was dead. After the death of the Sultan, the Wazīr Sulaymān and the Amīr Muḥammad debated the matter of the succession, and privately agreed that it ought to fall to one or the other of them; so the Wazīr, when he saw that popular feeling was on the side of the Amīr, withdrew in his favour, and the Amīr Muḥammad made himself Sultan. On the death of the Wazīr Sulaymān,

which occurred only a few days before his own, Muḥammad appointed Sa'īd to the vacant post.

In the fifth chapter we learn that the Sultan Muḥammad was succeeded by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, who, after a reign of a single year, was succeeded in his turn by Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl. Then follows the long episode of the coming of Mas'ūd to Kilwa, which happened in the reign of the Sultan Sa'īd. Al-Malik Mas'ūd was the son of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad al-Ghassānī, Sultan of Aden, and he had been driven out of Aden by the Sultan 'Alī b. Ṭāhir. This 'Alī b. Ṭāhir had formerly himself been compelled to quit his native place, Jaban, in order to escape the tyranny and cruelty of Mas'ūd's father al-Mu'ayyad. He then went as a pilgrim to Mecca, accompanied by another exile from the same cause, namely the Sharīf 'Alī b. Sufyān. From Mecca they continued their journey to Medina, and here it was that 'Alī had a dream, in which he seemed to hear the prophet say to him: "Rise, 'Alī, and take Yaman!" He dreamed the same thing three times, and though his companion had had no such visitation, they yet could not agree as to its meaning, each thinking that the other 'Alī was intended. But the upshot of it all was that they determined to set out for Yaman, after vowing that whoever should prove by the event to be the elect of God would make the other his wazīr. When they reached Yaman they found Mu'ayyad dead, and the kingdom in possession of his son Mas'ūd, who was then at Aden. On the approach of 'Alī and his companion the people of Aden deposed Mas'ūd and elected 'Alī in his stead, and the latter immediately despatched his brother 'Āmir b. Ṭāhir with a numerous force to Aden. Whereupon Mas'ūd closed the gates of the town, and retired to a fortress in the open country, intending to carry on the war against 'Āmir from thence; but the arrival at the fortress of a messenger from 'Āmir was enough to induce the garrison to imitate the treachery of their brethren at Aden. However, it was not until 'Āmir was actually introduced into the castle of At Ta'akkur, by a

stratagem of the governor, and the people of the place openly declared for him and his brother, that Mas'ūd abandoned the struggle and fled from the country. He went first to Zayla', but, hearing that Sa'īd was Sultan at Kilwa, he determined to visit him, and renew, if possible, the friendship that had sprung up between them at Aden, when Sa'īd and his father, Ḥasan b. Sulaymān, were pilgrims together. On his arrival at Kilwa he was graciously received by the Sultan, who loaded him with presents and favours; but when, on a subsequent occasion, and under the régime of a different Sultan, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, he repeated his visit, he found that other times had brought other manners. "We ask you," said the magnates of Kilwa, "not to come to us a second time, for the country has declined, and the folk are enfeebled; so do not come here to disgrace both us and yourself." Thereupon Mas'ūd retired to India, and dwelt there. As for 'Alī b. Ṭāhir, he gained possession of the whole of Yaman, and ruled in the spirit of the strictest orthodoxy. Moreover, he kept the promise which he had made to 'Alī b. Sufyān. The death of the Sultan Sa'īd seems to have thrown the whole kingdom into confusion. The Amīr Sulaymān seized the government for himself, and advanced his brother Muḥammad to the dignity of Amīr. He reigned for a year-and-a-half, and his successors were 'Abd Allah and 'Alī, the two sons of Ḥasan, the preacher.

In the sixth chapter we come to a break in the succession of Sultans, properly so called. The real power has fallen into the hands of the Amīr Muḥammad Kiwābi, who appoints and deposes puppets of his own choosing. On the death of 'Alī, the preacher's son, Muḥammad set up the Wazīr Ḥasan b. Sulaymān; but after a reign of six years he deposed him in favour of the Sultan Sabḥat b. al-Malik al-'Ādil. At the end of a year Sabḥat died, and Muḥammad once more raised Ḥasan to the chief place if not to the chief power. During his reign it happened that there was a disturbance among the people, and several of the citizens—including Sabḥat, the preacher, and the inspector

of weights and measures (المحتسب)—quitted the country and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. When the time to depart came, they prayed God to further their return to their own country, if it should be for good; but if not, they resigned themselves to the will of God. The prayer was answered, but in a way that showed the difference between the proposal of man and the disposal of God; for of the six pilgrims, one died at Mecca, others at different points on the homeward route, and only two survived to reach Kilwa. It was about this time that Muḥammad again deposed Ḥasan, and appointed the Sultan Ibrāhīm b. al-Malik al'-Ādil in his stead. Ibrāhīm kept his place for as many as five years; but in the course of his reign Ḥasan made an attempt to win back the power which he had twice enjoyed at the good pleasure of Muḥammad. This, however, Muḥammad, in his zeal for order and decency, would by no means allow. He urged that Ḥasan was disqualified by the mere fact of his origin. He belonged to a house only of wazīrs, whereas the chief of the state was a descendant of kings. Nevertheless, Ḥasan held to his point until he had provoked a tumult with bloodshed; but in this Fortune declared against him, and he retired a fugitive to كلبه, where he dwelt three years. Then Muḥammad determined to taste for himself what he had so often bestowed upon others, so, having ejected Ibrāhīm, he assumed the style and performed the functions of royalty. When he had thus sufficiently gratified ambition or curiosity he abdicated, and called Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān to the vacant place.

At the beginning of the seventh chapter the author, with unwonted precision, records the exact date of the accession of Fuḍayl, namely, the year 901 after the flight. Now as soon as Ḥasan heard of Fuḍayl's accession he determined to make war against Kilwa, and advanced as far as a place called مغم غوب. At the same time an ambassador was sent to Kilwa from the court of Zanzibar to endeavour to make peace between Ḥasan and Fuḍayl on the basis of the

restoration to the former of his title and power. Muḥammad, who was still really at the head of affairs, met the proposals of the ambassador with his old appeal to constitutional propriety. It was out of the question to eject a prince of the blood-royal in favour of the son of a wazīr. When it happened before it was for a particular reason which existed no longer. If Ḥasan consented to take his place as an ordinary citizen with the rest, he would be allowed to come back, but not otherwise. The ambassador was charged to return with this answer to Ḥasan, but he postponed his departure for a few days, and in the interval Muḥammad died. In fact, if not always in name, he had governed the country for fifteen years, and he was succeeded in his capacity of Amīr by Ibrāhīm, son of the Sultan Sulaymān. While the ambassador was making his way back to Zanzibar with the news of Muḥammad's death, Ḥasan was preparing to advance upon Kilwa with a large force of Muslims and infidels. He had heard of the death of Muḥammad, and imagined that the last obstacle in the way of his ambition was now removed. He set out from مغم غوب, but when he had reached a place called Kisibi, Fuḍayl and Ibrāhīm became aware of his approach, and sent a deputation of the chief men of Kilwa to demand the reason of his hostile attitude and movements. He replied that the object of his expedition was to assert his claim and his right. No one but himself was entitled to rule. It was true that he had been ejected by Muḥammad, but for no cause except the antipathy between them. Finally he instructed the deputation to press his claim upon the Amīr and the people of Kilwa—Fuḍayl was not mentioned—in order that he might return to his own country and resume his rightful place. To all this Fuḍayl and the Amīr simply replied in the old terms of Muḥammad. Whereupon Ḥasan changed his tactics. He took no notice of the answer; but despatched his son Sa'īd with a numerous following to Kilwa. They entered the town to all appearance like ordinary travellers, and took up their abode at their own house. As soon as they were settled the Sultan

and the Amīr sent a large force to bring Sa'īd into their presence. At first he offered resistance, but he was overpowered and brought with some of his following before the Amīr, who demanded the reason of their coming in such force to Kilwa. Sa'īd replied that his father had sent him merely to get a house ready for him, and that Ḥasan himself would arrive shortly, but with no hostile intention. When it was urged that he would hardly have brought such a large following, if he had not meant mischief, he again denied it; so, to make sure, they compelled him to swear to the truth of his denial by God most high and the glorious Koran. He was then instructed to communicate the fact to his father, warning him at the same time to make no move that night, but to wait till the following day, when he would be met by the Sultan and the Amīr, and escorted peacefully to Kilwa. Accordingly the deputation set out, consisting of some of Sa'īd's own followers reinforced by a party from the town; but when Ḥasan learnt all that had been done in his name or on his account, he killed those of them that belonged to Kilwa, and prepared to advance upon the place that very night. But the people were on the alert and kept guard with all their forces until daybreak, when they were suddenly attacked by the troops of Ḥasan. A great battle was fought, the result of which was so decisive, that Ḥasan's one care, when he heard it, was to save himself by flight to مغم غوب. Here he founded a kingdom, which, after his death, passed in succession to his son Muḥammad and his grandson Ḥasan.

It was during the reign of Fuḍayl that the news was brought from Mozambique of the appearance of three ships of the Franks under the command of an admiral named المرتى. After a few days they passed Kilwa without touching, and made for منفسة, where the chief and people, in ignorance of their true character and intentions, were at first inclined to receive them hospitably; but being warned by one who knew the intruders better that in reality they came for nothing but espial and spoliation, the Muslims then tried to cut their anchors, in

order that the ships might run aground and so be destroyed and plundered. But the trick was discovered, and the strangers sailed away to Malinda; and here the people, though they well knew that their coming boded no good, were too frightened to refuse them anything they chose to ask in the shape of wood, water, and other provisions. Lastly they demanded a pilot, and departed, first for India, and then for their own accursed country. All this happened in the year of the flight 904, a year otherwise remarkable in that it witnessed the birth of the author of this book. In the year 906 came the Qabīṭān بيذرارس with several ships to Kilwa. He demanded wood and water, and that the Sultan or his son should be sent to confer with him. However, the Amīr and the people would not venture to let the Sultan go in person, so they disguised one Luqmān, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, in the fashion of royalty, and sent him instead. Then they carried the water down to the shore in vessels, and signalled to those on board to come and fetch it. But at this moment one of the Amīr's servants, named Ḥājj Ibrāhīm, went down to the beach, and ordered all the water to be taken away, so that when the Christians arrived, they found none, and returned in anger to their ships. Then they went to Malinda, where they were again cordially received, and supplied with whatever they demanded. But before their final departure they chose seven men that were Christian perverts. Two of these they settled at Malinda; four they sent to Guzerat, to the Sultan Maḥmūd, and the seventh to Kilwa. As for the Indian agents, their Christian activity was soon cut short, for they were circumcised by the lord of the country, and embraced Islam. At Kilwa the people were at first in doubt whether they should receive the uninvited guest; but in the end their fear of the power behind him prevailed, and they quartered him upon a distinguished citizen named Muḥammad b. Rukn ad-Dīn. This man was a merchant of great wealth and high character, under whose guidance the Christian spy made himself acquainted

with all the internal affairs of the country, both small and great. Muḥammad was peculiarly fitted to act as informer, seeing that he had long been meditating treachery on his own account. In the year 907 came the admiral كند نوف with a single ship to Kilwa. In appearance bent upon commerce, but in reality a spy, he too made friends with Muḥammad, in whose treacherous schemes he saw his own opportunity. In the year 908 المرتى returned with several ships. On his arrival he was immediately joined by the spy, who related all that he had learnt, especially that the government was in danger from the wealth and influence of Muḥammad, and he advised the admiral to demand an interview with the Amīr Ibrāhīm. At first the people were inclined to play their old trick, and send a substitute, but the spy was too acute for them, so Ibrāhīm went to the interview accompanied by two lawyers named Ayyūb and 'Umar. At this point the author suddenly breaks off with the words, "Here ends what I found."

It will be seen that this narrative deals for the most part with local circumstances and confined interests; nevertheless it is not without salient points at which it can be brought in contact with larger cycles. Yāḳūt makes no more than the bare mention of Kilwa, as follows:—

كلوة بالكسر ثم السكون وفتح الواو والهاء بلفظ واحدة الكِلَى
موضع بارض الزِّنْج مدينة

nor does Ibn Baṭūṭa, in his account of his travels, devote much space to it: "I set out by sea for the city of Kulwā[1] (كُلْوَا), which is large, and consists of wooden houses" (tr. Lee, p. 57). The statement in the text that the island was first colonised by Persian emigrants in the middle of the ninth century corresponds in the main with what we

[1] "Never Kulwā as in Ibn Baṭūṭa—probably a clerical error" (Burton, *l.c.* ii. p. 341).

learn from other sources. For example, Rigby, in his *Report on the Zanzibar Dominions*, writes (p. 47): "The earliest settlement of Arabs on the east coast of Africa, of which there is any authentic account, is that of the El-Harth tribe from the neighbourhood of Bahrein, who, about the year A.D. 924, founded the cities of Magadosha and Brava. About sixty years later, the city of Kulwa was founded by a colony of Persians from Shiraz, and from these settlements the Arabs and Persians gradually extended their authority over the whole of the east coast as far as Sofala, and also possessed themselves of the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfea"; and Burton records a similar tradition ("The Lusiads," iv. p. 416): "The foundation of Kilwā by the Arabs is popularly assigned to A.D. 960–1000; but the settlements may have existed in the time of the Periplus." Of the places other than Kilwa at which the Persians landed منفسة or منفسية is obviously Mombasah. This would appear in any case from the context, but the following gloss on fol. 7*b* of the MS. makes it certain:—

قف على اول من تولى فى كلوة ومنفسة اى ممباسه

Ibn Baṭūṭa spells the word مَنْبَسَى (Lee, *l.c.*). ينبع is apparently the island of Yambe (Burton, *l.c.* ii. p. 132). الجزيرة الجضرا is "Pemba, called by the Arabs 'Al-Khuthra' or the green island."[1] هنزوان is Hinzuwan or Anjuan (Burton, *l.c.* i. p. 340). Whatever we may think of the story about cutting the trench and so changing Kilwa from a peninsula into an island, in any case it affords a possible explanation of what Correa notices in "The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama"[2]: "The city stands on an island which is surrounded and encircled by the sea-water, but on the land side there is little water, which at high tide is knee-deep." In 1857 Burton heard at Kilwa itself the native account

[1] Rigby, *l.c.* p. 27; *cf.* Burton, *l.c.* p. 419.
[2] Tr. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, p. 291.

of the purchase of the island: "A certain Shaykh Yusuf from Shangaya bought land from Napendu, the heathen headman, by spreading it over with cloth, built the old fort, won the savage's daughter, slew his father-in-law, and became the sire of a long race of Shirazi 'Kings of the Zinj.'" However, he adds in a note, "the tale of the cloth is suspicious" ("Zanzibar," ii. p. 362). It may be worth noticing that Burton (*l.c.* p. 357) gives the same name to the mainland as it bears in our text, 'Barr el Moli.' المتمندلين, whatever may be its correct form, is here undoubtedly the name of a tribe; but it was taken by De Barros for the name of a king. He speaks ("Asia," *Decada* i. Liv. viii. cap. vi.) of a certain "Ale Busoloquete," whom, though he belongs to the period of the early struggles of the immigrants with المتمندلين, it is difficult to fit into the chain of events as we have it, "ao qual succedeo Daut seu filho, que foi lançado de Quiloa aos quatro annos de seu reinado per Matata Mandalima, que era Rey de Xanga seu imigo, e Daut se foi pera Monfia, onde morreo." If, however, we assume what seems probable, that the two accounts have diverged from a common source, we might venture to identify the شاغ of our text with Xanga. Concerning the latter place Burton writes as follows ("Zanzibar," ii. p. 358): "Southwards, at the bottom of the bay, appeared the islet of Sánje Kati, and opposite lay the Mlango, or gate where the depth diminishes from eighty to six fathoms, and leads to Sánje Májoma. This may be the Changa of the Kilwa Chronicle, whose 'King' Matata Mandelima expelled in early days Daud, the Sultan of Kilwa."

The episode of the rebuilding of the mosque receives a certain addition of historical probability from the account of De Barros (*l.c.*), who attributes to 'Soleiman Hacen' great activity in the way of fortifying and beautifying Kilwa; but there is this difference, that whereas in our account the restorer was compelled by the incompetence of his workmen to use wood where his predecessors had used

stone, Soleiman Hacen is said, like another Augustus, to have found Kilwa wooden and to have left it stone. Dr. Rieu gives about A.H. 859 as the date of Mas'ūd's arrival at Kilwa ("Catalogue of Arabic MSS.," Supplement, p. 392). Our account of what preceded and followed the expulsion of Mas'ūd from Aden differs considerably from that translated by Johannsen in his "Historia Iemanæ." For instance, the latter makes no mention of the coming of Mas'ūd as a suppliant to Kilwa, or of his final retirement to India. Is it possible that in الهند we may have a corruption of هقرة, one of the places to which Mas'ūd is said to have made his way after leaving Aden? واما المسعود فخرج فبلغ فى خروجه من عدن الى الغازة ثم الى هقرة (Or. 3265, fol. 40; *cf.* Johannsen, *l.c.* pp. 187 and 273). كليه is, perhaps, Kwale or Khwale (Burton, *l.c.* i. 144 and ii. 335). The reading مغم غوب is not without its difficulties; but the not very violent change of ب to ن would enable us at least to compare مغم غون with Mgongeni, that is Kilwa Kivinjya (Burton, *l.c.* ii. p. 341). Our whole difficulty is involved in the endeavour to harmonise two different systems of geography—the ancient, in which 'Kilwa' is used, or seems to be used, as the name of a single place; and the modern, in which the same name denotes a varied district of towns and islands. This being so, I can only suggest the possibility of a connection between Kisibi and what is now called (Kilwa) Kisiwá-ni or Kisimá-ni. The coming of the Franks merges the provincial squabbles at which we have been assisting so far in a national commotion :—

ومثلها لم يجّرِ فى تلك الديار
بين محبّ المسلمين .....
وبين خصمه الفرنجى الكافر

المِرّتى denotes Vasco da Gama, not by name but by the title which De Barros is always careful to use when speaking of him, *Almirante*. It was on his first voyage to the East

in 1497–99 that he passed Kilwa in the manner described in our text. "They arrived before Quiloa," says Correa (*l.c.* p. 89), "where the Lord sent them a contrary wind, so that they were unable to fetch the port, where the Moorish pilot had determined on wrecking the ships even though he died for it there on the spot, from which the Lord delivered them by not giving them a wind for entering into the port; and they ran along the coast, and reached the port of Bombaza, also a great city of trade with many ships." It may be observed that what the piety of the chronicler explains as the intervention of God, the fancy of the poet attributes to the favour of Venus (Camoens, *Canto* i. 100–102). We also learn from Correa that the person who understood the real character of the strangers —بعض من كان يعرفهم—and warned the inhabitants of Mombasah against them was the Shaykh of Mozambique himself (*l.c.* p. 99). Moreover, the little episode of the anchors was one which the Portuguese chroniclers, at any rate, were not likely to forget or to suppress. "At midnight two canoes began to cut the moorings of the Berrio and the Sam Rafael: they fled when the alarm was given" (Burton, "The Lusiads," iv. p. 425). بيذرارس is Pedralvares Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil, who "set out as chief captain of thirteen ships on the 9th of March, 1500."[1] كند نوف is João da Nova, who set out on the 15th of March, 1501 (Commentaries, *l.c.*).

Vasco da Gama set out on his second voyage in 1502. There is no talk this time of being supernaturally conducted past Kilwa and its dangers; on the contrary, the admiral is determined to get the island into the power of the king, his master. Our text leaves it in doubt whether the Amīr Ibrāhīm had actually replaced the Sultan Fuḍayl by fair means or by foul, or whether, as in the case of Muḥammad Kiwābi, he wielded the real power behind a puppet king.

[1] The commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque, Hakluyt Soc. ii. p. xviii.

We learn, however, from De Barros, that before the arrival of the Portuguese 'Habraemo' had become 'absoluto Senhor de Quilhoa' ("Asia," i. 2, p. 230), while Burton records a more definite tradition to the effect that "the great port was then ruled by a certain Sultan Ibrāhīm, murderer and usurper" ("Zanzibar," ii. p. 363). The account of the spies is illustrated, if .not literally confirmed, by the statement of De Barros (*l.c.* i. 1, 406) that Pedralvares, before he started for India, left behind him two agents named João Machado and Luiz de Moura with instructions to find a way of penetrating into the kingdom of Prester John. The Portuguese word *degredados*, applied to these agents, corresponds with sufficient exactness to the Arabic المنتصرة.

Muḥammad b. Rukn ad Dīn we may suppose to have been the real name of the interesting personage who meets us in the Portuguese annals variously disguised as *Mahamad Anconij*, *Mahomed Arcone*, and *Mahomed Enconim*. It appears that when Da Gama proposed an interview with Ibrāhīm, the latter asked for a safe-conduct. The sequel is thus told by Correa (*l.c.* p. 293): "The king, after sending to ask for the safe-conduct, came to another decision, which was not to go and speak with the captain-major. There was with the king a very rich Moor, and the chief man of the city, named Mahomed Arcone, who entertained thoughts of rising up against the king, and with false intentions he said to the king that he ought to go to the captain-major and not be wanting to his word, because the captain-major would not violate the safe-conduct which he gave him; and the Moor said this because he well understood that the captain-major would not let the king go unless he did what he required of him, during which something might intervene by means of which he might be made king, and he would do all that the captain-major wished." This exactly coincides with the Arabic account of the character and policy of Muḥammad, while the passage in which De Barros describes the meeting between the admiral and Muḥammad, each triumphant in

his own way, throws light upon the alleged earlier intrigues of Muḥammad with João da Nova: "o Almirante folgou muito de o ver, por quão fiel amigo sempre se mostrou aos Capitães que alli foram, The admiral took much pleasure in seeing him, as he had been a faithful friend of the captains who had gone there" (*l.c.* i. 2, p. 32). Muḥammad lived to reap the fruit of his statesmanlike sagacity in his own elevation and the degradation of his country. 'The king' became a vassal of Dom Manuel of Portugal, and eventually in 1505, when "D. Francisco d'Almeyda, first viceroy of Portuguese India, landed a force of 500 men and fired the city, Sultan Ibrāhīm fled, and was duly deposed in favour of one Mohammed Ankoni, who had proved himself a friend to the Europeans: he preferred, however, placing the power in the hands of Micante[1] (?), the only son left by the murdered Sultan Alfudayl (El Fuzayl)" (Burton, "Zanzibar," ii. p. 364).

It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the chronicler or the scribe should fail us just at the critical time; and after all it may be doubted whether the entire suppression of what might sound awkward or disgraceful in the telling, damages the cause of truth in the long run more than the civilized art of misrepresentation to which our political and ecclesiastical historians have accustomed us in the West. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, and a vacuum may be filled with a verity; but lies once produced multiply at such a rate, that—like the vermin in the Greek monastery—if they were all of one tendency, they would cast truth out of house and home.

[1] This 'Micante' is evidently the same as Muḥammad مكّات, whose reign was described in one of our missing chapters.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

الحمد لله حمدا يوافى نعمه و يكافى مزيده يا ربنا لک الحمد كما ينبغى لجلال وجهک وعظيم سلطانک وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد سيد المرسلين وخاتم النبيين وعلى آله وصحبه اجمعين * اما بعد فقد طلب منى السلطان المعظّم ان اصنف له كتابا واذكر له فيه تاريخ الملوک الذين تولّوا فى كلوة فاعتذرت منه لما لى من الهموم الزائدة والقرايح الكادرة * فاخذت فى تاليفه طائعا لما ابداه من احسانه السالف وقياما بحقه الذى تقصر بوصفه فصاحة لسان الواصف وانا ارجوا الله تعالى ان يجعله كتابا تقرّ بمطالعته[1] العيون وتصدق فى انتِتاجه[2] الظنون جمعته فى جميع فريد الفرائد وشوارد المقاصد كالفلک المشحون كما قرا[3] مطالعه دفعه الى حديث الشجون * فابتدات فيه بذكر العقل وادابه وردفت بذلک ذكر التواريخ واسبابها ثم سردتها سردا كافيا ونظمت سلكها نظمًا شافيا فى جميع ما وقع فى زمن الملوک المتقدمين وما جرى على المتاخّرين وسميته كتاب السلوة فى اخبار كلوة وجعلته مشتملا على مقدمة وعشرة ابواب *

واما المقدمة فذكر العقل وآدابه إذْ به الوصول الى معرفة الاشياء وعليه مدارة التكليف الذى قارنه شرائع الانبياء وهو شرط فى ترتيب الثواب والعقاب على الاعمال يوم الجزاء ولولا العقل والفضيلة لعمّ الحكم (3) بالاستواء بين ذوي الدراية والاغبياء * وامّا الابواب فهذه

[1] MS. بمطالعه.
[2] MS. انتياجه.
[3] *Sic.*

الباب الاوّل فى ذكر اوّل واصل الى كلوة واسّسها

الباب الثانى فى ذكر اضطراب الامر على اهل كلوة وولاية المتمندلين

الباب الثالث فى ذكر ولاية ابى المذهب وذكر قصّة ابى المواهب

الباب الرابع فى ذكر ولاية الملك العادل الملقب بمطر الجديد

الباب الخامس فى ذكر رجوع الامر الى بيت ابى المذهب

الباب السادس فى ذكر ولاية الحسن بن الوزير سليمان بن الوزير يارك وفيه قصة الامير محمد كِوَابِ واسباب وفاته

الباب السابع فى ذكر ولاية السلطان الفضيل بن السلطان سليمان وباقية قصة محمد كِوَابِ

الباب الثامن فى ذكر ولاية حاج محمد بن ركن الدين الدابولى وقصة ولاية ولده حاج حسن

الباب التاسع فى ذكر ولاية السلطان محمد مَكَاتُ بن الامير كِوَابِ المذكور وباقية قصة رجوع الامر الى الامير ابراهيم وولاية اخيه الامير سعيد وهو معظم الابواب غير العاشر

الباب العاشر

فى ذكر ولاية الملك العادل السلطان محمد بن السلطان حسين ابن السلطان سليمان بن السلطان محمد الملقب بالمطر الجديد وبه نختم الكتاب ان شآء الله تعالى *

المقدمة فى ذكر العقل وادابه

فاقول والله الموفّق لما يرضاه وايّاه اسال الىّ الاعانة على ما اقصده واتوجّه فى ذكر العقل وما نصّ عليه فى محكم كتابه ومنزل خطابه وقد ضرب الامثال واوضحها وبيّن بدائع مصنوعاته

وشرحها فقال عزّ من قائل وسخّر لكم الليل والنهار والشمس والقمر والنجوم مسخّرات بامره ان فى ذلك لايات لقوم يعقلون * ونقل من صاحب الشريعة النبويّة انه اوّل ما خلق الله تعالى العقل ثم قال له اقبل فاقبل ثم قال له ادبر فادبر فقال العزيز جل جلاله وعزّتى وجلالى ما خلقت خلقا اعزّ منك بك آخُذُ وبك اعطى وبك احاسب واعلم ان العقل ينقسم الى قسمين قسم لا يقبل الزيادة والنقصان وقسم يقبلها واما القسم الاول فهو الذى قسمه الله تعالى بين العقلاء وهو قوّة غريزيّة يتأتى به ادراك المعقولات وهذا القسم هو الذى يناط به تكليف الاحكام ويجرى على صاحبه القلم عند حصوله اما بالسنّ واما باحتلام * واما القسم الثانى فهو العقل التجربى وهو المكتسب وتحصل زيادته بكثرة التجارب اكثر فهمًا وارجح معرفةً ولهذا قيل من بيّضت الحوادث دولته * واختلقت التجارب لباس جدّته وارضعه الدهر من وقائع اخلاف درّته واراه الله تعالى ممارسة تصاريف اقداره واقضيته كان جديرا برزانة العقل ورجاحته فهو فى قومه كالنبى فى امّته وقد يختصّ الله تعالى بالطافه الخفيّة من يشاء من عباده فيفيض عليه (4) من خزائن مواهبه وارتزن عقله وازدادت معرفته زيادة تخرج عن حدّ الاكتساب ويصير بها راجحا على ذوى التجارب والاداب * ويدل على ذلك قصة يحيى عليه وعلى نبيّنا افضل الصلاة والسلام فيما اخبر ذلك فى كتابه القديم حيث قال واتيناه الحكم صبيّا * ويستدل على كمال عقل الرجل بما يوجد منه ويصدر عنه بامور متعدّدة منها ميله الى محاسن الاخلاق واعراضه عن ذى طائل الاعمال ورغبته الى صنائع المعروف وتجنّبه عما يكسب عارًا

ويورث السوء وامتناعه عن الدنايا وصحبة الارذال كما قال الشاعر فى ذم صحبة الارذال فقال

من عاشر الاشراف صار مشرفا ومن عاشر الانذال غير مشرف *
اما ترى الجلد النحسيس مقبّلا بالثغر لما صار جارًا للمصحف *

وقيل لبعض الحكماء بم يعرف الرجل عقله فقال بقلّة سقوطه وكثرة اصابته فقيل له ان كان غائبا فقال باحد ثلاثة اشياء امّا برسوله او بكتابه او بهدايته لان رسوله قائم مقام نفسه وكتابه يصف ما نطق لسانه وهدايته عنوان همّته بقدر ما يكون فيها من نقص فيحكم على صاحبه وقيل من اكبر الاشياء شهادة على عقل الرجل حسن مداراة[1] الناس يشهد لصاحبه بتوفيق الله اياه فانه روى عن النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم انه قال من حُرِمَ مداراة الناس حرم التوفيق ولا تكفى الدلالة على كمال عقل الرجل الاعتزاز بحسن ملبسه وملاحة سيمته وتسريح لحيته ونظافة بدنه اذ كم من كنيفٍ مبيّضٍ وبعرٍ مفضّضٍ وقد يكون الرجل مرسوما بالعقل مرموقا بعين[2] الفضل ويصدر عنه حالة تكشف حقيقة حاله وتشهد[3] عليه بقلة عقله واختلاله وتستحيل[4] فى دعواه العقل بتمويهه كما ذكر فى حكاية العقد الفريد للملك السعيد عن ابى علىّ بن القاضى التنوخى عن عضد الدولة بن بويه انه كان قد تقدّم فى دولته ابو القاسم عبد العزيز بن يوسف واعتمدوا فى كمال عقله ورزانة نبله ورجحان فضله فناط ازمّة عقده وحلّه واعتمدوا عليه فى امر ملكه كلّه وكان اتّفاق الحاشية فتغطّى عورته وتستّره والسن الخدم والاتباع لعضد الدولة تمدحه وتشكره وجماعة من عظماء

[1] MS. مدارات.
[2] MS. بغير.
[3] MS. يشهد.
[4] MS. يستحيل.

الدولة تعرض عنه فلا تذكره لعلمهم بخساسة عقله وقلّة نبله وانما الحظ بستره فى ذلك كما قيل فى ذلك الحظ يكسى المرء ثوب غيره وهو يتحجج بدعوى العقل وهو اجهل من باقل ويتحلّى بحسن التدبير وهو عن المعرفة عاطل يظهر الاستطالة على فضلاء الاماثيل وهو خال عن الفضائل واستمرّ ذلك برهة من الدهر الى ان اتاه القدر المحتوم والقضآء المعلوم ان سافر عضد الدولة من العراق الى الهمدان فتبعه ابو محمد البجرينارىّ يطلب خدمته وكان ذا راية وفضل ورزانة نبل فلما راه ابو القاسم عبد العزيز انه (5) قد خرج فى جملة من الجماعة خشى من تقدّمه عند عضد الدولة فتفضح ستوره وتقبح اموره فحسّن عبد العزيز لعضد الدولة ردّ محمد البجرينارىّ من الطريق وابعاده عن صحبة عضد الدولة وان يجرى عليه بشىء من الرزق بالبصرة ويقيم بها وقال ابو على القاضى التنوخى كنت بين يدى عضد الدولة وقد قال لابى بكر بن ساهويه وهو من اصحاب ابى القاسم عبد العزيز تمضى الى ابى محمد البجرينارىّ وتقول له يمضى الى البصرة ونحن نجرى له معيشته ويرزق منها فقد طال تبعه لنا وتبعه معنا وقد تبرّأنا به وليس له فى حضرتنا ما يحبه وسلامة له فى بعده عنا افضل وصاحبه ابو القاسم عبد العزيز قد استصحب جماعة كثيرة فى بعض غنية عن امثالك فانصرف عنّا واثقا ما نرتّبه لك ان شآء الله تعالى ثم ان عضد الدولة سيّر من خواصه شخصا مع ابى بكر ليشهد بقوله ويسمع ما يجاوبه ابو محمد حيث لا يكتم ابو بكر شيا من الجواب لكونه من اصحاب ابى القاسم فلما حضر عند ابى محمد قال له ابو بكر صورة ما قال له عند عضد الدولة جميعه فلما سمع ابو محمد البجرينارى ذلك قال الامر للملك والامتثال لامره ولا خلاف له السمع والطاعة لامره لعمرى ان

الناس بسعدهم ينالون وبحظوظهم يستديمون اقسامهم ولو انا تقدّمت عليه ونفقت عنده ما كان عجبًا وقد نال منه وتقدّم من هو اقلّ عقلاً ولكن المقادير غالبة وليس للانسان ما هو مقدّر عليه متقدّم ولا متاخّر وقد قيل من غالب الاقدار غَلَبه ولكن ايها الرجل ان لى اليك حاجة احبّ ان يبلغها الملك علىّ وهى كلمة فيها نصيحة وشفاء لما فى الصدور * فقال ابو بكر بن ساهويه قل ما شئت فانى ابلغها الملك فقال تقول له انا سائر الى ما امرت ومتوجّه الى بصرة لامتثال ما رسمت ولكن بعد ان يقضى لى وطرا فى نفسى وفيه شهرة لعظمتك وتنبيه على انك لا تخدع فى ملكك ولا يلبّس لديك محقّ بمبطل[1] وعاقل بجاهل ومسئ بمحسن ويقظان[2] بنائم وجوّاد بباخل وهو ان يقام عبد العزيز المكنّى بابى القاسم بين الاثنين على رؤس الاشهاد ينتقمان منه انتقاما بالغًا ويقال له اذًا لم يبذل جاهك لملتهف ولا فرج لمكروب ولا عطاء لسائل ولا جائزة لشاعر ولا مرعى لمنتجع ولا ماوى لضيف ولا ذبّ عن عرض مخدومك ولا استجلاب لثمار الا لسنة فلم الزمت الناس ان يخاطبوك بسيدنا وتمدّ يدك ليقبلها الراحلون ويقوم لك عظماء المملكة عند دخولك عليهم * ثم انّ ابا محمد قام وركب وعاد الى البصرة فقال ابو بكر بن ساهويه فعدت الى عضد الدولة فلما حضرت بين يديه وابو القاسم عنده سكتّ فقال لى عضد الدولة هات الجواب الذى ذكره ابو محمد فاستحييت من ابى القاسم ان اذكره فقلت سمعت الملك من المشرف المنقّذ معى فقال لى قل فانت كنت الرسول فاذكر الحديث على صورته (6) فو الله ان تركت كلمة منه واحدة لم تبلق خيرا فما امكننى

[1] MS. بمبطل.
[2] MS. بيقضان.

الا ان سردت كلام ابى محمد كما قال له ولم اترك شيًا وابو القاسم يتّقد فى لهابه ويتمزق فى جلده ويتغيّر فى وجهه ويتلوّن الوانا عند كل كلمة فاقبل عليه عضد الدولة وقال له كيف ترى يا عبد العزيز لا جزاك الله خيرا الآن علمت انك لا تعتمد حالة ترضى الله تعالى ولا تبتنى مكرمة ولا تحفظ مروّة ولا تحرس امانة ولا تخرج فكرك عنك ولا همّتك الا فى مال تجتذ به اقطاعا لنفسك وتجعلنى بابا من ابواب معاشيك وجهة من جهات ارباحك وتبعد من ينفعنى وتقرّب من ينفعك فمذهبك معروف وسيرتك مشهورة وذلك لشرهك فى جميع احوالك واذاك لمن يقصد ابو انبا ولكن لكل اجل كتاب * ثم انه امر باخراجه فاخرج فظهر سوء فعله بقلّة عقله وتقبّح قصده بضعف رايه وفى امثال هذه من الوقائع الشاهدة لاربابها باختلاف الدراية وقلة العقل كثيرة وانما خوف الاكثار اوجب الاختصار وفى هذا المقدار بلاغ مقنع فى حصول البغية المقتدى به وظهور علوّ رتبة العقل وفضيلة صاحبه وحيث ظهرت فضيلة العقل من اثبات ما تقرب فى بابه ان الله تعالى به ياخذ وبه يعطى وانه مناط التكليف فليردف بعده ببيان ما نحن بصدده من ذكر التاريخ والله اعلم *

الباب الاول فى ذكر اوّل من وصل كلوة واسّسها من ملوك فارس من بلاد شيراز

ذكر اهل التواريخ فنيما زعموا ان اول من وصل الى كلوة وصلت سفينة فيها اناس يزعمون انهم من بلاد شيراز من بلاد العجم وقيل انهم كانوا سبعة مراكب فواحد دخل فى بلاد مندخه والثانى دخل فى بلاد شَوعُ والثالث دخل فى بلاد ينبع والرابع دخل بلاد منفسة والخامس دخل بلاد الجزيرة الخضرا والسادس

دخل بلاد كلوة والسابع دخل بلاد هنزوان فذكروا انّ جميع اهل المراكب الستة اخوة وصاحب المركب الذى دخل هنزوان هو ابوهم والله اعلم * قلت بلغنى ممن اثق به ممن يتتبع التواريخ انه كان سبب خروج هولاء القوم من بلادهم بلاد شيراز من بلاد الفرس انّ سلطانهم المسمّى بحسن بن علىّ وهو ابوهم وكان اولاده ستة وهو السابع قيل انه راى يوما من الايام فارة خرطومها من حديد وهى تقرض الجدران بخرطومها فتفاول بذلك خراب بلادهم فلما حقّق ظنّه بتفاوله اخبر اولاده بما راى ثم تحقّق لهم ان بلدهم ستخرب بلا محالة ثم شاورهم فى ذلك فقالوا جميعا الامر الى الله تعالى ورسوله ثم اليك فقال لهم ابوهم انّى ارى من راى الانتقال من هذا البلد الى بلد آخر وقالت اولاده كيف يمكننا الانتقال وهل الوزراء والامراء واهل الحلّ والعقد يقبلونا عن الانتقال اذ ينحلّ عُرَى ملكهم بذلك فقال لهم اتحيّل بحيلة حتى يتّجه لنا الانتقال وهو انى ساجمعكم مع جميع الامراء والوزراء واهل الحلّ والعقد غداً ثم قال لاكبر اولاده انى ساغلّظ عليك الكلام بحضرة الجميع فاذا فحشت عليك بالكلام اظهر الغضب لذلك (7) واسط علىّ بلطمة واحدة فانى ساغضب لذلك واطلب الانتقال لاجل ذلك فسوف يكون ذلك ان شاء الله تعالى * فلما كان من الغد احضر جميع اولاده مع كافة الامراء والوزراء واهل الحلّ والعقد فتفاوضوا فيما بينهم من الحديث فافحش على ولده الكلام فقام الولد ولطم اباه بحضرة الناس فغضب الاب فقال لا اسكن فى بلد اصابنى بمثل هذا الضيم فقالت بقيّة اولاده وجميع الجماعة نحن ننتقم لك من ولدك ونقتله فقال لا يرضينى بذلك فقالوا له فما يرضيك فقال ما ارضى الّا الانتقال من هذه البلدة فاتفقوا

الجميع على الانتقال مع سلطانهم فتجهّز السلطان مع اهل بيته وبعض امرائه ووزرائه وبعض رعيّته فتوجهوا من طريق البر الى بعض البنادر وركبوا فى سبع مراكب وسافروا متوجهين الى الله تعالى فرمى الله بهم الى ارض السواحل فتفرقت المراكب ودخل كل مركب فى بلاد التى ذكرناها وهذا القول اقوى دليلا على انهم كانوا ملوكا فى بلدهم وردّ على من انكر ذلك والله اعلم * فلما وصل اهل المركب الذى دخل كلوة وجدوها جزيرة محيطا بها البحر ولكنها متصلة بالبر فحين يهبط البحر يمشى الناس بارجلهم الى البرّ فنزلوا فيها فوجدوا رجلاً من المسلمين مع من تبعه من عياله واولاده قيل هو مُرِرِوَبَر ومسجدا واحدا قيل هو المسجد الذى هو مقبور فيه وهو مسجد كِبَلَ فاستخبره بخبر البلاد فقال ان هذه الجزيرة مستول عليها رجل من الكفرة المُلِ مالك لها وهو يعبر الى المُلِ بالاصطياد ويصل الى قريب فلما كان بعد ايّام وصل الكافر من المُلِ وتعبّر الى الجزيرة[1] عند غربى البحر فواجهوا هو والواصل وكان المسلم المذكور ترجمانا فيما بينهم فقال الواصل ان هذه الجزيرة اعجبتنى للسكنى فيها وقصدى تبيعها لى حتى اسكنها فقال الكافر انا ابيعها لك بشرط ان تدير البلاد كلها بثياب ملوّنة فقبل الواصل منه واشتراها بذلك الشرط وادار الجزيرة كلها بثياب بيض وسود ومن كل لون فقبل الكافر واخذ جميع الثياب وسلّم اليه الجزيرة وعزم الكافر الى المُلِ ولكنّه مضم فى نفسه الرجوع بالعساكر ليقتل الواصل ومن معه وينهب اموالهم فقال لهم ذلك المسلم تنبيها للواصل ان هذا يحب هذه الجزيرة ولا بدّ له من الرجوع اليكم ينهب اموالكم ويقتلكم وانتم دبّروا لانفسكم الحيلة فى السلامة منه فعند ذلك عمدوا الى العزيمة

[1] MS. الجزيره.

ودفنوا فى الخور الذى يتعبّرون منه فامتدّ الماء ولم يخرر ابدا فبعد ايام رجع الكافر الى بندره الذى يتعبّرون منه فعند ذلك راى البحر ممتدّا فانتظروا نقصان الماء على مجارى عادته حتى يتعبّرون الى الجزيرة فتمادى به الامتلاء ولم ينقص ابدا فايس من الجزيرة وندم على فعله ورجع الى بلده نادما خاسرا * واول من ملك البلاد السلطان على بن الحسين بن على الملقّب إِغَوْمِيٌّ وذلك فى اوساط القرن الثالث من الهجرة النبويّة (8) على مهاجرها افضل الصلاة والسلام تولى كلوة ثم خرج الى منفسيّة فاعجبته جزيرتها فولى فيها ولده محمد بن على الملقب مُكُمَ وَاتْ وكانت مدّة ولايته سنتين ونصفا ثم مات ثم تولى اخوه الثالث بَسْحَتِ بن علّى فهو اوّل ملوك منفسة استقلالا بعد ابيه وكانت مدة ولايته اربع سنين ونصف ثم مات وامّا الواصل تولى كلوة اربعين سنة ثم مات وتولى بعده على بن بَسْحَتِ بن على اربع سنين ونصف وتولى على اعمامه سليمان بن على والحسن ابن على وداود بن على فلما مات وتولى بعده داود بن على سنتين ثم خرج الى منفسة لزيادة قبر ابيه فاعجبته منفسة فاقام بها واعطى ولاية كلوة لولده على بن داود بن على بن الحسين الى هنا انهتى اسباط الواصل والله اعلم *

الباب الثانى فى ذكر اضطراب الامر على اهل كلوة مع المتمندلين

وهم اهل شاغ حاربوا اهل كلوة حربا شديدا حتى غلبوهم على البلاد فملكوها فولّوا رجلا منهم اسمه خالد بن بكر فلما مضى عليه سنتان ونصف اجتمع اهل كلوة على عزله وقلعه من البلاد فاخرجوه من غير ان يغيّروا عليه شيئا غير اخراجه من كلوة الى بلده فتولّى الحسن بن

سليمان بن على الواصل اثنتى عشرة سنة ثم كرّ عليهم المتمندلين كرّة اخرى فغلبوهم على البلاد وجعلوا فيها اميرا يسمّى محمد بن الحسين المنذرى فمكث فيها اثنتى عشر سنة وهم يخطبون للمتمندلين وذلك بعد ان هرب السلطان حسن الى بلاد زنجبار ثم اجتمع اهل كلوة على عزل المتمندلين فاتفقوا على راى واحد بان لا يخرج الامر من بنينا ولكن نقيم اولادنا الصبيان الذين هم فى المعاملة فاجمعوهم وقالوا لهم اترضون عزل ملككم فقالوا جميعًا لا يرضينا ذلك فقالوا لهم اجتمعوا على مبايعة ولد ملككم فاجتمعوا الف صبىّ من المعاملة وبايعوا ولد السلطان ثم خرجوا الى بيت الامير فلزموه وقيّدوه ثم ارسلوا الصبيان مع ملكهم الى والده المعزول الذى هرب الى زنجبار بان يصل ويسلم البلاد فوصل من زنجبار فى ستة جلائب من طريق البحر فلما وصل الى كلوة فتح الامير نفسه ونزل الى ساحل لملاقاة السلطان وردّه فقتله الصبيان فتسلم البلاد فتولى مدّة اربعة عشر سنة ثم مات فتولى بعده الحسن بن داود بن على الواصل وهو ابن سبعين سنة واقام فى ملكه سبعين سنة اخرى *

الباب الثالث فى ذكر ولاية ابى المواهب وذكر قصة ابى المواهب على الاختصار

ثم انتقل الملك منهم الى بيت ابى المواهب والذى ولّى الامر منهم الحسن بن طالوت المشهور بالراى والشجاعة اخذ الملك بالغلبة مع وجود اهله ولكنّهم ضعفوا عن الامر فاستبدّ بنفسه واخذ المملكة قهرًا وقسرًا وكانت مدّة ولايته ثمانية عشر سنة ثم مات فتولّى بعده ابو المواهب الحسن بن سليمان المطعون بن حسن بن طالوت (9) المهدلى وقصة ولايته على الاختصار وهو انّه كان عزم الى مكّة

فى زمان والده المطعون وهو اذذاك عمره اربعة عشر سنة وتوّه فى عدن سنتين لاجل تعلّم العلم الروحانىّ فتبحّر فيه غاية وكان عالما فاضلا فتبحّر فى كل معلوم وكان موصوفا بالكرم والشجاعة وله حكايات كثيرة مشهورة ثم سافر من عدن الى مكة وعمره اذذاك ستة عشر سنة لم اعلم حاله وما هو منطوى عليه ولكنّنى ساستخبر حاله *****
ثم انها اخفت ولدها وابا المواهب تحت ستر بحيث يسمع كلام اخيه اذا حضر فارسلت الى ولدها داود وطلبت منه الحضور فلما حضر قالت له كيف الحال اذا وصل اخوك من الحجاز وهذا اوان وصوله فما الشور اذا وصل اخوك من الحجاز فقال داود لا شقاق بيننا اذا وصل بل البلاد بلاده وانا له طائع ونائب عنه حين يصل ان شآء الله تعالى فتوثقت واخذت منه العهود والمواثيق فى ذلك فلما استوثقت منه كشفت الستر وقالت ابرز لاخيك فخرج اليه وقام داود قائما وسلم اليه تحيّة الخلافة ثم سلم اليه البلاد فشكر اليه ذلك ثم قال تقيم فى امرك وانا ارجع الى السفينة وارجع اليكم غدا فلما اصبح دخل بالهيئة السلطانيّه فسلم اليه اخوه البلد من غير اكراه ولا اجبار فلما استقرّ له الامر اخذ ثار ابيه من اهل منفسة فحاربهم وغلبهم على البلاد وهو اوّل من ملك منفسة استقلالاً الى زماننا هذا والله اعلم وفى مدّة ولايته انهدم جامع كلوة جميعه حتى لم يبق الا القبّة المشهورة التى كان يصلّى فيها فمكث الجامع منهدماً والناس يصلون تحت ظلال الخصف والخيام الى زمن السلطان سليمان بن الملك العادل الملقب بالمطر الجديد كما سياتى ذكر بيانه ان شاء الله تعالى وقصصه كثيرة مشهورة ولكنّا اختصرناها خوف التطويل وكانت مدّة ولايته اربعة عشر سنة ثم مات فتولّى بعده اخوه داود المذكور وهو الملك الزاهد التقىّ

صاحب البراهين فى زمانه وكانت مدّة ولايته اربعة وعشرين يوما ثم عزل منه الولاية الحسين بن سليمان المطعون فتولى بعده ست سنين ونصف سنة ثم خرج الى قتال كفرة المُلِ وجاهد فى سبيل الله واستشهد ومات شهيدا ثم تولّى بعده طالوت بن الحسين وكانت مدّة ولايته المعزول[1] سنتين واربعة اشهر واربعة عشر يوما ثم سافر الى مكة واستناب ولده الحسين ابن سليمان الملقّب اَشَزفكِي فلما وصل الى قرب منفسة مات ودفن فى قرية تُوأَكَ فى تربة الفقيه داود صاحب المنارة والفقيه عيسى بن تميم فتولى بعده ولده ونائبه الحسين بن سليمان المذكور ثم بعد ايام قليلة سافر الى مكة ايضا فحجّ واعتم وزار المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم ورجع الى بلده سالما فمكث فى ولايته ثلاثا وعشرين سنة ثم مات وانتقل الى رحمة الله تعالى ولم يذكر لنا عند سفره الى مكة نائبا والله اعلم *

الباب الرابع فى ذكر ولاية الملك العادل الملقّب بالمطر الجديد

وهو (10) السلطان الملك العادل محمد بن سليمان بن الحسين ثم سَبْحَتْ فلما تولى الامارة واقبلت اليه الدنيا وانقادت له عظماء الدولة فمكث السلطان محمد ابن سليمان فى الملك اثنين وعشرين سنة ثم توفى الى رحمة الله تعالى والوزير سليمان والامير محمد بن سليمان بَقِيَا بعده معا * فصل ذكر اهل التواريخ ان فى زمن السلطان سليمان بن الملك العادل بُنِى الجامع الذى كان انهدم فى زمن ابى المواهب فسبب بنائه ان السيّد حاج روش بن السلطان حسين الملقّب

[1] *Sic.*

اشَرَفِكِى استاذن السلطان سليمان فى بنائه فلم يأذن له فى البناء بل انه اعطى الف مثقال من ذهب للمستاذن فقال له ابن الجامع بهذا المال فنظر السيّد حاج روش فى نفسه وقال ان امتنعت على اخذ المال منعنى عن البناء بل انى اخذ المال وابنى المسجد بمالى فاخذ منه المال وبنى المسجد بماله حتى انتهى فى بنائه فلما توفى السلطان سليمان ردّ المال الى ورثته قيل كان من جملة اتفاق الله تعالى حين بنى المسجد المذكور تحيّر فى اخشاب يجعلها اعمدة للجامع لانه كانت اعمدته اوّلا من الحجارة المنحوتة[1] فعجزت العمال ان يركّبوها كما كانت فتحيّروا عند ذلك وتعذّر البناء لاجل ذلك فارسل الله تعالى خشبة طويلة حجبت فى السِيف وكانت على طوله فعلم الناس ان ذلك توفيق من الله تعالى وكانت تلك الخشبة اصلاً وفرعاً فجعلوا من الاصل اسطوانات المقدّم وهى سبعة اعمدة ومن الفروع رواكب وحمائل فى المقدّم والجناحين واما المؤخّر فجعلوها قباب تبعوا فيها قبّة ابى المواهب المذكور قلت لقد رايت من راى تلك الخشبة على صفتها المذكورة وهو السلطان محمد بن السلطان حسين بن السلطان سليمان هو الذى امر ببناء المسجد المذكور والسلطان محمد هو الذى امر بتاليف هذا التاريخ والله اعلم * فلما توفى السلطان سليمان بن الملك العادل وبه انتهت دولته الى ماجدٍ متساويين ابًا وامًّا واراد الامير محمد المذكور اخراج السلطنة من اولاد السلطان وهو ابو السلطان محمد بن الحسين واعمامه فترجح الامير والوزير واهل الحلّ والعقد فى ابائهم ان يولوا السلطان اسماعيل بن السلطان حسين بن السلطان سليمان[2]

[1] MS. المنحونة.
[2] MS. بن سليمان.

ووزيره الوزير سليمان واميره الامير محمد المذكور وكانت مدّة ولايته ثلاثة عشر سنة ثم مات *

فصل فلما توفى السلطان اسماعيل قام مولانا سعيد بن السلطان حسن الآتى ذكره منازعا فى الملك فلم يكن له منه طائل بل انه ترجّح له ان يخرج من البلد مهاجرًا الى زنجبار لطلب النصرة من سلطانهم فلما وصل زنجبار وجد السلطان فيها السلطان حسن بن السلطان ابى بكر فطلب منه النصرة على كلوة فواعده بذلك ثم تزوّج امّ السلطان حسن المذكور وفى البلاد (11) امير يسمّى زبير فتجهزوا فى السفر الى كلوة لنصرة السيّد سعيد فبلغ ذلك اهل كلوة فارسل الامير محمد المذكور الى الامير زبير مائة مثقال من الذهب وقال له ارسل اليك السلطان اسماعيل هذا المال ليكون مساعدة فى تبطيل محاربتكم اياه فاستخانوا من ذلك وانحلّت امورهم وتركوا الحرب ثم ان السيّد سعيد وصل الى كلوة فى اربع جلائب وقد اهدر السلطان اسماعيل دمه وبذل جزيل الهبات لمن ياتى براسه فلما وصل الى كلوة نزل الى بيت القاضى محمد ليستجير به وقد نزل مستخفيًا فسمع القاضى يقول لولده سليمان احذر ان يفوتك راسه اى راس سعيد فلما سمع ذلك خرج مختفيا وقصد الى تربة موذن لغُوُجُ فتجاور به فارتجّت البلاد لسببه ثم انّ السلطان امر بنهب جميع امواله واضمروا قتله فلما راى اهل البلد ذلك حصل عندهم الاهتمام فيه فعند ذلك خرج اليه السيّد حسن بن السلطان سليمان وهو عمّ السلطان محمد بن الحسين المذكور فاجاره ثم دخل به على السلطان اسماعيل فعفى عنه ثم انه لزم بيته اربع سنين مختفيا حتى مات السلطان اسماعيل فتولى بعده السلطان محمد الآتى ذكره *

فلما مات اسماعيل تشاورا الوزير سليمان والامير محمد فيمن يولّوه السلطنة فقال الوزير سليمان اما الآن ما تصلح السلطنة الا لاحد الرجلين امّا انا وامّا انت وذلك بعد ان راى الوزير سليمان ميل الناس الى الامير محمد بن سليمان فقام الوزير سليمان وبايع الامير محمد بالسلطنة حيث انه اقوى واكثر مالا فاستبدّ الامير محمد بالسلطنة حيث لا هى عادة بانّ الامارة لا يتولى الملك الا هذا الرجل وذلك ضعيف الملوك وقلّة المال وقصد مضادة اولاد السلطان كما ذكرنا فكانت مدّة ولايته سنة ثم مات الوزير سليمان قبله بايام قليلة واعطى الوزارة للسيّد سعيد المذكور ثم مات السلطان محمد المذكور والله اعلم *

الباب الخامس فى ذكر رجوع الامر الى بيت ابى المذهب

فلما مات السلطان محمد تولى السلطان احمد بن سليمان واعطى الوزارة للوزير سعيد والامارة للامير سليمان بن السلطان محمد المظلوم وقد كان اميرا فى زمان ابيه وكانت ولايته سنة كاملة ثم مات فتولّى بعده السلطان حسن بن اسماعيل والوزير سعيد والامير سليمان وكانت مدّة ولايته عشر سنين *

فصل وفى مدة ولاية السلطان سعيد وصل الملك مسعود بن الملك المؤيّد الغسانى سلطان عدن المحروس ولكنه مخلوع منها اى من السلطنة خلعه السلطان على بن طاهر وهو قائم من جبن المحروس وسبب قيامه (12) انه حصل عليه الضيم والجور من الملك المؤيّد ابى الملك مسعود وكان علىّ بن طاهر شيخ القبيلة فى بلاده جبن فلما حصل عليه الظلم والضيم هاجر من بلده الى مكة المشرفة حاجّا ومهاجرا وصحبه الشريف على بن سفيان من اهل الطيبات حصل عليه من

الضيم مثل ما حصل على[1] علىّ بن طاهر فلما وصلوا الى مكة المشرفة وحجّوا واعتمروا وقضوا جميع المناسك عزموا الى المدينة الشريفة لزيارة قبر المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم مع الطواشية فطلبوا منهم[2] الخدمة معهم فرضوا بذلك وشاركوهم فى الخدمة فمكثوا يخدمون الضريح النبوىّ مدّة فلما اراد الله تعالى بالذى اراد لعلىّ ابن طاهر راى فى المنام كان النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول له قم يا علىّ لتقبض اليمن فانتبه من نومه وذكر لصاحبه ذلك وساله هل رايت مثلى فقال لا ثم ليلة ثانية وليلة الثالث كذلك وقال[3] على ابن طاهر للشريف على بن سفيان هذه الاشارة لك لكونك سبطه فقال ابن سفيان بل انت خصصت بذلك فلم يزالوا يتنازعون فيما بينهما حتى تراضوا واتفقوا على انهم يتعاهدون فيما بينهم وتحالفوا عند ضريح المصطفى بان يتوجهوا الى اليمن وكل من اعطاه الله التولية يكون الاخر وزيره الى ان تنقضى الدولة المشار اليها فتعاهدوا وتحالفوا على ذلك ثم توجهوا الى اليمن فلما وصلوا وجدوا الملك المؤيّد قد مات وقد تولى الامر بعده ولده الملك مسعود المذكور ولكنّه قد انحلت عرى مملكته وقد خالفه معظم الجهات وهو حينئذ فى عدن المحروس فلما وصل علىّ بن طاهر وابو سفيان اجمع الناس على علىّ بن طاهر وبايعوه بالخلافة وخلعوا مسعود من عهد الولاية فارسل علىّ بن طاهر اخاه عامر بن طاهر الى عدن المحروس بجيش عرمرم فلما راى مسعود ذلك اغلق ابواب المدينة على نفسه وتحصّن فى البلد لمحاربة عامر بن طاهر فعند ذلك ارسل عامر بن طاهر لاهل الحصن فبايعوه ثم ان صاحب

[1] MS. omits على.
[2] MS. منه منهم.
[3] MS. omits و.

حصين التعكر[1] وهو مشرف على باب الحديد وهو الباب الذى تخرج فيه الى البرّ دَلّى الى عامر ثيابا موصولة فربط نفسه وطلّعوه الى الحصن ثم نصر صاحب التعكر[1] لعلى بن طاهر واخيه فلما سمع اهل الحصن نصروا لعلىّ بن طاهر وعامر بن طاهر فعند ما سمع مسعود ذلك تحقق العيب من اهل البلاد فخرج من البلد هاربا الى زيلع ثم عزم الى بلاد المهزت فبلغته ولاية السلطان سعيد فى كلوة فعزم اليه لانه قد اصطحب هو واياه فى عدن حين حجّ السلطان سعيد مع ابيه السلطان حسن بن السلطان سليمان اصطحبوا من ذلك الزمان وكانت المعرفة بينهما من ذلك اليوم فلما سمع بولايته عزم اليه لتجديد الصحبة والمحبة وهى عادة الملوك اذا جرى عليه القضا بمثل هذا يلتجى ابواب الملوك اما لطلب النصرة او الرفدة فلما وصل الى كلوة وجد السلطان سعيد متوليا بكلوة فجلّله واحترمه (13) واكرمه غاية الاكرام واعطاه مالا جزيلا ثم سافر الى بلاد المهزت ثم وصل ايضا مرّة ثانية فى زمن السلطان سليمان بن السلطان محمد المظلوم فلم يحصل له التكرمة كما حصل له اوّلا فقال له اكابر كلوة انا نسال منك ان لا تصل الينا مرّة اخرى لان البلاد قد تغيّرت والناس قد ضعفوا فلا تصل الينا لتفضحنا وتفضح نفسك فعزم الى الهند وسكن فيه ونسل وامّا علىّ بن طاهر تولى الملك باليمن جميعه وملك البلاد وقهر العباد بولاية رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فراعى لعلىّ بن سفيان العهود التى تعاهدوا بها الى ان قضت[2] دولتهما فى اشهر متقارب نسله مع نسله وقد شاهدنا بذلك فلما مات السلطان سعيد تضعضع الامر على سلطنته فاستبدّ الامير سليمان وتولى السلطنة واعطى الامارة لاخيه المذكور الامير محمد وكانت مدّة ولاية السلطان

[1] MS. التكر.
[2] *Sic.*

سليمان سنة ونصف ثم بعده السلطان عبد الله بن الخطيب حسن ووزيره حسن بن سليمان واميره الامير محمد كِوَابِ وكانت مدّة ولايته سنة ونصف ثم تولّى بعده اخوه علىّ بن الخطيب حسن ووزيره الحسن بن سليمان واميره المذكور ومدة ولايته سنة ونسف *

الباب السادس فى ذكر ولاية الحسن بن الوزير سليمان بن الملك العادل بن الوزير يارك وفيه قصّة الوزير محمد كِوَابِ المذكور بن السلطان المظلوم

ثم انتقل الامر الى بطن الوزراء فتولى الوزير[1] حسن بن الوزير سليمان بن الوزير يارك ولّاه الامير محمد كِوَابِ المذكور لغرض كان له وهى مضادّة اهل السلطنة فمكث الحسن ست سنين ثم خلعه الامير محمد المذكور وانقطعت الوزارة بولايته فولّا[2] بعده السلطان سبحت بن الملك العادل وكان مدّة ولايته سنة ثم مات فرجع الامر الى الحسن المعزول وولّاه الامير محمد المذكور لغرضه المتقدم *

ذكره فمكث خمس سنين وفى زمانه حصل اضطراب على اهل البلد فسافر الخطيب سبحت والمقدم سليمان واخوه وولده والمحتسب والسيّد زبير بن سيد روش فسافروا جميعا وهاجروا الى مكة المشرفة فوصلوا الى مكّة وحجّوا واعتمروا وزاروا المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم فلما قضوا مناسكهم استخاروا الله تعالى فى الرجوع الى بلدهم فقالوا اللهمّ ان كنت تعلم ان رجوعنا الى بلدنا خير فسهّله لنا وان كان غير ذلك فانت تعرف بالمصلحة فقبل الله دعاءهم ومات المقدم سليمان بمكّة واخوه بكمران والمحتسب فى

[1] MS. امير الوزير.
[2] MS. فولاه.

بعض البلاد والخطيب بعدن فلم يرجع الى كلوة غير سيد روش وولده المتقدم ثم عزله الامير محمد ثانياً فولى السلطان ابراهيم بن الملك العادل فمكث خمس سنين ففى اثناء مدّة ولايته اراد حسن المعزول التولية فلم يمكنه الامير محمد ذلك بحيث انه من بيت وزارة والمتولى من اولاد الملوك فلما راى الحسن (14) امتناع الامير واهل البلد عن التولية وصارت فى البلد فتنة عظيمة وكان بينهم حرب وقتال من الفئتين ومات منهم خلق كثير فكانت الدائرة على الحسن المعزول فخرج من البلد هاربا الى بلاد كليه فمكث فيها ثلاث سنين ثم ان الامير محمد خلع السلطان ابراهيم واسند لنفسه السلطنة وتولى فركب المظلة ووقف الناس بين يديه وخطب له ثلث جمع ولم يعرف له امير ثم عزل نفسه وولى السلطان فضيل بن السلطان سليمان كما سياتى ذكره ان شآء الله تعالى *

الباب السابع فى ذكر ولاية السلطان فضيل بن السلطان سليمان بن الملك العادل وهو عمّ السلطان محمد بن الحسين المذكور وبقيّة قصّة الامير كِوَابِ والامير ابراهيم المشهور وبقيّة قصّة الامير حسن واخبار وصول الافرنج الى كلوة

فلما عزل الامير محمد نفسه وولى السلطان فضيل بن سليمان وكانت ولايته اول سنة الجمعة سنة واحد بعد تسعمائة من الهجرة النبويّة على صاحبها افضل الصلوة والسلام فلما سمع الحسن المعزول بولاية فضيل تجهّزوا بالكليّة لمحاربة كلوة فوصل الى مغم غوب وعند وصوله وصل ولد سلطان زنجبار كِمَمَ على وصل من قِبَل اخيه صاحب زنجبار رسولا الى فضيل والامير محمد كِوَابِ لطلب

الصلح بينهم وبين الحسن المعزول ليردّ الامر اليه فوصل الرسول الى كلوة وحضر بين يدى فضيل والامير محمد وبلغ الرسالة التى من عند اخيه وفاوضهم فى امر الصلح بان يردّوا الامر الى الحسن المعزول فاجاب الامير محمد كِوَابِ وكافة اهل كلوة ان هذا المتولى الآن بكلوة من اولاد الملوك وهذا المنازع من ابناء الوزراء فكيف نعزل هذا ونولى ذاك وهذا شىء لا يمكن ابدا وانما نحن وليناه اوّلا لغرض لنا فقد زال ولكن نحن نقبل صلحكم بان يدخل البلد ويكون كاحد رعايا السلطان واما غير هذا فلا نقبل ثم انهم قالوا للرسول تمضى اليه وتعرّفه بهذا الامر فان رضى به فليصل والاّ فلا يصل الينا ابدا فمضى الرسول اليه ليعلمه الخبر فمكث بعد ذلك اياما قليلة ففى اثناء اقامته قبل وصوله الى كلوة لردّ الجواب مات الامير محمد كِوَابِ المذكور وكان موته سنت السبت وقدر للفضيل ولايته لان اوّل فتنة الحسن المخلوع كانت مدة السلطان ابراهيم والامير محمد كِوَابِ ووسط الفتنة فى زمن الفضيل والامير محمد وآخرها فى زمن الفضيل والامير ابراهيم وكانت مدّة امارة[1] محمد كِوَابِ خمسة عشر سنة فلما مات الامير محمد كواب تولى الامر بعده ابن اخيه الامير ابراهيم بن السلطان سليمان بن السلطان محمد المظلوم الذى عليه وعلى الفضيل قامت فتنة الافرنج المخاذيل خذلهم الله فلما بلغ رسول زنجبار بموت الامير محمد رجع الرسول الى زنجبار ليعلم اخاه موت الامير محمد فعند ذلك تجهّز الحسن المعزول الى كلوة بجنود كثيرة من المسلمين والكفرة وهو يظن انه لا ينازعه احد بعد موت الامير محمد كِوَابِ فسافر من بلاد مغم غوب (15) حتى وصل الى موضع يسمّى كِسِبِ فلما نظر اهل كلوة انهم

[1] MS. امرية.

وصلوا الى ذلک المکان ارسل الفضیل والامیر ابراهیم جماعة من العلماء والفقراء والمشایخ واکابر البلد لیسالوه عن سبب وصوله لانه خرج من البلد محاربا لاهلها فوصلوا الیه وسالوه عن ذلک فاجابهم ان وصولی الی هذا المکان لاجل طلب الولایة لکون لا مستحق لها غیری ولا یجوز لاحد یتولّی علیّ فی حیاتی وانما منعنی الامیر محمد عنها لاجل المضادّة بیننا والآن قولوا للامیر ابراهیم وکافة اهل کلوة انهم یسلّمون الیّ آلة الملوک ویخطبون لی حتی ندخل البلاد فوصلوا بالجواب الیهم فاجابوا باجمعهم الجواب الاوّل الذی اجابه الامیر محمد المذکور فلما سمع هذا الجواب لم یلتفت الیهم الّا انّه جهّز ولده المسمّی سعید بن حسن فی جملة من جلائب وصحبه خلق کثیر من المسلمین والکفرة فوصلوا الی کلوة بعد صلاة العصر ونزلوا جمیعا ودخلوا بیتهم المشهور فی کلوة فلما استقرّوا فی منزلهم ارسل السلطان والامیر الیهم خلق کثیر لیحضروه بین یدی الامیر فانتزعوه قهرا هو وجماعته من اصحابه حتی احضروه بین یدی الامیر فسالوه عن سبب وصولهم الی البلاد وهم قد خرجوا من البلاد محاربین ومع ذلک ارسلنا الیکم جملة رسل ان تصلوا الینا مصلحین فامتنعتم عن ذلک فالان وصلت بهذا الخلق فما مقصودک فزعم انه ارسله ابوه لیهیّی له منزلة وهو واصل غداة غد صلحا فلم یصدّقوه بذلک بل قالوا انک ما وصلت بهذا الخلق الّا وانت مفتن فی البلاد فانکر ذلک فقالوا له ان کان مقالک صدقا فاحلف لنا یمینا بالله تعالی وبالقران العظیم انک صادق بانه لیس معه فتنة البلاد فحلف فلما حلف قالوا له ارسل الی ابیک واعلمه بانک قد حلفت یمینا بالبراءة من الفتنة واعلمه بانه لا یرسل لنا احد فی هذه اللیلة بل یصبر الی الصباح ونحن نمضی الیه وندخله البلاد صلحا کما زعمت فارسل الیه

جماعة من اصحابه وجماعة من اهل كلوة يعرفوه برسالتهم فلما وصلوا اليه واعلموه كما وصلوا اليه وعلّموه بخبر الواقع فى كلوة فلما تحقق منهم الخبر قتل رسل كلوة وتهيّى للوصول الى كلوة فى تلك الليلة فلما سمعوا اهل كلوة ذلك حرسوا البلاد بالعدد والمدد حتى اصبح لم يشعروا الا وقد وصلت الجلائب من جهتهم بالجنود والعساكر فوصلوا البلاد وحصل بينهم الحرب فتحاربوا حربًا شديدا فقتل منهم من قتل وَأُسِرَ من أُسِرَ واطلق من اطلق وتشتّت الجنود فى الدشوت والبحار فلما سمع الحسن المخلوع بذلك لم يكن له همّ الا الفرار من ذلك المكان الى بلاد مغم غوب خائفين وجلين فمن ذلك اليوم اسّسوا ذلك البلد الى يومنا هذا وهذا المتولى الآن ولد ولده والحسن بن محمد بن الحسين المذكور بن الوزير سليمان بن الوزير يارك وهو معاصر السلطان محمد بن السلطان حسين بن السلطان سليمان بن الملك العادل المذكور وامّه السيّدة المصونة والدرة المكنونة مآنة بنت السلطان سليمان (16) بن السلطان محمد المظلوم وكانت ولاية الفضيل سنة الجمعة سنة واحد وتسعمائة من الهجرة النبويّة وفى سنة السبت توفى الامير محمد كِوَابِ وولّى الامارة بعده الامير ابراهيم وفى زمانهما كانت اخر فتنة المخلوع كما ذكرناه وتوفى الحسن المخلوع فى زمانهما وتولى بعده ولده محمد بن حسن فى تلك البلاد وفى اثناء دولة الفضيل وصل خبر من ارض مسمبيح بانه ظهر قوم من بلاد الافرنج وهم ثلاثة مراكب واسم ناخذاهم المِرتىّ ثم من بعد ايام بلغهم باتّهم مرّوا على كلوة ولم يدخلوها فقصدوا بلاد منفسة ففرح بهم صاحبها ظانّين[1] بانهم من اهل الخير والصلاح وحقّق لهم بعض من كان يعرفهم انهم اهل فساد ولا وصلوا الا لينظروا البلاد متجسّسين عليها حتى يحربوها فعند ذلك

[1] *Sic.*

احتالوا عليهم فى قطع اناجرهم ليجيبوا الى البرّكى يهلكوا ويكونوا غنيمة للمسلمين فعرفوا ذلك وسافروا الى جهة ملند فلما راهم اهل ملند تيقنوا منهم الخراب والفساد ففزعوا منهم غاية الفزع واعطوهم كل ما طلبوه من الماء والحطب والزاد وغيرها ثم طلبوا منهم دليلا الى الهند ثم الى بلدهم لعنة الله وكان ذلك سنة الثلثا وقيل هذه السنة سنة الاثنين ولد مؤلف هذا التاليف يوم الاثنين ثانى من شهر شوال سنة اربع وتسعمائة وذلك فى دولة الفضيل والامير ابراهيم وسمّى المؤلّف باسم المولّف المذكور ثم فى سنة الاربعا السادس بعد تسعمائة وصل القبيطان بيذرارس فى جملة من مراكبهم فطلبوا من اهل كلوة الماء والحطب وان يطلع اليهم السلطان او ولده ليفاوضوه فى بعض الحديث فترجح للامير واهل البلد ان يطلّعوا اليه شخصا والاكابر فشخصوا له سيد لقمان بن الملك العادل فهيّئوه هيئة السلطان فطلّعوه اليهم ثم استقوا الماء فى جملة جحال ونزلوا بها الحمالون الى السيف ثم نادوا عليهم ان ينزلوا لياخذوا الماء وعند نزولهم وصل الى السيف واحد من اكابر عبيد الامير يقال له حاج ابراهيم الملقب بحاج كِتِيتَ وامر الحمالين يحمل ذلك الماء جميعا فحملوه فلما نزلت النصارى الى السيف لاخذ الماء لم يجدوا منه قليلا ولا كثيرا فرجعوا الى سفينتهم مغضبين ثم سافروا الى لعنة الله ثم وصلوا الى ملند فتلقّوهم غاية التلقى واعطوهم جميع ما طلبوه من الماء والحطب والزاد ثم تركوا عندهم سبعة انفس من النصارى المتنصرة فقال لهم اثنان يجلسان عندكم واربعة ارسلوهم الى جوزرات عند السلطان محمود وواحد ارسلوه الى كلوة ثم سافروا فاما الاربعة الذين ارسلوهم الى الهند ختنهم صاحب الهند واسلموا واثنان جلسوا فى ملند وواحد الذى ارسلوه الى كلوة فلما وصل استشاروا

فيما يفعلوا به ثم قالوا ان هذه امانة ولا بدّ من اهلها سياتون فى طلبها فالاصلح حفظها فترجّح لهم ان يسلّموه الى حاج محمد بن ركن (17) الدين الدابولى وكان هو واخوه الاصغر الفقيه ايّوب خازنين على المال وذلك فى زمان الامير محمد كِوَابِ ثم الامير ابراهيم وكانت هؤلاء الاخوة اهل متجر عظيم ومالية كثيرة ثم مالكين البلاد بالفضل والاحسان والغيث بالمسلمين فقام النصرانى فى البلاد فتجسّس عن احوال البلد والبحث عن جميع الامور وحاج محمد يعرف كل شى ويخبره بكل الاخبار من قليل وكثير لانه كان منطوى على دغل وفتنة قديم ثم فى سنة سابع بعد تسعمائة من الهجرة النبوية سنة الخميس وصل ناخذ كند نوف فى مركب واحد وهو فى الظاهر يظهر المتجر ولكنّه جاسوس فى الباطن فاصطحب هو والحاج محمد بن ركن الدين وانتهز الفرصة منه فى تدبير الفتنة والخراب ثم سافروا الى لعنة الله فى سنة الثامن بعد تسعمائة من الهجرة سنة الجمعة وصل ناخذ المرتى المذكور اولا فى عدة المراكب فلما وصل طلع اليهم ذلك النصرانى واخبرهم بجميع الاخبار وحال البلاد وذكر لهم انه لا يصلح للولاية على كلوة سوى حاج محمد بن ركن الدين لانه صاحب فضل ومروة وصاحب البلد الذى فيها ليست له مروّة مع كثرة امواله لكنكم اشترطوا عليهم بان يطلّعوا اليكم الامير ابراهيم يحصل بذلك جزيل الهبات فارسل النصرانى فى طلب الامير فارادوا ان يشخصوا له شخصا آخر كما تقدم فنبّههم ذلك النصرانى فلما لم يجدوا منه بدا جهّزوا الامير ابراهيم وطلّعوه الى مركبهم وصحبه فى الطلوع المقدّم سليمان والفقيه ايّوب والفقيه عمر وهما اولاد الفقيه مفلح الملندى وهما اخوال المؤلف * تم ما وجدته *

قد وقع الفراغ من نسخ هذا الكراس يوم ٥ والسبت
من شهر جمادى الاول سنة ١٢٩٤ لسيّدنا ومولانا وذخرنا[1]
الثقة الورع امام المسلمين بن غش بن سعيد بن سلطان
ادام الله ملكه واعزه الله ونصره بقلم خادمه
الفقه لله عبد الله بن مصبح
الصوافى بيده الفانية

[1] MS. وذخرنا.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Burmese Hitopadesa.

Wadham College,
February 12th, 1894.

Dear Sir,—I shall be obliged if you will permit me to ask a few questions from our members, and especially those in Burma, regarding what is commonly known as the "Hitawpadetha" (Hitopadesa), which was published in Burmese, at Rangoon (with other matter), in 1881, and translated by me in the *Indian Magazine* in 1887.

It purports to be a direct translation, from the "Thinthagaraik" (Sanskrit), of that portion called "The acquisition of Friends," but differs considerably from the versions generally known. As far as the end of the story of Dirghakarṇa and the Vulture (Jalatta) the resemblance to Johnson's version is strong, and it appears that many parts are literally translated, but, after this point, though there are one or two similarities, it is clear that, if the translation has been continued, and it is not merely the work of a Burmese compiler, there must have been a totally different Sanskrit version.

Parts of the Hitopadesa are quoted in the "Mani-ratana-pôn," a historical work, edited by the Abbot Candalaṅkā in A.D. 1781, but they differ slightly from the version published in 1881.

The questions I would ask, then, are:—

1. Who was the author of this translation?
2. When and where did he live?
3. Are there any other Burmese versions?
4. Is there a Sanskrit text to be found in Burma?
5. Is there a version peculiar to Southern India or elsewhere from which this has been taken?

This version should contain the following stories:—

1. The elephant who was killed by jackals.
2. The hermit and the Kinnarī.
3. The story of Prince Srigutta.
4. The story of the thrush (?) and the kite.
5. The frog who killed the lion.
6. The quick-witted monkey and the crocodile.[1]
7. Guttaravasi, the merchant who was lost by the mutiny of his crew.

One remarkable fact about the Burmese version is, that it is perfectly free from anything that is indecent.

Yours truly,

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. Setebhissara.

37, *Nordre Fasanvej, Frederiksberg, Copenhagen.*
Feb. 4th, 1895.

My Dear Sir,—I am inclined to agree with Mr. St. A. St. John in referring the inscription of the gold leaf scroll found at Rangoon to Bĭnya Nwē, "commonly known as Rājādirit (Rājādhirājā)," *if his father was the only one called "Lord of the white elephant,"* for I think now that the expression *setebhissara* (which is as good Pāli as *setibhissara*) really must be dissolved into seta+ibha+issara =lord of the white elephant, and not into Setebha+issara,

[1] This is not the same as Vānarinda-jātaka.

as there is no people or land called Setebha. And when Binya Nwē is styled rājādirit=rājādhirājā, and is said to have taken possession of Dagun, now Rangoon, and to have devoted his latter years to religion, this fits well with the inscription in which he is called rājā sabbarājissaro, etc., and ratanattayamāmako, saddhasaddho, etc. If kupati cannot be taken as a noun proper, as you think, it will very well do to understand it with the same meaning as bhūpati=the sovereign of the land.

As for the scroll, I remember the late Mr. Norris, one day in 1858, bringing it to the Asiatic Society's Rooms for my inspection. He had himself gone down to Professor H. H. Wilson, at the East India House Library, to fetch it. Mr. Norris was a very conscientious man, and I am sure he himself would have taken it back again to the East India House. I suppose, therefore, that it must now be kept either in the India Office Library or in the Indian Museum attached to it.—Believe me, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

V. Fausböll.

3. The Vidyādharapiṭaka.

Dear Sir,—It may not be without interest to the readers of the R.A.S. Journal to notice a citation and short quotation of the Vidyādharapiṭaka contained in the Ādikarmapradīpa (MS. R.A.S. Cat. by Cowell, and Eggeling, No. 69, and Minayef, Recherches sur le Bouddhisme, trad. Assiez de Pompignan, dans Musée Guimet).

The so-called Vidyādharapiṭaka has hitherto only been known through "Hiouen Thsang's Life and Travels" (see St. Julien's translation, i. 159, ii. 38, and S. Beal's Fo-Koue-ki), and more recently through I-tsing's translation by M. E. Chavannes, pp. 101, 102, "Les prières magiques se disant en Sanscrit p'i-t'i-t'ouo-louo-pi-ti-kia (Vidyādharapiṭaka). La traduction de p'i-t'i (Vidyā) est prières magiques, t'ouo-louo (dhara) signifie tenir dans les mains,

pi-ti-kia (piṭaka) signifie recueil. Il faut donc dire: le recueil de prières magiques."

The St. Petersburg Dictionary, smaller edition, gives the word Vidyādharapiṭaka, followed by the sign ? In the larger edition is added the note: "Vidyādhara Piṭaka (vie de Hiouen Thsang, 159), doubtless a mistake for Dhāraṇī Piṭaka, as is the reading in Hiouen Thsang, ii. 38. To judge by the index it is this last which is wrong." And surely enough the index under Dhāraṇī Piṭaka has, "Read Vidyādhara Piṭaka (Kin-tcheou-thsang)." But the above-mentioned passage in M. Chavannes' important contribution establishes clearly enough that in this instance the St. Petersburg Wörterbuch is wrong.

The few lines of Hiouen Thsang concerning the Vidyādharapiṭaka are worthy of inquiry and discussion, as they are, nowadays, the very basis (alas! insufficient) of the historical scheme about the Buddhist Mahāyāna canons. What are the facts about the Vidyādharapiṭaka (Dhāraṇī-piṭaka) and the equally obscure Saṁyuktasaṁcayapiṭaka?

Dr. Kern, in his wonderful sketch of Northern Buddhism, has tried to explain names and things with a most reliable carefulness; I dare not say always with a definite certitude. The problem is a very hard one, and a large part of the work is given to theory. Perhaps it may happen that Dr. Kern's hypothesis will be confirmed by a further examination of documents, and if so, no one will be more glad than myself, as the story of Hīna and Mahāyāna becomes far more intelligible if we are duly authorized to accept the conclusions of the Dutch scholar.

"In Hiouen Thsang we find a very important statement. He tells us that at the Council of Rājagṛha, immediately after the death of the Buddha, five Piṭakas were composed, that is to say, the three official or canonical ones, and besides them the Saṁyukta Piṭaka and the Piṭaka of Dhāraṇī's, which he elsewhere mentions under the title of Vidyādhara Piṭaka. This statement of the Chinese pilgrim is quite true, if only its true meaning be grasped. There is not the smallest ground to suppose that the charms were younger

than the Suttas, the Vinaya, or the Abhidharma. Whether the collection of them, as we now have it, is as old as that of the three Piṭakas can neither be proved nor disproved till it has been edited. . . . The Piṭaka of the Dhāraṇī's corresponds to the Atharva Veda, just as the three others correspond to the three other Vedas . . ."[1]

The passage of the Ādikarmapradīpa which is the subject of this letter, is a very short one; it occurs at the end of the work in a somewhat diffuse explanation of Tantra ritual and Vinaya precepts. It runs (fol. 12*a in fine*)—

Na mandracittena sarvadā muditacittena nāpyanyacittena: tathā coktaṃ Vidyādharapiṭake:

Tapās tapaṃsi sarvāṇi dīrghakālakṛtanyapi
Anyacittena mandena sarvaṃ bhavati niṣphalaṃ
Punaḥ pradāyavelāyāṃ

ityādi saddharmasvādhyāyādinā pūrvarātraṃ jāgarikā karttavyā.

It is unnecessary to point out the very common character of this idea. I think I have read it several times already, presented in the same or quasi the same terms, especially in the Bodhicaryāvatāra by Çāntideva, A.D. 600 (edidit Minayef)—

Tapās tapāṁsi sarvāṇi dirghakālakṛtāny api
Anyacittena mandena vṛthaivety āha sarvavit.
(B.C.A. v. 16.)

I am, of course, not able to say whether the writers of the Ādikarmapradīpa had in their minds the same Vidyādharapiṭaka of the Chinese pilgrims. There may be many Vidyādharapiṭakas. A Vidyādharapiṭaka (dhāraṇī-piṭaka) is properly a basket of books or special works (like Sūtras or Sāstras in Brahmanical schools) for the use of men directly engaged in magical business. The Vidyādharas are not only "himmliche Boten" or "Engel," but also "des porteurs de prières magiques" (compare the meaning of the word "vidvān" in Tantra rituals).

We have (Cambridge, Paris, Calcutta) several collections

[1] Kern's 'Buddhismus,' i. 510 and foll.

(saṁgraha) of Dhāraṇīs and Hṛdayas which can claim to the title of Dhāraṇī or Vidyādharapiṭaka. Like writers of similar handbooks the editor of Hiouen Thsang's Vidyādharapiṭaka (used or referred to in the Vihāras visited by the pilgrims, and compiled at an uncertain date) had, for the completion of his work, to correct every Mūlatantra approved by the regular schools Mahāsaṁghikas, Yogācāras (see Wassilief's Buddhism). Every Buddhist work has been canonical and worshipped as "word of Buddha" (Buddhabhāṣitam) by some part, not in every case known, of the Saṁgha.

Employing the word Piṭaka in this historical sense, it appears that Vidyādharapiṭaka would include all the reliable works of mediæval times which could have been classified amongst the Yogatantras (compare Pañcakrama, ii. 1).

In the actual state of our knowledge it would be unwise to say more. The Dhāraṇī and the Vidyādharapiṭaka seem to be different names for the same thing. Can it be affirmed that some Dhāraṇīpiṭaka or Tantra Saṁgraha has been promulgated by the Mahāsaṁghikas of Rājagṛha, together with the three Catholic canonical baskets? Nobody can yet hope to have a certain opinion on this point. To repeat the very words of Dr. Kern, "Nichts kann weder bewiesen, noch widerlegt werden ehe die sanskritischen und chinesischen Texten edirt sind." The only disputable point is the very "vraisemblable" opinion of Dr. Kern. Our Tantra and Dhāraṇī collections are not so modern as it has been said; they have in the Atharvamantras in the Kaṅgikasūtras a very old and classical prototype. Both Tantra and Atharva manuals have, I daresay, the same origin, and that a contemporaneous one.

It is established by the present notice that the Vidyādharapiṭaka is not, as MM. Roth and Böhtlingk seem to be persuaded, a word fancifully elaborated by Stanislas Julien, or Chinese writers.—Yours respectfully,

Louis de la Vallée Poussin.

Ghent University,
Feb. 22nd, 1895.

4. Chinese Biographical Dictionary.

Dear Sir,—Would you allow me to call the attention of your members to the existence, in the Society's Library, of a very valuable biographical dictionary? It is usually known as the Shih-hsing-pu, but is entered in the published catalogue (J.R.A.S. 1889) by a fuller title, "Li-tai-ming-hsien-lieh-nu-shih-hsing-pu," a biographical account of successive generations of illustrious men and virtuous women. As the word *men* has been omitted in the catalogue translation of the title, and the fuller title used in the catalogue is unusual, the existence of this important book may easily be overlooked. It is not in the University College collection.—Yours faithfully,

E. H. F.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1895.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

15th January, 1895.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Madame Ragozin,
Miss Kennedy, and
The Rev. W. G. Shellabear

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. Hugh Raynbird, Jun., gave a description of a Collection of Models of Implements, Weapons, Utensils, etc.; and of MS. Books of Grammar, Music, Folklore, etc., from Chota Nagpur, which were shown at the meeting.

12th February, 1895.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. Kunwar Kushal Pal Sinha,
Mr. George Phillips,
Mrs. Mabel Bode,
Mr. C. Otto Blagden,
Major W. Livermore,
Mr. Hugh Raynbird, Jun.,
Mr. Diwan Tek Chand, and
The Rev. J. J. Bambridge

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot read a paper on the "Nigāristān," Persian didactic work, written in A.D. 1334–35 by

Mu'īn-ud-Dīn-Juwainī, and not hitherto translated into any European language.

The paper commenced with a sketch of Persian literature, from the time of Naushirwān, a Sassanian king [A.D. 530–578], to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. It then went on to describe the work forming the subject of the paper as follows: The Nigāristān, or Picture Gallery, was written in imitation of Sa'di's Gulistān or Rose Garden, as the author himself tells us in his Preface, of which the following is an extract:—

"One day, in my great despondency and helpless languor, I found myself with some intimate friends in the assembly of my father, Ibn Mu'īn Al-Juwainī, who was among the most distinguished of the period for his literary accomplishments and tastes. I heard how the compositions of old authors were being discussed, and how everyone present quoted, according to his ability, passages from some favourite author, praising him to the utmost, until the turn of the Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'di arrived, a work which is a storehouse of elegant verses and witty sayings. The whole assembly unanimously praised the beautiful composition and perfect elegance of the arrangement of the treasure book of sovereigns, the facility of whose diction and subtlety of whose meaning fully harmonize with the tones of the organ, and the beautiful colour of red wine, yea, represent the limpidity of the rivers of Paradise and of the water of life. The company bore witness to its eminent high degree, and its unparalleled excellence." . . . . . .

"I said that although this Gulistān is like the fabled garden of Iran, the abode of such flowers [of speech] and of curiosities of stories, that it may be expatiated upon and explained down to endless future generations, it has already since a long time become the subject of discussion, not only in learned assemblies, but also of common story-tellers, so that its beauties are considered trite and obsolete. This is the special fault, not of the Gulistān only, but of the human mind, which soon becomes fatigued by the incessant repetition of even the most elegant books. Thus

many treatises of ancient authors here, after being locked up in libraries of colleges, fallen into disuse and neglect to such a degree that boys just beginning to learn to read exchange them in the bazaar for blank paper in the shops of booksellers, and more especially at the present time when people are oppressed by calamity."

The author then goes on to relate how he hinted that his father should undertake the writing of a new book in the style of the Gulistān, but the latter recited the following distich of Firdausi:—

"The father has become old, and thou art young;
Thou art fit for war and heroic deeds."

After much consideration of the difficulties, with meditation, hesitation, delay, and encouragement by his friends, all of which are described at considerable length, the author at last makes up his mind to set to work, and says:—

"Although I had no wares to offer in the bazaar of those who are endowed with excellence, and had no renown among the learned, I complied with the desire they had expressed, began my arduous work, wrote on the same day a portion of the chapter 'On Generous Behaviour,' and continued the work till I brought it to completion, ending with the following verse:—

"When Mu'īnī drew the characters of this picture,
It was the Arab year seven hundred and thirty-five;
By the efforts of the musk-dropping reed,
The door of a hundred closed treasures was opened.
The author hopes his name will survive
When he is removed from this perishable world."

The author then goes on to describe how and why the book was named the Nigāristān, a recital of which fills some pages in the Preface. And then with an apology to men of excellence and a trust in the leniency of critics, and an expression of good wishes towards the Hamavī family, he finishes his Preface and gives the table of the

contents of his work, divided into seven chapters, as follows:—

1. On generous behaviour.
2. On asceticism and piety.
3. On laudable conviviality.
4. On love and amorousness.
5. On preaching and advice.
6. On virtue and mercy.
7. Various admonitions.

Mr. Arbuthnot's paper then gave a short description of the contents of Sa'di's Gulistān or Rose Garden, and of Jāmi's Bihāristān or Abode of Spring, works of the same nature as the Nigāristān, and then proceeded:—

About the author of the work, by name Maulana Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Juwainī, a few words will not be superfluous. He is supposed to have lived during the eighth century of Hijrah [A.D. 1301–1398], but the exact date of his birth and death cannot be fixed. He is reputed to have been a man of great piety, and a disciple of Shaikh Sa'd-ud-Dīn Ḥummuī in Sufism, and of Fakhr-ud-Dīn Isfara'in in Sciences. Like Sa'dī, Mu'īnī appears at one time of his life to have been a wandering Dervish, but to have travelled generally in company with others, and not alone. He alludes to a stationary habitation or monastery in which he lived, and to other circumstances of his life in the Nigāristān. It is uncertain whether he was married or not, but he alludes always in very respectful terms to his father, who was likewise a Dervish and a scholar of high attainments.

The Nigāristān, an imitation of Sa'di's Gulistān, is considered by some critics to be superior to it. The work is well known in Persia and Central Asia, for the astronomer, Prince Ulugh Beg, to whom the Shaikh Bahrabad brought one copy as a present, caused it to be transcribed in the most elegant manner, and it thus obtained great celebrity in the countries beyond the Oxus. It was written during the years A.D. 1333–35. There are two good copies of it

in the British Museum, one of which is described in Dr. Rieu's catalogue of Persian manuscripts there, while the other has been lately purchased in Teheran, both in good order and complete. The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses three copies of this work, all noted in Professor Sachau and Ethe's catalogue [No. 1447–1449] of Persian works there. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris there is only one copy of the work, not very well copied, and at St. Petersburg there is a copy in the Imperial Public Library. No copies are to be found in the Libraries of Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Gotha, Munich, or Leyden, neither are there any in the India Office Library, or in the Libraries of King's College and Trinity College, Cambridge, or Eton College. The work may, therefore, be said to be rare in Europe, and has not been hitherto translated into any European language. It may be here stated that there are several other works of the same name, written by various authors, and dealing with different subjects. But of all these, the present one under review, a collection of moral and other anecdotes in prose and verse, is the most celebrated.

The translation of the Nigāristān was prepared by the late Mr. E. Rehatsek from three copies of the work, which he compared and collated. One copy he had in Bombay, and the two others were sent to him from this country, one of them being a copy made from the manuscript in the British Museum, and the other a very correct and well-written copy obtained from Mr. Quaritch.

The whole of the work will be found to be permeated with Sufism, a creed and a subject which seems to have had an extraordinary attraction for many Persian poets and authors. To enter into full details of this interesting belief would take up too much time. The late Professor Palmer has described Sufism as "a strange combination of the pantheism of the Aryan races and of the severe monotheism of their Semitic conquerors, and aims at leading men to the contemplation of spiritual things by appealing to their emotions. The keynote of the system is that the

human soul is an emanation from God, and that it is always seeking and yearning to rejoin the source from whence it sprang. Ecstasy is the means by which a nearer intercourse is obtained, and absorption in the Divinity the ultimate object to be obtained."

With this explanation it will perhaps be easier to understand the constant references to the Deity that are contained in the following phrases: "I am a hiddden treasure, and I would fain be known." "That all is He, and all is from Him."

"Neighbour, companion, and fellow-traveller, all is He;
In the habit of a beggar and in the satin of a king, all is He;
He is in the concourse of divisions, and concealed in the mansion of reunion:
By God, all is He; certainly by God all is He."

Again: "What is Thine is mine, and what is mine is Thine." "You am I, and I am You."

So long as the Sufi is conscious of the least distinction between God and himself he is not thoroughly permeated by the Unity of God. To attain this perfect knowledge and to arrive at the stage of direct Union with God, can only be acquired by a long course of study, contemplation, and intelligence. The manner of reaching this unintelligible mental condition is described in Sufistic language as that of a traveller journeying [*i.e.* turning the attention towards God] along the road, and putting up at various inns or taverns [*i.e.* stages in which the traveller is immersed in the Divine mysteries] previous to his arrival at a complete knowledge of the Truth [God]. This journey is commenced by the neophyte or searcher after God, who, continuing his inquiries, becomes a disciple, and is then fairly launched as a traveller, whose whole business in life is the prosecution of the journey so that he may ultimately arrive at the Knowledge of God. The seven stages of this journey are described as those of Worship, Love, Seclusion, Knowledge, Ecstasy, Truth, and Union. The last stage only is reached at death, which is extinction, or a total

absorption into the Deity, somewhat corresponding, it may be said, with the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist theories of Moksha and Nirvana.

This sort of mysticism has apparently always had a great attraction for the mind of man in different stages of the world's history, both in the East and West. To illustrate this Mr. Arbuthnot gave some extracts from the story of John Inglesant bearing on this mystic feeling, and allusions were made to the Molinarists, Pietists, and Quietists, who were really following the steps of Sufism, which again probably originated in the further East.

Out of the mass of stories in the Nigāristān [there are 534 in all] connected with Kings, Khalifahs, Governors, pious Shaikhs, learned men, and other celebrities of that time, it is difficult to select a few as a sample of the whole. In the paper read there were six or seven stories given to show their nature and the style of the translator. The Sufi idea of complete Union is exemplified in the following:—

"One day Laila wished to write a letter to Majnūn; she took a paper and wrote [in Arabic]: 'From my soul to my soul, from my heart to my heart, and from my spirit to my spirit'; that is to say [in Persian], 'Excessive affection and perfect love have to such a degree blotted out the marks of difference and the line of distinction from the page of my nature, that when I write a letter I indite it from my soul to my own soul, and when I speak I address my own spirit, and when I cast a glance I behold my own eyes.'"

Verses: "When I am longing for thy beauty
I quickly place a mirror near my face;
When I desire to hear thee speak
I listen to what my tongue is uttering.
He is truly on the path of love
Who is himself love, lover, and beloved.
If without me thou art in love with me
Mention not the name of 'Azra if thou art Wāmiq.
The way from the lover to the beloved is short:
Look well thyself, for both of them are one."

I heard that when the letter was given to Majnūn he uttered an exclamation, opened the seal, and said—

"Is this the garden's zephyr or my friend's letter,
Or a divine mercy, for the air is fragrant with ambergris."

As soon as his eyes alighted upon that ambergris letter, and upon those sweet words, he fled like one bereft of his senses to the desert, lost the reins of volition and choice, singing as follows:—

"I have been altogether transmuted into my friend:
My luck has culminated in the utmost happiness.
The veil being removed, love becomes patent indeed.
When the ecstasy of affection has become attained,
It is no wonder if 'Azra becomes Wāmiq,
And not strange if Laila be transmuted to Majnūn."

Here is a short story about the author himself—

When I was a boy I asked my father—may Allah sanctify his soul!—when people pretend to love each other, and to breathe fraternity: how can one tell whether their assertions are true, and their internal corresponds with their external disposition or not? He replied, "When a man causes a brother to share in his pleasures."

"Whoever is selfish in his pleasure
His pretence of amity has no meaning."

Many other specimens of stories might be given, but space does not permit.

The paper then concluded with a few passing remarks about the state of literary culture in Europe and England at the period when this elegant work was produced in Persia in A.D. 1334, and with the suggestion that the three great Persian didactic works, viz., the Gulistān, the Nigāristān, and the Bihāristān, would be better appreciated and understood after a careful perusal of the Korān, the life of Muhammad the Apostle by Ibn Ishāk and Ibn Hishām, the chronicles or annals of Tabarī, and the Rauzat-as-Safa by Mir Khwānd, a study of all of these being

absolutely necessary for the proper understanding and appreciation of Arabic and Persian literature.

12th March, 1895.—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. R. Alleyne Nicholson

had been elected a member of the Society.

The President drew attention to the great loss which the Society and the cause of historical research in general had suffered by the death of their distinguished Director, Sir Henry Rawlinson. It was impossible to exaggerate the importance, for the history of the development of Oriental ideas and institutions, of his magnificent work in the decipherment of the tablet at Behistun, and it was a matter of pride to the Society that the results of his remarkable discoveries were given to the world through the medium of the Society's Journal. The solidity of the results attained was a matter of worldwide acknowledgment, and a detailed account would be found in the notice of his life and work to appear in the next issue of the Journal. But we had to deplore the loss not only of a great scholar but also of a firm and true friend to the Society. From the date of his election as Director (in 1862) Sir Henry had been a most constant attendant at the Council meetings; and had devoted continued care to the management of the details of its work. His personal contributions to the Journal were then passed in review, and the President concluded by saying that he was quite sure he was only giving expression to the unanimous feeling of the Society by placing on record its deep sense of the loss which had been incurred.—These remarks were received with profound sympathy.

Mr. R. Sewell read a paper on "Some Buddhist Bronzes and a Relic of Buddha found at Bezwāda."

The paper will be published in full in the July Journal.

II. Obituary Notices.

August Dillmann.—On the 4th of July, 1894, the Royal Asiatic Society lost one of its most distinguished Foreign Members, August Dillmann. His title to membership was the fact that he was beyond all dispute the greatest master of one of the Oriental languages—of Ethiopic. His first publications, in the years 1847 and 1848, were catalogues of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library. His last publication, the close of which he did not live to see in print, was the fifth and concluding volume of the "Biblia Veteris Testamenti Æthiopica." In between we find a considerable number of publications bearing upon the Ethiopic language and literature, enough to form the life-work of a vigorous scholar. Nevertheless this was but one part of Dillmann's whole work, and, if I am not mistaken, not the part in which Dillmann himself recognized the accomplishment of the chief task of his life. The study of the Old Testament had led him to the Ethiopic language, and the Old Testament remained the real centre of his studies and of his labours. During the last twenty years of his life, as far as I heard him speak of his tasks and aims, his attention to Ethiopic seemed to be a special fancy to which he gladly came back as often as he could from the manifold labours in the sphere of Old Testament exegesis laid upon him by force of engagements previously entered into. In spite of this, the exposition and due appreciation of the Scriptures of the Old Testament appeared to him, without doubt, to be the chief object of his endeavours, not only in the chairs he held, but also in his literary activity. His interest in the Old Testament was by no means of a merely philological cast, but was primarily determined from a historical and theological point of view.

Christian Friedrich August Dillmann was born on the 25th of April, 1823, at Illingen, in Wurtemberg. In Wurtemberg he received his entire education, from the beginning of instruction in Latin to the close of his University terms at Tübingen. Entering upon the study

of theology and Oriental languages, he enjoyed particularly the impulse given by Heinrich Ewald, who at that time, after his dismissal from the professorship at Göttingen, had found shelter at Tübingen. Dillmann remained his steadfast and faithful pupil. As a student Dillmann was a member of the Tübingen "Stift," a foundation, the members of which live together under strict obedience to set principles. He retained all his life the grave and sometimes stiff manner of bearing that characterizes the pupils of this foundation. In his case this manner was softened, both by contact with different and more facile habits of life in his later positions outside of Wurtemberg, and especially by that ease of behaviour which purity and clearness of disposition and a feeling of sympathy towards other men tend under all circumstances to produce. After finishing his studies, Dillmann filled, for a little more than six months, during 1845 and 1846, a position in the practical service of the church as vicar at Sersheim, in the neighbourhood of his home. He never afterwards held pastoral office. So far as I know, apart from the observances of church habit, he held aloof with an unmistakable persistency from activity in movements that served ecclesiastical aims. This certainly was not from lack of interest in such movements, but because in a prudent self-restraint, based doubtless upon wise self-knowledge, he believed that he was destined to an exclusively literary activity. After taking the degree of doctor of philosophy at Tübingen in 1846, he spent about two years in Paris, London, and Oxford for the purpose of scientific work. Coming back he lectured at Tübingen for five years, from 1848 to 1853, at first as Repetent and then as Privatdocent and Extraordinary Professor of Theology, on the Old Testament and also on Oriental languages. Then followed a period of eleven years, from 1853–1864, in the University of Kiel, where, as an extraordinary and then as an ordinary Professor in the philosophical faculty, he lectured on the Old Testament and Semitic languages, and at the same time on Sanskrit. From 1864 to 1869 he taught in Giessen as a member of the theological faculty, and to this faculty

he also belonged in Berlin, as successor of Hengstenberg, during an activity of twenty-five years, from 1869–1894. Manifold honours were paid to him during this long career. The confidence of his colleagues placed him as rector at the head of the University once in Giessen and once in Berlin; six learned societies elected him to membership.

He enjoyed these honours much and heartily, as appeared especially at the celebration of his seventieth birthday. But work in and of itself was for him a greater pleasure than all such results of work. There has seldom been a life so full of labour. He scarcely knew what holidays were. The words of the Psalmist, that what is precious in life is labour and toil, were truer of him than of many other, even scholarly, labourers. When as a young man, just after finishing my university course, I made Dillmann's acquaintance, what impressed me most was not the extremely gentle way in which he brought his demands to bear, in the private lessons in Ethiopic which he kindly gave me, but the strict discipline of work that he enforced upon himself, and this impressed me almost painfully. One who approached him for the purpose of learning, received at first the impression that he had no interest in life aside from his work, but this impression was only just when compassed by many limitations. The love of his family testifies that as a husband and father he knew how to lavish affection to a rich degree. The same was the manifold experience of the writer of these lines, even after he had advanced from being a pupil to being a fellow-worker. Never on visiting him, or in writing to him, did I refer to anything that concerned me personally without meeting on his part with hearty and refreshing sympathy. I can judge of him only from a single, quite definite side. I saw him but a very few times outside of his study, and never in intercourse with other men of his own age. Nor did I ever hear a regular lecture from him, for, apart from the above-mentioned private lessons, I only took part in exercises of interpretation in Syriac under his direction. Everywhere here a never-failing accuracy and clearness were

pre-eminent; he was strict in demanding from the pupil grammatical correctness, and he was impatient of carelessness. Those who heard his regular lectures have always lauded that same exactness, and he fascinated, by the value and thoroughness of the material presented, all students who were inclined to learn. Doubtless even those who cherished no such inclination came finally to respect what he wrought out and laid before them, and the method in which he laid it before them, that is to say, the avoiding of all superfluity, even though he, not merely from natural bent but just as much of set purpose, shut out everything like brilliancy or beauty of discourse that could bribe a student.

This method, which showed itself in the man, is manifested also in his writings: Dillmann was, as a whole, a man of the most thorough unity of nature, in whom everything fitted together, and in whom you could clearly perceive the common kinship of all the elements. His Ethiopic grammar (1857) is a model of clearness, not only because of the incomparable regularity of the Ethiopic language itself, but also because of the exemplary treatment of it on the part of the author. A thorough study of this work is adapted to impart, even to one less gifted in that respect, an understanding and a love for grammar. The same conscientiousness and perspicuity which Dillmann had evinced in the treatment of the interesting language, appear also in his discussion of the much less enjoyable Ethiopic literature. He illuminated unwearyingly the abstruse delineations of the book of Enoch, piercing into their most hidden recesses. The numerous essays that Dillmann furnished for the publications of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin are also models, particularly those that treat of out-of-the-way and narrowly limited questions, as, for example, the inquiry about "Baal with the feminine article" (1881), which is final in its kind. As early as the year 1869 Dillmann supplied a new commentary on the Book of Job for the "Brief Exegetical Handbook of the Old Testament," published by Hirzel. During the last twenty years of his life, after the first treatment of Genesis for the same

collection in 1875, he busied himself to a still greater extent in the sphere of Old Testament exegesis. He often sighed under the yoke of this commentary work. The whole of the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and, as the last exegetical service, Job in a new edition, were issued by him. These commentaries are universally acknowledged to be a repertory of exegesis, a store of stupendous material, collected with unwearying industry. Their exegetical insight and tact are universally conceded. Perhaps a later day will value also the critical procedure of these commentaries more than the present day does. Dillmann worked unceasingly, and was glad to learn even from those whom he opposed. Nevertheless, he did not cease to place a by no means to be despised veto upon the newest construction of Old Testament literary history. To the view that during the last twenty years has spread in ever wider circles, namely, that the ceremonial law of the Pentateuch was a creature only of the post-Exilic time, Dillmann up to the end was able to allow only a very limited truth. The so-called Priestly Codex stood with him in essentials as pre-Deuteronomic. This opposition to the construction of the newest criticism of the Pentateuch is merely a single manifestation, and one that especially catches the attention, of the adverse position that Dillmann in general held towards the modern criticism of the Old Testament. The whole method of this criticism was uncongenial to him—its procedure with the text, its proofs for the dates given. He remained more conservative than the modern critics, not from dislike to novelties—for he himself joined in many a one—but from a greater self-restraint in judgment and a stronger need of firm reasons for decisions than others have. How far correct perception was furthered by the boldness of the other side, a boldness that often was not destitute of genius, and how far by Dillmann's cautious prudence, must be left by his fellow-workers to a future decision.

WOLF WILHELM COUNT BAUDISSIN.

Marburg in Hessen, December 14, 1894.

Dr. S. C. Malan.—On the 25th of November last there passed away, at the advanced age of eighty-two, the Rev. Solomon Cæsar Malan, D.D., who was without doubt by far the most accomplished Oriental linguist in England. He was, however, not an Englishman by birth, but a native of Switzerland, born at Geneva in April, 1812. He came to England in 1833, and entered the University of Oxford as a member of St. Edmund Hall in that year. His early bent for the acquisition of many languages is illustrated by a story told about his matriculation examination. Being but imperfectly acquainted with English at that time, he is said to have asked leave, with perhaps a touch of the self-confidence of youth, to write his answers in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin, or Greek. Before leaving his native country he had also acquired some knowledge of Sanskrit as well as Hebrew. He accordingly gained the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship in 1834, only one year after the election of the first Boden Scholar and two years after the appointment of H. H. Wilson to the newly-founded Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford. This success he followed up in 1837 by winning the Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew Scholarship. In the same year he took his degree after obtaining a second class in *Literae Humaniores*, and left for India on being appointed Senior Classical Professor at Bishop's College, Calcutta. Here, as Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mr. Malan became personally acquainted with the Under-librarian, Alexander Csoma de Körös, the founder of Tibetan studies in Europe, and lost no time in availing himself of his teaching. De Körös thought so highly of Mr. Malan's attainments that he presented all his Tibetan books to his pupil when the latter left India. These volumes, forty in number, are now the property of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences, to which Mr. Malan gave them.[1] The MS. volume, however, on which De Körös' Tibetan Dictionary, published in 1834, is based,

[1] See J.R.A.S. 1884, p. 492 ff. Some further information as to Mr. Malan's Tibetan studies will be found in Duka's *Life of Alexander Csoma de Körös*, p. 142 (Trübner's Series), and in Schiefner's *Tibetan Tales* translated by Ralston, p. xii. (*ibid.*).

was presented by Mr. Malan to the Indian Institute, in the library of which it may now be seen.

Ill-health obliged Mr. Malan in 1840 to resign his appointment at Calcutta and to return to England. In 1842 he visited Palestine, where he spent some months. In the following year he took a curacy in Hampshire. Here the Rev. R. Chenevix Trench, subsequently Archbishop of Dublin, was associated with him as his fellow-curate. In 1845 he was appointed Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorsetshire, a living which he held for forty years. He also held a rural deanery (1846–53) and a prebendaryship (1870–5). When the late Sir H. Layard went to explore the ruins of Nineveh, Mr. Malan took the opportunity of accompanying him thither, between May and July, 1850. In 1880 the University of Edinburgh recognized the merit of his theological writings by conferring upon him the degree of D.D. The last nine years of his life Dr. Malan spent in learned retirement at Bournemouth.

Though Dr. Malan's studies ranged over a very wide linguistic field, his interests were by no means limited to those studies, but extended to several other subjects as well. Thus he devoted a good deal of time to natural history. His activity in this direction resulted not only in a valuable collection of birds' eggs, which he presented to the Museum at Exeter, but also in "A Systematic Catalogue of the Eggs of British Birds," published in 1848. He was, moreover, a good artist. During his visit to Palestine he made numerous sketches, from which he painted several large water-colours. These were exhibited and sold for the Patriotic Fund at Burlington House after the Crimean War. They are said to have attracted considerable attention. Among the purchasers were Mr. John Murray and the late Mahārāja Dhuleep Singh. He also published in 1856 a treatise entitled "Aphorisms on Drawing." Bookbinding was another art in which he acquired skill. Several of the works presented by him to the Indian Institute at Oxford were bound with his own hand, among others the MS. volume of his "Notes on the Book of Proverbs."

Dr. Malan was also a voluminous writer on religious subjects, about twenty-five publications of a theological character having proceeded from his pen. Several of these were, however, connected with his favourite Oriental and linguistic studies. Besides translations of devotional works from the Russian (1859) and Welsh (1887), he published "A Preparation for the Holy Communion, translated from Armenian and other Eastern originals" (1863), and a "Life of St. Gregory, translated from the Armenian" (1868). His treatise on "Repentance" is chiefly from Syriac sources (1866), and another translation is from Ethiopic originals (1882). He also published a translation of original documents of the Coptic Church (1872). Three of his treatises deal with Chinese religion and language (1855–6).

The closing eight or nine years of his long life were devoted to the publication of his *magnum opus*, the Old Testament Proverbs, illustrated with all the wealth of linguistic and Oriental knowledge which he had acquired by long and assiduous study. This was his "Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs," the first volume of which appeared in 1889 and the third towards the close of 1893, within a year of his death. In this book he utilised the garnered linguistic acquirements of a lifetime. The completion of the work before his decease must have been a source of great satisfaction to the aged author. The materials for the book he had been collecting for nearly sixty years, having begun when still an undergraduate at Oxford. It comprises 16,000 notes, consisting chiefly of illustrations culled from thirty-seven languages, nearly all of which are Oriental. These parallels were at first all copied in the original characters into a manuscript volume, which may now be seen under a glass case at the Indian Institute. That volume shows that Dr. Malan was a master of Oriental calligraphy. His writing of the Devanāgarī character few have probably ever seen equalled; and his Chinese hand it would be hard to excel.

The evidence of Dr. Malan's "Notes" proves that he knew about forty languages. The Bodleian possesses a MS. volume of his containing Prayers and Psalms, in which over

eighty languages and scripts are said to be represented. His linguistic acquirements were therefore astonishing, and can only have been surpassed by an Adelung or a Mezzofanti. That he knew several languages well is shown by the translations referred to above; but that, with so wide a range, he could have attained a high standard of scholarship in any one of them, is doubtful. Those who have devoted themselves to a scientific study of language are well aware that the intellectual limitations of even the most gifted render it impossible for any man to learn half a dozen languages thoroughly. For a scientifically philological knowledge implies so extensive a historical acquaintance, not only with the grammar but the national thought represented by a language, that a lifetime is hardly enough to devote to the study of one alone. Had Dr. Malan concentrated his powers he would doubtless have acquired the eminence as a scientific scholar which he actually attained as a linguist.

The course of Dr. Malan's diversified studies led to the formation of a valuable Oriental library of about five thousand volumes. Hardly any Eastern language in which books have been printed is unrepresented in it. When the Indian Institute was founded more than ten years ago at Oxford, Dr. Malan most generously presented it with his library. Even since the important collection of Oriental books recently given by Sir M. Monier-Williams has been added, the Malan books still constitute nearly, if not quite, half of the Indian Institute library. Thus Oxford men have a special reason to cherish the memory of Dr. Malan as a benefactor of his old University. It must have been a great sacrifice to him to part with his books, for he was evidently much attached to them. Two or three hundred of them he still retained till within the last year or so, when, owing to failing eyesight, he gradually sent them to the Institute by instalments. The last box arrived in Oxford only a few weeks before his death. In a letter of October 8th, 1894, dated from Bournemouth, and addressed to the writer of this notice, Dr. Malan wrote: "I send you my very last box of books, a very small one, but it contains

my volume of MS. notes on the Proverbs, which Sir M. Monier-Williams wishes to keep in the Indian Institute. I also enclose a relic well worth treasuring, viz. the portrait of Alexander Csoma Körösi, the founder of Tibetan literature in Europe. I received from him my first lessons in Tibetan at Calcutta in 1837." Although he must have been nearly blind when he penned this letter, the handwriting is still remarkably bold and clear, showing no trace of the infirmity of old age.

His letters proved that he continued to take a lively interest in Oxford to the last. But he often seemed to look back with regret to the days of sixty years ago, having little sympathy with the changes which the University has undergone in recent times. The influx of lady students was perhaps the innovation to which he was most opposed. He also often expressed strongly conservative views regarding a practical question of scholarship, the transliteration of Oriental languages in Roman characters. This he regarded as a kind of barbarism, and could hardly bear to look at a book in which an Eastern language was thus degraded.

When a scholar is suddenly carried off in comparative youth and the midst of achievement, there is naturally more "sadness of farewell." Dr. Malan's friends, on the other hand, though they cannot but mourn his loss, have the consolation of knowing that death only came when his life's work was done, and approaching blindness had cut him off from the companionship of the books he loved so well.

ARTHUR A. MACDONELL.

Heinrich Karl Brugsch.—The death of Heinrich Karl Brugsch—or, as he was usually called, Brugsch Pasha, to distinguish him from his brother Emil—marks an epoch in Egyptology. With him passes away almost the last of the older savants, but the younger school which followed has to a great extent been built upon the results of his labours. It is difficult for us who luxuriously consult our "Denkmäler" in our own libraries, or turn over the leaves of our newly acquired "Origines," to

realize the uncertain and tentative state of Egyptology in the earlier decades of this century. The discoveries of Young and Champollion had, it is true, afforded the clue to the deciphering of the hieroglyphs, but the Demotic script still remained a dead letter, and even men like Passalacqua, whose interest in Egyptology had led them to make costly collections of antiquities or conduct excavations in the Nile Valley, were the exponents of the wildest theories concerning the "inner meanings" which the monuments were supposed to conceal.

It was in such times—the early days of 1827—that Heinrich Brugsch was born in Berlin at the Barracks of the "White Uhlans," in which corps his father was a non-commissioned officer. The future savant is said to have owed his passion for Oriental travel to his interest, at the early age of eight, in an old family Bible adorned with woodcuts, and in an illustrated book of travels published by a German Missionary Society! Before he was ten he had devoured a translation of Herodotus, and, in his own words, "would have given half Berlin in exchange for one Theban tomb." His repeated visits to the Royal Collection of Egyptian Antiquities attracted the attention of Passalacqua. The studious boy was constantly observed copying hieroglyphs from the monuments, and Passalacqua introduced him later to Lepsius and Alexander von Humboldt, the latter of whom remained his patron and friend to the day of his death.

Meantime Brugsch had been sent to the Gymnasium, where he found himself in the same class with von Caprivi and the two Princes von Reuss. All his spare day hours and often half his nights were devoted to Egyptology. From the study of the Demotic contracts in the Berlin Museum, and the Gnostic papyri of Leyden, he had, before his eighteenth year, drawn up a Demotic grammar in Latin which was printed at von Humboldt's expense. The whole treatise was written out by Brugsch himself in his exquisite handwriting, such a thing as Demotic type being then unheard of. The work attracted the attention

of the learned. It was favourably reviewed by Emmanuel de Rougé in the Revue d'Archéologie, and on the very day of the appearance of the critique it was read by King Frederick William IV., who at once showed his appreciation of the young author by providing the funds for his three years course at the University of Berlin. Subsequently, to further his archæological studies, the King also paid his expenses to Paris. Brugsch was here brought into contact with Lenormant, E. de Rougé, and de Saulcy, whose exclamation—"Voyez ce gredin de Brugsch, il nous plante nous tous"—at a sitting of the Institute, showed the friendly and appreciative spirit with which he was received in the French capital.

His visit to Paris and his conversations with de Rougé convinced Brugsch that Demotic was governed by the same rules as the hieroglyphs, that in many cases he had been wrong, and had translated as letters certain signs which were, in fact, syllables, and lastly, that the Egyptian language, in its evolution from the Pyramid Texts to its latest development in modern Coptic, demanded a detailed and careful classification. To supply this want Brugsch conceived the idea of his great Demotic-Hieroglyphic Dictionary. This task he undertook soon after his visits to Leyden and Turin, although he did not actually begin to publish till 1868, continuing to bring out the work at intervals up to 1880.

In the year 1853, at the invitation of Mr. Harris, whose name has become immortalised by the papyri he discovered, Brugsch made his first visit to Egypt, all his expenses having been paid by the King, who had just at that time provided also from his own funds for the costly work of publishing Lepsius's "Denkmäler." Early in that season Mariette had made his great discovery of the Serapeum, and the large number of Demotic texts brought to light there yielded a rich harvest to Brugsch, who had begun to be regarded as the Champollion of Demotic. The two savants formed a fast friendship, which only terminated with the death of Mariette in 1881.

Egypt in 1853 was a very different place from what it is to-day. There were then no public museums, the principal antiquities being in the hands of private individuals, Mr. Harris at Alexandria, Clot Bey and Herr von Hüber in Cairo, having the richest collections. Part of von Hüber's collection was subsequently sold for several thousand pounds to Saïd Pasha, and formed the nucleus of the Bulak Museum, now removed to Gizeh. Railways and steamers being then unknown in Egypt, the journey between Cairo and Alexandria was accomplished in a Nile boat, and took several days. Brugsch, on reaching the capital, was introduced by the Prussian Consul-General to the Viceroy Abbas I., and we may note in passing that the interpreter at the interview was a young Armenian named Nubar, the present Premier of Egypt.

For months Brugsch and Mariette occupied the house still pointed out to tourists at the Serapeum, and worked indefatigably by day at the excavations and by night at the deciphering of texts. The enormous interest excited in Paris by these finds aroused the Viceroy's jealousy, and he forbad the exportation of any more monuments. Brugsch has left us an amusing account of Mariette's defence of the Serapeum against the besieging efforts of the Viceregal troops, and of the detention of Abbas's envoy in a tomb while the valuable objects were conveyed by a caravan to the Nile, *en route* for the French capital.

After a lengthy visit to Thebes, Brugsch returned to Europe, and as a result of his stay in Egypt published "Reports on a visit to Egypt," followed by "The Monuments of Egypt," the success of which obtained for him the post of Assistant Director, under Lepsius, of the recently opened Egyptian Museum in Berlin.

Mariette now begged him to come out to Cairo to assist him in arranging the Bulak Museum, in the completion of which Saïd Pasha, who had succeeded Abbas as Viceroy, was much interested. An expedition to Upper Egypt followed, the Viceroy providing a steamer and funds for excavations, during which Mariette and Brugsch worked

together on the best of terms. Brugsch copied afresh the texts previously collected by Champollion, Rosellini, and Lepsius, and being a good draughtsman, his plans and drawings of buildings were excellent and accurate. His researches during the season 1857–58 were fully described in his "Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens," published on his return.

By the death of Alex. von Humboldt in 1859, Brugsch lost his most enlightened patron and friend. Von Humboldt possessed the king's ear, and, had he only lived, probably his country would never have made the strange blunder of sending so distinguished an Egyptologist as Brugsch, in the capacity of Vice-Consul, to so uncongenial a spot intellectually as Teheran. Such, however, was the case. Brugsch, with characteristic industry, learned Persian in a month's time, and early in 1860 accompanied Baron von Minutoli and the rest of the Prussian Embassy to the Court of the Shah. Here he made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Rawlinson, then English Ambassador at Teheran, and had his attention drawn to the study of Assyriology. In company with Baron von Minutoli and five other Europeans, Brugsch made an expedition to Hamadan (Ecbatana) and the Persian Gulf; but the party were attacked by cholera, to which Brugsch all but succumbed at Persepolis, while Minutoli became its victim. Brugsch, after returning home, was appointed Prussian Consul-General at Cairo—an uncongenial post which left him but small leisure for his archæological studies. He returned to Germany in 1868, and during a visit to Paris was offered a Professorship at the Collège de France by Napoleon III., on condition of his becoming a naturalized Frenchman. This, however, was too great a price to pay, and he accepted from his own Government instead the post of Professor of Egyptology at the University of Göttingen.

It was at this period that he devoted most of his time to his great dictionary. He copied with his own hand the entire 3146 pages, containing some 8000 words in Hieroglyphic and Demotic, using a special ink for the

reproduction of the work by process. The first published sheets excited the greatest interest: it is true that many mistakes were pointed out by his critics, but Brugsch was undaunted, and in the second edition corrected them all; errors in place-names being rectified by the subsequent publication of his "Geographical Dictionary."

His stay at Göttingen was, however, a short one, as in 1870 he again went to Egypt, at the invitation of Ismaïl Pasha, to assume the direction of the Egyptological School at Cairo, and astonished the Ulemah by lecturing in excellent Arabic on the hieroglyphs. He also was constantly in demand to accompany the many Royalties who visited Egypt to inspect the monuments. In 1873 Dr. Brugsch acted as Egyptian Commissioner-General at the Vienna Exhibition, and also organized the Egyptian Section at the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876. After the fall of Ismaïl Pasha, Brugsch returned to Berlin, where he delivered at the University a series of lectures on Egyptology. Tewfik, on his succession, raised him to the rank of a Pasha.

In 1880 Brugsch again visited Cairo, and was with Mariette in his last hours. The story of Brugsch's opening the Pyramid of Metesouphis, and of his bringing the mummy of that king to Cairo to please the dying savant, is well known to the readers of his latest book, "Mein Leben und mein Wandern," which was only published last year.

During the season 1882–3 he accompanied Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia on a journey through Egypt and Syria (Palmyra), Greece and Italy, producing on his return an account of the expedition, entitled "Prinz Friedrich Karl im Morgenlande." Two years later he was sent by the Emperor as Envoy Extraordinary to Persia, during which visit he wrote "Im Lande der Sonne," and also translated into German verse a collection of Persian poems, which he entitled "Die Muse in Teheran."

It is impossible in so short a space to give any adequate account of his numerous works. His "Geographischen Inschriften alt-ägyptischer Denkmäler," in 3 vols. (1857), was the first great work of its kind, and its three indices

and careful arrangement show the grasp the author had of his subject. His "Thesaurus Inscriptionum" contains, in the last volume, an enormous number of bi-lingual inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period, and also valuable notes on Egyptian Astronomy. It was followed by a work on Egyptian Religion and Mythology, and by his "Ægyptologie," which is a compendium of learning on all Egyptian subjects. As early as 1861 he had started, and for some time continued to edit, the "Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde," but on his appointment as Consul at Cairo he handed the work over to Lepsius.

Brugsch's great characteristics were, indomitable industry and the completeness with which he carried out all he undertook. No one ever collected more materials than he: it was inevitable in such an unsettled life and working at the rate he did that mistakes should occur; but he was indefatigable in correcting them, and never allowed himself to be embittered by adverse criticism or by the jealousy of rivals. His commanding but kindly countenance (resembling, as the King of Sweden remarked, "ein vermilderter Bismarck") will long be missed in Cairo, where he was very popular. His opinion of the English occupation of Egypt is remarkable, coming, as it does, from one who had received his dismissal from his official position in Cairo at the hands of an Englishman. Only a few months before his death he wrote as follows: "British activity, combined with necessary severity, has worked almost incredible wonders. The European standard, as understood by England, has been applied to Egypt, resulting, in my opinion, in a real blessing to the country."

M. L. McClure.

III. Notes and News.

The Ruins of Anuradhapura.—The survey, exploration, and account of this ancient capital of Ceylon, which dates from B.C. 460, have at length been completed, and are now ready for publication. The editor, and late Architect to the Ceylon Government, has evidently taken great pains with this very elaborate and highly interesting work, consisting of upwards of 60 folio illustrations and a like number of pages of letterpress, the whole preceded by a concisely written but graphic historical preface. We have not heard where copies are to be obtained, or on what terms, but we believe that portions of this valuable work will be forwarded to many of the learned societies, by, we presume, the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Oriental Studies in Ceylon.—Mr. N. Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, Assistant Librarian of the Museum at Colombo, after studying Indian philology and archæology at the Universities of Erlangen, Munich, and Berlin for two years, has recently come to England for a short time, and is now working in the British Museum. He has been awarded Dr. Muir's Prize at Berlin University for diligence and progress in Oriental Studies, and he hopes to return to Germany to finish his course and to compete for the degree of Philosophic Doctor. For two years before leaving Ceylon, at the request of the Archæological Commissioner, and on account of his special knowledge of Sinhalese literature and history, and of his skill in deciphering ancient inscriptions, he was seconded to serve on the Archæological Survey at Anuradhapura. He is the editor of the Nikāya Sangraha, a history of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon, which was published at the Ceylon Government Press in 1890. Mr. Wickremasinghe is the first Sinhalese scholar who has ever come to Europe to perfect himself as an Orientalist.

IV. Notices of Books.

The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldæa. By Professor Maspero. Edited by Professor Sayce, and translated from the French, with permission of the Author, by Mrs. Edmund McClure. Published by the Society for Promotion of Useful Knowledge, with a Map of Egypt, and over 470 Illustrations.

This is a noble and epoch-making work: it marks a period in our knowledge of the subject: it is true, that those, who for many years have studied the great drama of Egyptian Archæology, will find much restated, which they knew before, but for the fresh student it will be sufficient to read Maspero, and accept facts and opinions from him, which are fortified by ample reference, at the foot of each page, to all previous authors of all nationalities.

Perhaps the name of this great work might have been less ambitious. For instance the people of India would not admit for a moment having in any degree, or at any time, derived their civilization from a country so far West as Egypt, and, as Professor Maspero has no personal knowledge of the Archæology of Mesopotamia, and confessedly derives his facts from the esteemed authors, whom he has consulted, it would have been better to have named the book "The Dawn of Civilization in Egypt." Professor Sayce, who is an authority on both the Egyptian and Mesopotamian problem, in his Preface, page v., draws attention to this. Professor Maspero's acquaintance with Assyriology is wonderful and accurate, but there are depths, which only a specialist on that subject can sound: he speaks as an authority, one of the greatest authorities, on Egypt, but is only an industrious quoter from other authorities, when he ventures into Chaldæa, which geographically is in the centre of Asia, and is credited with certain relations with China, and not impossible influences from or to India, while Egypt from its first to its latest hour of independence sate apart, as regards its language, its

Religious conceptions, its ideas on a Future State, and its Architecture. It is one of the peculiar weaknesses of Semitic and European writers, to limit their conception of "all the world," "tout le monde," "kul he eretz," to the Semitic, Hellenic, and Latin, Settlers on the shores of the Mediterranean, or the tiny populations of Egypt and Palestine, forgetting that one moiety of the fifteen hundred millions of the round world (as it is now) dwelt on the Eastern side of the River Euphrates, perfectly uninfluenced by Western Asia or Europe until within historic times, and only partially even now. In the story of the two brothers given by Maspero in the Revue Archæologique, March, 1878, the younger brother is described as a good workman, who had not his equal in *the whole world.* TO-R-TER-W, la terre entière, for Egypt, to the narrator of the story, was the whole world.

There are nine chapters of this stately book of 800 quarto pages. The first chapter is geographical. The derivation of the name of the country, Egypt, and the River Nile, is discussed, and is still uncertain: the name of the country *Αιγύπτος* is traced by some to "haikuphtah," the home of Phtah, by others to "ai kaphtor," the island of Kaphtor, by a third party to "*γύψ*, a vulture," The River Nile can only be approximately traced to the words "Nahr," or "Nakhal," the Semitic term for a River or Torrent. The people of Egypt called themselves Romitu or Rotu (p. 43) and their country "Khimi" or "Kham," the black land. They knew their river, from which they derived their prosperity, as "Hâpi, the father of the gods, the lord of substance." At page 44 the author discusses the date of their origin, and, remarking that the oldest monuments scarcely transport us further than six thousand years B.C., he postulates a date for the first appearance of the Egyptian race in the basin of the Nile of at least eight or ten thousand years B.C. What becomes then of Archbishop Usher's Chronology taught to this day in Public Schools, of the Creation of the World 4000 years before Anno Domini, and how are we to explain the Hebrew narrative,

that Abraham, who was born during the lifetime of Shem, one of the survivors of the Noachian deluge, went down into Egypt, then an ancient kingdom, which had a history of 4000 or 6000 years even then: it is obvious, that the Noachian deluge was restricted to Mesopotamia, and did not extend to the basin of the Nile.

Whence did the Egyptian race come? Prof. Maspero states, that it is difficult to recognize the hypothesis of an Asiatic origin (p. 46): it must have been of African origin, and came into Egypt from the West or South-west, and after its settlement destroyed the black race, which preceded it in occupation, and later on received an accretion of Asiatic elements, introduced by way of the Isthmus. The language has, according to his authority, some connection with the Semitic family: this may be more accurately stated, that the Hamitic languages of North Africa differ less from the Semitic family than they do from any other known Family or Group of Language: we can hardly go further. Lastly he notices the extraordinary resemblance of the present people of Egypt after the lapse of many centuries with the pictures of their ancestors painted on monuments: I was struck with the fact, when I first visited Egypt in 1843, and watched the great Egyptologist Lepsius collecting his materials in the neighbourhood of Cairo: perhaps I am the only survivor of an expedition headed by him to the great Pyramid. I mentioned this fact to Professor Maspero, when I paid him a visit forty-two years later, in 1885, in his Dahabeah at Luxor in my last visit to Egypt, following the expedition of Lord Wolseley as far as Assouan and Philœ, where I saw the telegram of the battle of Abu Klea nailed on a tree.

In Chapter II. Professor Maspero treats at great length (seventy pages) on the gods of Egypt, their number and nature: I am not sure, that he has added to our previous knowledge, but he has systematized the outcome of the labours of others, such men as Brugsch, Naville, Mariette, Renouf, Lefébure, Petrie, Pleyte, Lepsius, Champollion,

Wilkinson, Rosellini, Chabas, De Rougé, and at the same time has incorporated his own invaluable studies: at the foot of each page are the references to his authorities.

In Chapter III. he deals with the Legendary History of Egypt, in which the myths of Osiris and Horus occupy so large a part. In other countries there is a sharp dividing line betwixt the legends of Divine dynasties, and the Annals of Mortals: in Egypt they blend into each other: in fact the idea of an impersonal, yet omnipotent, Ruler of the whole world, not only of the petty basin of the Nile, had not been attained: such indeed was the intellectual and spiritual position of all the elder Nations before 800 B.C., when the Hebrew Race slowly arrived at the fact, that there was one only God; and they ceased to be monolatrists, and became monotheists. But the Egyptians did arrive at a conception of a Future State, Rewards and Punishments, at a period long antecedent to the time of Moses, and yet the only reward, that that law-giver can offer to the Hebrews in return for obedience to his law is, that the days of the faithful should be long in the land that was given to them. At page 188 we read how the dying Egyptian was furnished with answers to be given at the great day of Judgment to the questions of the Judge, some of them going to the very foundation of human morality, others relating to mere ritual trifles: that a departed soul should be taught (p. 190) how he could cry out before the Judge—"I am pure: I am pure" indicates a great advance in Religious conceptions. Escaping from the darkness of the tomb the enfranchised soul found itself in bright meadows, and thence embarked in the boat of the Sun to accompany that bright luminary in his daily journey. As time went on, in that clear climate the Egyptians became acquainted with the stars, and at page 205 we read of their Astronomical tables, and how they got over the difficulty of the number of days to make up the Solar year: this led them on to Astrology, Magical Arts, and elementary Pharmacy, and Healing of an empirical character; but it is interesting to read, that

the symptoms of the diseases of the people of those remote ages correspond with the diseases prevalent to this day among their descendants (p. 217). To the same benevolent Divine Ruler, Thoth, the Egyptians were indebted for their knowledge of Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, Drawing (p. 220), and we seem to touch solid ground, when we read, that he also taught them the art of writing, without which posterity would not have known what manner of men they were. Many a Race had passed away unappreciated, misunderstood, because they had not invented the art of communicating with Posterity, and storing up the knowledge of the Past. Speaking to the eye soon superseded the limited capabilities of speaking only to the ear. As we read, we feel that we are sitting at the cradle of the great Alphabetic systems, which have made Asia and Europe what they are, if from one point of view the heirs of all the ages, from another point the instructors of the whole world in its widest geographical sense in all the Sciences, and all the Arts, which discriminate Man from the Beast, and for all this we are indebted to those early Egyptians, who worked out the conception of Pictorial Ideographs, developing thence Syllabaries, and Phonetic Alphabets. This is a matter of received Science: Phenicia borrowed the conception of Phonetic signs from Egypt, and handed it on the West to the Hellenic and Latin Races, and on the East to the Semitic Races, and to India. The syllabaries in Cuneiform characters of Mesopotamia died leaving no successor: the Ideographs of China still exist, and it is impossible to predict the consequence of the literary contact of Europe with the Extreme Orient: but the fact must be recorded as the greatest Glory of the Egyptian people: they may or may not have imparted their culture, and knowledge of Divine Things, to the Hellenic Race, but the Greek Language would not have attained its inapproachable perfection, had the Hellenic Race not learnt the art of conveying sounds to phonetic symbols through Phenicia from Egypt.

The Hebrew Race never realized, that to their old enemies,

the Egyptians, they were indebted for the invention of the Phenician written characters, which they used down to within a century of our Era, and in which the Samaritan Pentateuch has survived to our time. But for that the Old Testament would never have been committed to writing, any more than the Books of Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, or Buddha; for the written character, used by all four, can be traced back to the Hieroglyphics of Egypt, and there never existed any other alphabetic system in the world, which is not traced back to that one fountain-head, either in germ, or development. If the Hebrew Race were ordained to convey to future ages the great Religious Conception, which dominates the present epoch, the honour belongs to the Egyptian Race of having invented the machinery for recording and handing on the written memorials, in which those conceptions are contained.

The date of the Exodus seems in these last days to have been fixed on scientific grounds. The discoveries made at Tel-al-Amarna in Egypt, and Lachish in Palestine, show clearly that at that date, the reign of Amenophis IV. or Khu-n-Aten, Egypt was in possession of the country. The date of the death of Rameses II. is fixed on astronomical grounds at 1281 B.C. It must have been at a date later than that when the Hebrews migrated from Egypt into Palestine, as no trace of Egyptian occupation is recorded. The migration of tribes from one region into another was not an event, which would cause surprise, either in those days or in comparatively modern times. The difficulties connected with the use of the Phenician alphabet at so early a date by a law-giver, whose sole experience was in Egypt or the Desert, and by the Hebrews, a tribe of shepherds, who had been centuries in a house of bondage, is not, however, removed.

In Chapter IV. we pass to the Political Constitution of Egypt. There were three great Periods:

I. The Memphite Period, or the Ancient Empire: Dynasties I. to X.

II. The Theban Period: Dynasties XI. to XX.: the Invasion of the Shepherd Kings is represented by the XV., XVI., and XVII. Dynasties.

III. The Saite Period: Dynasties XXI. to XXX.: the Persian Conquest divides this Period into unequal parts.

It gives an idea of the superior antiquity of Egypt to note that Abraham came down to Egypt in the time of the XII. Dynasty, that Jacob and Joseph dwelt in Egypt in the time of the XV. Dynasty, and the Sovereigns of the XIX. Dynasty were contemporary with Moses; Shishak of the XXII. Dynasty was contemporary with Rehoboam, and Hophra of the XXVI. with Jeremiah.

The King was himself deemed to be a God, and always entitled "Son of Ra," which title was preceded by the symbols indicating the Sovereignty of the two Egypts, North and South: after all his titles came the symbols of "Life, Health, and Strength." Polygamy was practised to a frightful extent by Kings and Princes: children swarmed in the Palaces: Brothers married Sisters: Sons married the widows of their Father. There were the usual consequences in trouble at every change of the Crown, and bitter hatred amidst the different children. The daughter of Pharaoh mentioned in Exodus is credited with being a great personage, but she was one of many, and probably given in marriage to some courtier or official, and a person of no more political consequence than the daughter of an European Sovereign.

Two things, however, were necessary to maintain the Royal authority: I. the Protection of the Gods; II. the Arm of the Flesh: it is very much the same now: we put up prayers for the welfare of the State, but we take care to keep our powder dry: but one sole Deity is now recognized by Christians and Mahometans: with the Egyptians it was different: the celestial world was the faithful image of the terrestrial: it had its Empires, and its organizations, and the gods were dependent on the gifts of mortals, and the

power of each deity depended on the number of its worshippers: when they received large offerings, they gave strength to overcome enemies, and came down to assist in battle: all readers of Homer's Iliad can recognize this feature: ritual and offerings were the duty, and sound policy, of Pharaoh, and all his subjects. The actual territorial domains of the gods formed at all periods about one-third of the country: the Priests had a fine time of it: the King was the dispenser of priestly patronage. The high priest of Om, or Heliopolis, whose daughter was married to Joseph, was a member of the Royal Family. Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh and their descendants, no doubt, thought much more of the greatness of their Egyptian mother, than of their father, the son of a Hebrew herdsman, as the rank of men in that country was through the mother rather than the father.

Coinage of metal was unknown: all transactions were by barter. The only kind of national metal-exchange in use in Egypt was a copper wire or plate bent, and this "tabnu" is the sign invariably used in hieroglyphics (p. 324). Gold and silver rings were used in barter, but there was no guarantee of their intrinsic value, or of their weight: on the other hand, not without reason, the invention of Geometry was justly credited to the Egyptians. The vagaries of the Nile destroyed all boundaries, and compelled them to measure the area, and record it: a square of 28 acres was the unit (p. 328). This was the basis of the Land-Tax, the amount of which, however, depended on the annual rise of the Nile, which also was carefully measured. The system of government adopted was as bad as could possibly be. The poor man had no incentive to lay by for the future, for he knew, that his wife and children might at any moment be carried off: his only plan was to consume at once what came to hand, and then, if necessary, to starve: he had nothing, which he could call his own, and, when he died, he had only the prospect of a similar state in the next world.

Chapter V. gives an account of the Memphite Empire.

In that period commenced the occupation by the Egyptian King of a Region in the Peninsula of Sinai for the purpose of supplying turquoises, and other minerals. This fact is placed beyond doubt by the engraved stelæ on the sides of the mountains. This opens out the question, discussed by Professor Sayce in his late works on the Monuments and Higher Criticism, as to the actual identification of Mount Sinai of the Exodus: the usually received site of Mount Katharine is close upon the territory occupied by the Egyptians above alluded to.

Under the fourth Dynasty were erected the great Pyramids: the earlier Kings were buried in flat-roofed square monuments called "Mastaba," made of earthwork. Khufui, called Kheops by the Greeks, reigned 23 years: whatever he did was neither better nor worse than the work of his predecessors, but the gigantic size of his tomb, the Great Pyramid, has bestowed upon him immortality, and his name is familiar to all. On the same Hills of Gizeh still appears the head of the Sphinx, which was erected in the third dynasty. The Great Pyramid, with very few exceptions, maintains its position as the loftiest work of man in the world, 476 feet high, on a basis of 764 feet square, the area of Lincoln's Inn Fields: but time and decay have reduced these dimensions. His son Khephren erected the second Pyramid, 394 feet, to the south-west of that of his father, at a height of only 443 feet. His son Menkawri erected the third Pyramid with an elevation of barely 216 feet. These Monuments were justly among the wonders of the elder world, and share with the Memnon-Statues the honour of being the only two of the seven recorded, that have lived to be the wonders of the modern world. I climbed to the top of the first pyramid in 1843, and 1852, and 1885, and to the top of the second in 1843, and entered both in 1843 and 1885. All the world may have advanced, but there was no change there: the perfection of their architecture, and design, indicate a long period of previous culture: no barbarous nation of Asia or Africa could have erected

such an enduring trophy, for there is no reason to calculate any period for their decay. Abraham must have looked at them, when he visited Memphis in the XII. Dynasty; Joseph and Moses must have known them well; the great Egyptian Kings of the XVIII. Dynasty could erect nothing so magnificent, and so enduring: how tiny and insignificant seem the Temple of Solomon and Zerubbabel, or even Balbek, when brought into comparison! Nothing has survived, or ever came into existence in Europe or Asia, which can contend with them the honour of being the mightiest trophy of human enterprise. They have escaped the danger of earthquake, lightning, sieges, and floods, and insidious decay by lapse of years, and their materials have escaped the greed of Monarchs requiring stone for new buildings. Rome and Athens have been less fortunate.

In Chapter VI. the Professor describes the first four Dynasties of the Kings of Egypt, who belong to the Theban Period. This brings us down to the period of the Invasion of the Semitic Shepherds, and the date of Joseph's power in Egypt. Up to that time the Kings of Egypt may have warred with the tribes in the Deserts on both sides of them, or with Nubia to the South, but they were destined soon to come into collision with a great Power, which had risen up in Mesopotamia: both were proud, strong, and highly civilized.

Chapters VII., VIII., and IX. relate to Chaldæa, and will not be noticed on this occasion: Egypt found a formidable rival in Mesopotamia, and eventually a succession of Persian, Greek, and Roman, Conquerors before the date of the Christian era, which accomplished the destruction of her independence and further development. In conversation in the Persian language with the ex-Khedive Ishmail Pasha, during his residence in England, I remarked, "barai Misr hechak umed nést," "for Egypt there is no hope at all," and this is my deliberate opinion, and the same remark applies to Turkey and Greece: they have had their day.

To those, who like myself, have had the privilege during

the last twenty years of studying this great subject, and of repeatedly visiting the country during the last fifty years, this book has peculiar fascinations. I attended the Linguistic Classes, which were formed in London for the study of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and at different Capitals in Europe, London, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Stockholm, and also at Florence and Leyden, I listened to communications made on the general subject of Egypt by such men as Lepsius, Brugsch, Renouf, Birch, Lieblein, Pleyte, Reinisch, Golénischaf, and Maspero himself, on the occasion of the great International Oriental Congresses. I have followed with appreciative interest the occasional narratives of such travellers and explorers as Sayce, Petrie, Naville, Villiers-Stuart, Amelia Edwards, and in far off years of Col. Vyse, whose person I recollect in my Eton days. I have referred to the standard-works of the past by Champollion, Young, Champollion Figeau, Rosellini, Chabas, Lenormant, De Rougé, Wilkinson, Piehl, De Morgan, Lane, Grebaut, Rossi, Lefébure, Goodwin, Reinisch, Dümichen, Ebers, Stern, Eisenlohr, Revillont, Erman, and Pierret. On nó subject has there been such a galaxy of magnificent scholars: the subject was worthy of the highest scholarship, and the scholars have proved themselves worthy of the subject: there has been enough difference of opinion to stimulate closer inquiry, and yet enough of unity amidst scholars of different nationalities and antecedents to justify the conviction, that the right road has been found.

This magnificent volume, compiled with such skill, and breadth of view, and translated so sweetly and accurately, is, as it were, a codification, or general conspectus, of the knowledge of Egyptology up to the fin du siècle XIX.: there are discoveries still to be made: the twentieth century has secrets to unfold, but it does not seem probable, that it will shake the foundation of our present archæological beliefs, though it may modify them and add to them.

Jan. 1895. R. N. Cust.

THE STUDENT'S GUJARĀTI GRAMMAR. By G. P. TAYLOR, M.A., B.D. Irish Presbyterian Mission, Gujarát.

The author of this work states in his Preface that he publishes it in the hope of providing a manual that will exhibit the main facts and principles of Gujarāti Grammar in a form intelligible to anyone of average English education, and that his constant endeavour has been to secure accuracy and simplicity, not novelty. The book is specially addressed to those who are in want of a grammar to read before going to the country of which Gujarāti is the vernacular language. Mr. Taylor must excuse us when, from a practical knowledge of Gujarāti extending over many years, we are of opinion that in the matter of simplicity he has entirely failed in his object, and that, so far from enabling a beginner to study the language without the aid of a native munshi, the former would, in the generality of cases, be utterly bewildered and lose himself in the maze of infinitesimal hair-splitting distinctions in form which the author has provided for the assimilation of the unaccustomed student, and would be apt to despair of ever acquiring a tongue placed before him in such an uninviting and portentous shape. The book is really more of the nature of a philological analysis of the Gujarāti language, useful to advanced scholars, than a grammar to be put into the hands of beginners. Otherwise, with the exception of an absence of allusion to words and idiomatical expressions peculiar to different parts of the country in which Gujarāti is spoken, for it must be remembered that its range is from far to the north of Ahmadābād throughout the Peninsula of Kāthiāvār well down to the south near Bombay, the work is learned, and the analysis thoroughly and conscientiously worked out.

Before proceeding to offer a few remarks on the grammar itself, it will be as well to point out for the benefit of the

Surat Mission Press that sufficient distinction is not made in the type between the letter *sa* (સ) and the syllable *rā* (રા), which are thus apt to be mistaken for each other. It should also be noticed that in ordinary Gujarāti handwriting, although the characters used are much the same as those of the printed type, a line is drawn along the page and the letters are written underneath. This has the advantage of keeping the lines of writing tolerably even, and of enabling similar letters to be distinguished from each other, e.g. ધ *dha* and ઘ *gha*, the former being partly above the line and the latter below it. Another respect in which the written differs from the printed character is that the former does not follow the practice of the Devanāgarī in placing *i* (િ) before the letter after which it is pronounced, or in affixing *r* (ર્) above the letter before which it comes: for instance, the word *visarg* in page 9, line 1, printed વિસર્ગ, would in manuscript be વીસરગ.

This symbol "visarg" is seldom or never used in the written character, and it would only be a pedantic purist who would think of writing for *pain* (at the end of para. 5) the word દુઃખ; it would be simply દુખ, for, *pace* the author, the *visarg* has no audible sound at all, and the word would be pronounced in English simply as *dookh*. As the Hunterian system of transliteration of Oriental letters has been finally adopted, it is a pity that it has not been strictly adhered to in this book.

Passing on to the rules laid down for the gender of nouns—it is admitted that the gender can be learned only through constant practice, but there is more in the matter than this. A noun considered feminine in Ahmadābād may be masculine in Surat and neuter in Kāthiāvār (Kattywar), and *vice versâ*. A good deal depends on whether the origin of the word was Persian (or Hindustāni) or Sanskrit (or one of the dialects descended from the latter), the rule in some parts of the country being that the gender in Gujarāti

should follow that of the original language, and in others that it should be that assigned to it by common custom. The general rules laid down for distinguishing gender are, with this exception, correct, but some of the distinctions drawn are unnecessarily fine: for instance, it would have been far simpler to omit the exceptions to the femininity of nouns ending in *i* (ઈ) in para. 12, with the remark that those thus ending, when belonging to individuals evidently of the male sex, should be treated as masculine, notwithstanding their feminine termination. Another instance of the hair-splitting, so puzzling and laboured to beginners, indulged in by the author is in para. 13, where it is said that should an inanimate object have a name ending in ઓ or ઉ, and an object of the like kind a name ending in ઈ, the former is generally the larger, stronger, coarser of the two, and the latter the smaller, weaker, finer. This is in reality by no means the case. In one of the instances given, ગાડું "a cart," ગાડી "a carriage," the latter may be a heavy clumsy cart with wooden wheel tires, and the former a light carriage on springs, the gender used depending simply on the speaker's fancy. Among the different words used for the masculine and feminine of the noun representing the same person we notice કન્યા, given as "a bride," the feminine of વર, "a bridegroom," but the former really means a virgin, although applied to a bride; again, ભેંસ is given as the feminine equivalent to પાડો, "a male buffalo," but પાડી might just as well be used. Another curious misconception is apparent in giving ચાક (*chāk*) as a vernacular name for "chalk," whereas it is simply a corruption of the English word itself.

There is no fault to find with the paragraphs relating to adjectives and their declension, but in the sentence quoted at the end, "His nephew asked some money from him," the word ભત્રિજે would ordinarily be ભત્રિજાએ (not *bhatrīje*, but *bhatrījāe*).

With regard to the pronouns, the author remarks that the મજ forms are found chiefly, though not solely, in poetry. In an experience of over thirty years in all parts of the Province, and in the course of communication with all classes of people, the present writer has never known them used in prose—a very good proof of their rarity. The same remarks apply to the તુજ form of the 2nd personal pronoun. In this chapter there is a remarkable omission of the 3rd personal pronoun, તે, "he, she, or it," the only notice taken of its existence being in the following para., viz. "The demonstrative pronoun તે is also used as the 3rd personal pronoun, 'he, she, it.'" It is, however, the 3rd personal pronoun first, and demonstrative pronoun in the second place only, and with its plural તેઓ (*tēo*) is regularly declined as substantives are. The author has also omitted to give the alternative forms of જમાં જમાં and તમાં તમાં, which follow the Hindustāni, and are commonly used, viz. જહાં જહાં and તહાં તહાં, as well as the variations in the inflected cases of કોણ, such as કોહોનેં for કોણે.

The definitions of the various tenses and parts of verbs appear to be unnecessarily complicated for beginners, although they may be linguistically correct. It is advisable to warn the student that he will in ordinary handwriting not find inserted in the past tenses the એ (*yē*), carefully used by the author: for instance, ચડો, *chadyo* "he rose," would be so written, and not ચડ્યો, as in this grammar. The distinction between the 1st and 2nd perfect participles drawn in the note on page 51 is without a difference, that formed with an inserted લ (*l*), being more or less frequent in different parts of the country, and being specially common in Kāthiāvār, where such words as મરેલ are often used uninflected.

In the rules for the present and past indefinite subjunctive tenses the particle જો is prefixed to the pronoun and verb, but it is as common to say હું ચડું તો and હું ચડત તો

as જોહું ચડું and જોહું ચડત. The form of adding એ to the termination of the word, as in ચડતે and હોતે is not by any means so unusual as the author would appear to think. With regard to the subjunctive compound tenses of intransitive verbs (para. 61), it is necessary to point out that they are seldom or never used without their appropriate pronouns: for instance, ચડતો હોઉં is generally હું ચડતો હોઉં. Sufficient notice has not been taken of the common idiomatical use of the verb થવું, "to become or be": for instance, no native would think of translating "Good luck to you" by તારૂં ભલું થજો, as at the close of para. 63, the proper idiomatical rendering being તારૂં ભલું થાએ. If one wished to ask how many *koss* it was to a place, moreover, one would not say કેટલા ગાઉ હોએ or હોએ છે, but કેટલા ગાઉ થાએ. The rule given for forming the precative mood, viz. by adding ઓ to the verbal stem, may be good grammar, but in ordinary parlance the sentences given would be as follows:

તારૂં રાજ્ય આવે, not આવો "Thy kingdom come."
તું શપિત થાએ, not થાઓ "Mayest thou be accursed!"

In place of making a separate class (para. 81) of intensive compound verbs, only to puzzle a beginner, would it not be simpler to say the verbs નું, આવવું, રેહેવું, etc., may be combined with past participles of other verbs, to give the latter an intensive sense? For instance, નાસી આવવું, to reach after flight, to effect one's escape, is literally "having fled away, to come"; પકડી રાખવું, to keep hold of, is "having seized to keep"; ખમી રેહેવું, to bear on, to endure, is "having endured to remain." The completive compound verbs under B, para. 62, might well have come under the same heading, instead of the beginner being puzzled with an extra one, and the same remark is almost equally applicable to the subsequent paras. headed Frequentative Compound Verbs, Continuative Compound Verbs, and Obligative Compound Verbs. All the distinctions drawn

may be philologically correct, but are far too abstruse to puzzle a beginner with. The infinitival expressions in para. 91 are useful as showing some of the peculiar idioms of the language.

The paragraphs relating to adverbs need few remarks. It may be noticed in passing that હાલ (para. 92) is derived from Persian, and not old Gujarāti; that લગભગ means "close to" as well as "almost"; તાહાંથી or ત્યાંથી ought to be added to જ્યાંથી in para. 93; દિવસે દિવસે to દિન પર દિન (day after day) in para. 94; કેડા મોર (used especially in Kāthiāvār) to આગલ પાછલ, before and behind; and that તારે સું, "what then (will result)?" unless written ત્યારે સું, would mean "what is it to thee?" instead of merely "what then?"

As this review has reached a greater length than was at first intended, we will only notice in conclusion some of the author's list of prepositions and the cases they govern.

કોર and ગમ "in the direction of," etc., frequently become કોરે and ગમે. થ્યા "since (time) ago" is not a preposition, but the 3rd person plural of the past tense of થવું, as દસ વરસ થ્યા, "there have been ten years," or "ten years have passed since." ના is used with પેહેલા "before, sooner than," as often as ની: તેપ્રમાણે "according to," etc., is as common as તેના પ્રમાણે. Similarly with તેની મુજબ and તેમુજબ.

તેના લગણ is not so common as તાહાં or જ્હાં લગણ.

With વગર, વિના, સંબંધી, સિવાએ, and મુંકાં, the preceding noun or pronoun is frequently not inflected, as in the case of મુજબ and પ્રમાણે.

Enough has been said to show that this grammar, though elaborated in a most painstaking manner, fails in that simplicity and absence of hair-splitting distinctions so essential to attract the favour of a beginner and ease his labours, and it is not too much to remark that it is essentially a work written by a person, like a Missionary,

stationary in one particular place, and accustomed to associate with one set of people speaking in a similar way. It is not one by a person accustomed to move all over the Province, and is therefore not suitable to a student who desires a knowledge of the language as generally used. The variations in different parts of the country make the composition of a Gujarāti grammar really a very difficult matter, but most of the faults pointed out are capable of easy correction in a second edition.

A. R.

ÉTUDES SUR LES DIALECTES BERBÈRES, par RENÉ BASSET (*Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Prix Bordin*, 1893). 8vo. Pp. xiv. and 164. Paris: E. Leroux, 1894.

Under this unassuming title, the learned Director of the High School of Letters in Algiers has given us a treatise on Berber dialects, some forty of which are passed in review, wherein he has judiciously condensed the outcome of research up to date, most of it being the result of his own indefatigable industry. Here we find a piece of honest good work, a storehouse of linguistic lore,[1] from which, however, the author is careful not to draw any deductions, general or special. Scrupulously refraining from indulging in speculations or inferences, he has been content to keep to the boundary line of facts, known and well pondered. Properly speaking, these "Studies on Berber dialects" may be termed a "Comparative Grammar of the Berber dialects"; still incomplete, undoubtedly—so much the Professor candidly admits, and to which additions will have to be made hereafter, though we surmise that it will never be found necessary to excise any portions of the work, for the simple reason that the scholarly author has strictly kept within the bounds of established facts.

[1] See, f. i. pp. 59-63, the remarkable account of the development of the root F with the primitive meaning of "light."

We can only counsel admirers of thorough efficiency to make an attentive study of this pioneer epitome, concise alike and luminous, of Berber philology, from which they will be sure to derive pleasure and profit!

TH. G. DE GUIRAUDON.

WÖRTERBUCH DER BEDAUYE SPRACHE, von LEO REINISCH. 8vo. Pp. 365. Wien: A. Hölder, 1895.

I have had already the opportunity of noticing in this Journal the publication of original texts and of a remarkable grammar of this language by the same learned author. He has now completed his work on the subject by issuing an extensive dictionary, which by far surpasses all previous publications of various authors. The present dictionary is not a mere register of words with their German translation. Each word is carefully analyzed, as well by itself as with reference to cognate words in other languages of North-east Africa, already illustrated, or about to be illustrated, by the Viennese Professor. In fact, besides a well-known and masterly treatise on the Nubian language, Prof. Leo Reinisch has devoted himself to the study of the so-called Chamitic family of languages in North-east Africa, and he has published grammars and dictionaries, founded on original texts collected by himself on the spot with the utmost care, in the *Barea*, *Bilin*, *Saho*, *Troh-Saho*, *Chamir*, *Guara*, *Kafa*, *Kunama*, and *Afar* (or *Dankali*) languages, the whole being represented by nearly 5000 pages of 8vo print, and, indeed, 5000 pages of conscientious and genuine work. The Galla and Somali languages remain yet to be scientifically investigated: Schleicher, whose premature death is much to be regretted, besides having published a valuable grammar of the Somali language, had also collected many original texts in the two above-named languages: I understand that these texts have been fortunately preserved and forwarded to Prof. Leo Reinisch, who intends to use them as a sound basis for his future exertions. Thus, the series will be complete as far as this corner of

Africa is concerned, and, perhaps, we may be able to get some light from a comparative study of these languages and the Berber dialects: the names of Prof. René Basset and Leo Reinisch will then be connected for having jointly led the way into this field of research.

TH. G. DE G.

CHRESTOMATHY OF ARABIC PROSE-PIECES. By Dr. R. BRÜNNOW. (Porta linguarum orientalium, edidit Herm. L. Strack, pars xvi.) Pp. ix. and 311. London: Williams and Norgate, 1895.

With so many Arabic chrestomathies already in existence the appearance of yet another one might seem superfluous, but for the reasons given by the author in his preface the publication of this one is fully justified. The few pages of prose text, with the rather meagre glossary appended to Prof. Socin's Grammar, were hardly sufficient as reading exercise for beginners. It was felt long ago that the space they occupied should rather have been devoted to the extension of the grammatical portion of the book. The syntax in particular was so greatly curtailed that either the students were obliged to refer to a larger work or the lecturer had to make supplementary remarks to each paragraph. It is gratifying to learn, therefore, that a further edition of Prof. Socin's work will be considerably enlarged. To accomplish this satisfactorily the Chrestomathy must be detached, and the publishers have done well to place the compilation of the latter in such excellent hands as those of Dr. Brünnow. The pieces have been selected with great discrimination. Dr. Brünnow wisely endeavoured to provide readers with an abridged history of early Islamism compiled from the most popular authors, as Ibn Qutaiba, Al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Abd Rabbihi, and others. The *Adab* is represented by some specimens of *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, whilst the Sūras 1, 28, and 81 give an idea of the style of the Qorān in the Meccan epoch. The edition of the whole of the Ajurrūmiyya is sure to meet with general

approval, as the little book forms a most suitable introduction into the study of the more difficult works on grammar.

The completeness of the glossary is somewhat impaired by the bilingual translation of every paragraph, although the smaller type makes up to a certain degree for the loss of space. Two very useful appendices form a welcome addition to the book. The one contains the genealogies of the Quraishites, showing the lines of descendants in the families which generated the Prophet and the chief Moslim dynasties. The second is a chronological table, giving the principal dates in the history of Islām as far as the Abbassides.

This new Arabic Chrestomathy will, no doubt, soon be as popular as most of the works of the *Portes*.

H. Hirschfeld.

Bibliothèque Khédiviale. Description de l'Egypte par Ibn Doukmak, publiée d'après le manuscrit autographe conservé à la Bibl. Khéd. الجزء الرابع والخامس من كتاب الانتصار لواسطة عقد الامصار etc. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893. With Preface by Dr. Vollers, pp. 7, 136, and 127.

The short preliminary notice which appeared in the April number of this Journal last year was hardly adequate to the importance of the publication in question. A few additional remarks will, therefore, not be superfluous. Hitherto the work has been looked upon as lost, but the two parts (iv. and v.) lying before us in print are in so far complete, as they contain the description of the whole of Egypt, whereas the remaining volumes, if they had ever been written, would have been devoted to other centres of Moslim culture. The autograph MS. of the work from which the edition was made had for centuries been lying forgotten in a mosque. It was not only fortunate that it was

recovered at all, but that it fell in the hands of a scholar of European training and of such efficiency as Dr. Vollers. The importance of the publication speaks for itself, even if we only glance at it, and is enhanced by the circumstance, so clearly evidenced in the preface, that Maqrīzī was unaware of its existence. It gives a detailed description of the author's fatherland as it was at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The richness of its contents can be gathered from the following brief list of items it treats of. It describes the streets, places, quarters, gates, passages, markets, squares, barracks, porticos, hills, ponds, mosques, medresses, public baths, churches, synagogues, monasteries, etc. The descriptions are accompanied by historical accounts, often going back as far as the rise of Moslim power.

The author set to work in a very methodical way, dividing the country in a northern and a southern part. He commences with an account of the foundation of Fostāt, even mentioning traditions connected with it. It is no wonder that this oldest portion of Cairo nearly monopolises the first volume. That the mosques occupy a considerable space, is not surprising. A very interesting chapter is devoted to the canal which was made to receive the overflow of the Nile. The description of Fostāt is followed by one of the neighbouring villages and the island of Rōdha. The second volume describes Al-Qāhira, Damiette, Alexandria, and other places. This part has unfortunately many gaps. The historians on whom Ibn Duqmāq relies are mentioned in the preface, with the exception of Ibn Quteiba. Apart from its historical value, the book is also of linguistic interest, and Dr. Vollers has not failed to call due attention to this. The print is unfortunately small and too cramped. The addition of an index would have been an improvement. Gratitude is due both to Dr. Vollers for the careful execution, and the Egyptian Government for the promotion, of the important book, of which a translation would be gladly welcomed.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DIARY OF A JOURNEY THROUGH MONGOLIA AND TIBET IN 1891 AND 1892. By WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. (City of Washington: published by the Smithsonian Institution), 1894.

"The journey described in this volume," we read in the "Advertisement" prefixed to it, "was undertaken by Mr. Rockhill partly under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, and the work is issued as a special publication of the Institution, with the general object of 'increasing and diffusing knowledge' in regard to the little known countries traversed by the explorer."

An introductory notice by the author gives us a short chronological account of the travellers who have visited Tibet, and this is followed by a statement of the circumstances which led the author to take the particular course of exploration described in his book.

The work itself is in the form of a diary, the writer giving under each day the record not only of his journey but also of his observations, reflections, hopes, apprehensions, and projects. This form of writing will not be found to be, as Mr. Rockhill seems to have feared it might be, tedious to any serious reader. It rather gives a freshness and reality to the narrative, and it also enables the reader to break his reading at convenient intervals.

Mr. Rockhill starts on his travels from Peking, having obtained from the Chinese authorities there a passport authorizing him "to visit Kansu, Ssŭ-ch'uan, Yün-nan, Hsin-chiang (the New Dominion), and the Ching-hai, or the Mongol and Tibetan country, under the administrative control of the Hsi-ning Amban." From Peking the traveller proceeded by the Nan-K'ou Pass, the road through which he found "wonderfully improved" since his visit in 1888, on to Kalgan. Here he equipped himself with a supply of travelling necessaries, and then went on to Kuei-hua-Ch'êng. From this he continued his journey to Ning-hsia-foo, on the Yellow River in Kansu, a place

which produces good paper and woollen rugs of great repute among the Chinese.

From Ning-hsia Mr. Rockhill proceeded south-west to the great city of Lan-chow-foo, where he stayed a few days, visiting the European missionaries and perfecting his equipment. As an example of the interesting and valuable information to be found in this book, and of the clear simple style in which the author writes, we may take the following passage from his account of his stay at Lan-chow-foo: "Opium cultivation and opium smoking are increasing at a rapid rate. At Liang-chow, for example, they count eight lamps (*yen têng*) for every ten persons; here at Lan-chow it is nearly as bad. It would be wrong to imagine that the native Kansuites are responsible for the increased consumption of opium; it is a result of the rapid and overwhelming influx of Ssŭ-ch'uanese into the province. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that they form a fifth of the whole population of Kansu; in the southern portions they are much more numerous than elsewhere, around Hui-hsien, and the warmer and more fertile districts especially. They take the trade, wholesale and retail, and have energy, the one essential thing the Kansuites are lacking in. There are three or four Ch'an-t'ou (Turkestanis) here selling raisins, rugs, etc., and also seven or eight Koreans with ginseng. These latter people visit the remotest corners of China. In 1889 there was one at Ta-chien-lu, where he kept an inn" (p. 56).

From Lan-chow Mr. Rockhill proceeded in a north-west direction on to Hsi-ning and Lusar, and thence by Shang, south of the Koko Nor and Tsai-dam, through Mongolian territory to Naichi Gol. From this he continued his journey south and south-west on to Namru, near the Tengri Nor. From this last he had to turn and proceed in an easterly direction to Batang, and so on into western Ssŭ-ch'uan and down the Yang-tsŭ to Shanghai.

In his long journey, especially in the part of it which lay in Tibetan territory, Mr. Rockhill had often to endure great hardships, encounter many difficulties, and bear

serious disappointment. His troubles are told in a plain unvarnished narrative, and he never dwells on them too long, nor writes of them with undue asperity.

The present treatise is a worthy supplement to the author's "Land of the Lamas." It gives many items of curious and interesting information about remote and little known places in parts of the Mongolian and Tibetan dependencies of China. It abounds also in thoughtful, sensible comments on the social and political state of affairs in these districts. One illustration must suffice. When at Draya, near the Gamla in Tibet, the traveller was treated with great rudeness by a party of drunken rowdy Lamas. The Chinese military officer stationed in the town could easily have dispersed the mischievous rioters and protected the traveller's party, but he did not give the least assistance. Mr. Rockhill hereupon remarks: "It was quite in keeping with what I have now found out to be Chinese policy in this country, for neither the Shou-pei (the Chinese military officer of the town) nor any of his subordinates to turn up in this emergency. The Chinese in Tibet do not want to risk their popularity with the dominant class of the country (*i.e.* the Lamas) by befriending foreigners, to do which they would have to assert their authority without any advantage to themselves. Whenever China sees the necessity of doing so, it can effectually assert its supremacy in Tibet, for it is absurd to say that China is not the sovereign power there, and that Chinese officials are only there to manage their own people, and are tolerated, as it were, in the country. History, since the time of Kang-hsi, or Ch'ien-lung at all events, and also recent events at Lh'asa and along the Indian border, prove conclusively that this is not so; but China does not propose to hold Tibet by force of arms—the game would hardly be worth the candle; it is by diplomacy, by its superior knowledge of foreign affairs and nations, and by conciliating the Lamas, that it preserves its undoubted sway" (p. 324).

The "Diary of a journey" is well illustrated, and it is furnished with an excellent general index and a route

map of the traveller's explorations. There are also five appendices, the first giving a Salar vocabulary, the second a San-ch'uan T'u-jen vocabulary, the third giving a list of plants of Tibet by Mr. W. Botting Hemsley, the fourth giving a table of altitudes, latitudes, etc., and the fifth giving the mean monthly temperature from June to October, 1892.

T. W.

PERSISCHE STUDIEN, von H. HÜBSCHMANN. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1895.

Professor Hübschmann, of Strassburg, has long been known for his excellent work in the field of Indo-Germanian Philology, and especially for his Armenian researches, for he was the first to clearly demonstrate that Armenian was not an Iranian language, as was formerly maintained by most scholars, and still is by some. In his Persian studies he gives a clear exposition of the point at present reached in the etymology of modern Persian. The work is divided into two parts. The first part, comprising some 120 pages, is devoted to a critical examination of Dr. Horn's *Grundriss der Neupersischen Etymologie*; the second, to the principal rules of Persian etymology. In his preface to the first part the author, in a measure, defends Dr. Horn against some of his too severe critics, at the same time fully recognizing that the book, partly from a lack of requisite material and partly from over-haste in its execution, leaves much to be desired. Professor Hübschmann has not taken upon himself to correct all the mistakes in Dr. Horn's *Grundriss*, nor to complete the collection of words. He has merely dealt with such words as specially interested him. The second part is prefaced by a clear, if brief, description of the relationship of ancient Persian to the Indo-Germanian *Grundsprache*, and the succeeding stages in the development of the modern language are sketched out. The method of treatment is most lucid. Each letter of old Persian is taken separately, and we are

shown what became of it in its transition into the modern language. Every rule is amply illustrated by examples. Thus, for instance, we are shown that the *d* in ancient Persian is represented in modern Persian by *d*, *h*, or *y*, and when *r* precedes it, by *l*. Of each case many examples are given, such as—*dād* "justice"=old Persian *dāta*; *daham* "give," from *daδāmi*; *mai*=Zend *maδu*; *nālīdan* "lament"=Sanskrit *nard*, and rules are given showing under what circumstances the various changes take place. Most important is the help which the author derives from Armenian in tracing old forms of Persian words, for Armenian abounds in words which it has borrowed, at different periods, direct from Persian; and in many cases it is quite possible to determine at what period such and such a word was taken into the language. For example, in early classical Armenian there was a fixed law that the vowels *i* and *u* disappeared when not in the last syllable. This law influenced all the Persian words borrowed at that period, while in later Armenian the newly-borrowed words, being no longer subject to this law, the Persian words become less disfigured in the process of adoption. Thus we find, on the one hand, the Armenian *dmak* "tail," Zend *duma*, Persian *dum*; while, as an example of a later loan, Armenian *pursishn* "process," from Pehlevi *pursishn*, Persian *pursish* "question." In Armenian we find the modern Persian *bāzū* "arm" under the form of *bazuk*, which clearly points to a Pehlevi for *bāzūk*, not *bāzōk*. This is one instance out of many cases in which Armenian enables us to decide upon the pronunciation of older forms of Persian words. The material for these studies have been derived from various sources, chiefly from Dr. Horn's collection. In several cases new light has been thrown upon old words by the very interesting description of an old Commentary to the Koran, published a short while ago by Mr. Browne in this Journal. The author has also utilized to great advantage the Afghan Dictionaries, which Dr. Horn seems to have disregarded in his *Grundriss*.

What is so much needed for the advancement of Persian

studies are careful editions of old texts, collections of peculiar words and forms occurring in the Shāhnāma (such as is now being undertaken by Professor Nöldeke), and in other old classics. Standard texts, like the *Gulistān*, have been edited and translated times without number, but our libraries are full of really old texts which have never been touched. What has been done in this line up to the present has, however, been fully utilized, and to the best advantage, in this excellent work of Prof. Hübschmann's.

E. D. R.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HINDUISM. By GURU PROSAD SEN. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, and Co.

Mr. Guru Prosad Sen's book, like that of many other cultivated Hindus in their present stage, reminds one forcibly of the aspect of some of their great towns, where palaces and hovels stand side by side. We find high aspirations and some really noble thoughts grouped incongruously with feeble common-places and flimsy reasonings, such as might be expected from a rather ambitious undergraduate. Yet, on the whole, this "Introduction to the Study of Hinduism" justifies its title. It opens up an approach to the subject which was hardly available before, and in its very method and style presents an instructive picture of the new Hindu striving hard and generously, if not quite successfully, as an apostle and a vindicator demonstrating how in religion and philosophy and toleration and civic capacity his people are leaders of mankind, yet bidding them "whenever changes spring up . . to try to mould and adopt them as fast as they can" in such wise as to "work out a harmonious whole, the like of which does not yet exist in this world."

Mr. Guru Prosad Sen boldly maintains that "Hinduism is not, and has never been, a religious organization. It is a pure[ly] social system, insisting in [*i.e.* exacting from] those who are Hindus the observance of certain social forms,

and not the profession of particular religious beliefs." The Hindu, he declares, "may choose to have a faith and creed, if he wants a creed, or do without one." It has long been recognized that Hindu feeling tolerated great latitude of speculative thought, so long as no attack was made on definite developed institutions. The mere co-existence of innumerable castes necessitates mutual forbearance. But when our author says that Hinduism is "an essentially progressive system," which "takes in and assimilates, hates to imitate, but beautifully incorporates, and makes new ideas its own by going onward with the impetus generated by these shocks," he translates the wish overmuch into the thought. Movements there have been and are, but is the body of Hindu philosophy advanced what it was left by Shankarachārya? It has, apparently, a great power of suppression or reabsorption. The Buddhism and Jainism which Mr. Sen regards as *foreign influences* were themselves evolved out of the early creative speculation of the post-Vedic philosophers, and were as national influences subdued or swallowed up again when their first energies were worn out. There is a tendency, apparently, rather to revert to old types than to take on new variations as permanent characteristics.

In religion Mr. Sen says that "so long as a man holds to his caste he is at liberty to hold any opinions he likes, even to accepting the doctrines of Christianity." He may accept the doctrines perhaps, but can he adopt the practices of Christianity? And, however it may be with Hinduism, Christianity insists on a mode of life, a relation to one's fellow-men, which is quite incompatible with the retention of caste and the observance of caste rules. The same may be said of Mahomedanism. From either point of view the Hindu who, having embraced doctrines inconsistent with caste, remains in caste must be irreligious and a hypocrite. His subservience to a system which he must see or think hampers the full development of the individual man is worse, as a matter of progress, than his sincere adherence to a creed, even though a defective one, and a self-denying,

untiring endeavour to live up to it. If then the central essential characteristic of the Hindu is caste, he is not as a Hindu either "intensely religious" or progressive in any practical sense. He dreams of better things, but does them not.

On the subject of Hindu family life Mr. Sen has many instructive remarks from the standpoint of intimacy which only a Hindu can attain. He rejects, and not without reason, Maine's theory of the simpler forms of family being derived, historically, from the more complex. "The earliest Vedic type of family was the simple, or individual, type, consisting only of the man, his wife, and children." This type was the ideal one long after the Vedic times, and partition is commended by Gautama as augmenting the sum of spiritual merit through the multiplication of separate household sacrifices according to the archaic fashion. The rights of the widow and daughter, though postponed, to those of the sons took precedence of the rights of brothers to the estate of a man deceased. The "joint family," so called, was of later growth. It suited the special conditions of life to which Hindu society was for some centuries subjected, but it is fading away again under the impulse to individualism received from contact with European civilization. Mr. Sen thinks that economy was the motive which first induced Hindus to form large joint families, embracing numerous first and even second cousins in a single group. Yet, again, he says: "The first splitting up of the complex family type in this country appears to have been due to the growing poverty of the people." And, after all, "it will primarily be a desire for cheapness again which under better conditions and better education will recommend the second and third types to our people and perpetuate them as Indian types." It is hard to see how all these statements can be correct. In the Vedic era the Aryan youth had an almost boundless field of activity. "The world was all before them where to choose." In the present day an equally wide field of industrial and commercial enterprise has been opened up under British

rule. Individualism, independent life and exertion, is stimulated by such circumstances. Between the first stage and the last came a long period of comparative stagnation. Employments being more and more rigidly regulated, the attractions drawing men away from the family hearth, and on which material progress depends, grew feebler and feebler. The general sense of helplessness favoured an effeminate cleaving to the family union, and kindly natural attachments grew into legal bonds. These bonds have become almost insufferable in the present day: the tendency to partition amongst brethren becomes greater and greater, and there is no more probability of the Hindus reverting to the great joint family as a general social scheme than of Europeans resuming the guild system of the fourteenth century.

All who are in any way familiar with Hindu society must have been struck with the docile, cheerful meekness of the softer sex. They take a purely subordinate, dependent position as an ordinance of Heaven, and thus find a happiness in single-minded acceptance of the lot assigned them, which their more aspiring sisters in Europe might envy. Mr. Sen, with a pardonable exaggeration, thinks they present the most perfect existing type of womankind. "Our men," he declares, "are immeasurably below our women." He even praises the discipline of the mother-in-law, whose harsh rule, according to common notions, is so intolerable to the child-wife. The shrewd Marathas, at any rate, take a very different view. The *injusta noverca* may indeed be a necessary element of the family so long as the wife enters on her career while still of tender years; but a reform which shall make marriage a matter of choice between adults will no doubt imply, or produce, a dethronement of the mother-in-law, similar to that which she has suffered in Europe. A young woman should not assume the functions of a wife until she is fitted for the control of a household. Her husband should not willingly see her aught but supreme in her own sphere. Without a character and a will of her own, however

tempered and moulded by a sense of duty and a craving for unity with her husband, she can hardly be a worthy companion of a resolute, striving man, nor can she stamp her sons through daily, hourly influence with the true impress of manliness, which so many Englishmen preserve amid all their sins of sensuality and selfishness.

Mr. Sen insists, and rightly, on the practice by Hindu ladies—the resumption as he views it—of a more vigorous physical existence. "There is no provision whatever," he says, "for the young woman taking any healthy exercise." An almost universal slipshod listlessness is the natural consequence. Young women must not even cultivate a garden. "Public opinion bans this; public opinion bans music; public opinion bans the presence of the young housewives before their fathers-in-law, and even their talking with the old women of the family." "There is also a bar to the wife appearing before the husband in the presence of the elder male members of the family." There is no family meal in common. Such habits and practices betoken a state of feeling amongst the men which they must wholly shake off before the women can really become the paragons which they already seem to Mr. Sen's affectionate eyes. The idea of spiritual association, of personal equality, must be honestly and fervently embraced in order to create a standard to which the women, always disposed to look upward, will then most willingly conform. There is a latent grossness in some of the social rules that Mr. Sen enumerates which must be banished from the popular thought ere the Hindus, even of the higher classes, can make their women noble ladies, through first themselves becoming chivalrous, high-minded gentlemen.

When this great reform, springing from within, has been accomplished and incorporated in the people's habits and character, the essential moral element of a new and noble nationality will have come into existence. The practical element must be gained rather through discipline in local affairs than through a thirst for high places and high functions, for which a fitness arises only here and there

amongst a community steeped to the lips in civic traditions and civic feeling. Mr. Sen, like most of his countrymen, looks on the institutions of self-government rather as a means of national and political progress than as the fruit and crown of such progress painfully achieved through manifold reactions of circumstance and tendency. Yet history affords no warrant for such a view. It everywhere presents us with high development as necessarily "moved through life of lower phase," and in India the traditions and influences of th[illegible]e thousand years or so are not to be shaken off in a da[illegible] or a generation. Its people cannot say, "Go to: we will be a nation," for to be a nation implies an accepted and characteristic set of ideas, tastes, and sympathies. It is not constituted by a mere chance agglomeration of a multitude of human beings. It implies a constitution, co-ordination, a particular set of relations amongst classes and individuals. This complex organism, if it is to have life and activity, must rest on a million lower local organisms. It is in and through these that the Hindu, like the Englishman, will have to find that self-government is in a large measure self-renunciation, and to learn how widely the art of politics differs from high-flown theories and ambitions. In the meantime Hindu and Englishman alike may find in Mr. Sen's book indications both of great wants and of great capacities which invite and will reward energetic and sympathetic co-operation on both sides towards the achievement of an ever closer approach to assimilation in a generous, forbearing, far-reaching imperial spirit.

R. W.

THE INDUS DELTA COUNTRY.[1] By Major-General M. HAIG. London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1894.

The late Sir Richard Burton, more than forty years ago, expressed the opinion that little remained to be said on the

[1] "The Indus Delta Country." A Memoir chiefly on its Ancient Geography and History. By Major-General M. R. Haig, M.R.A.S. With Three Maps. (Kegan Paul & Co., 1894.)

geographical position of the Indus, inasmuch as "the different opinions concerning its course in the days of Alexander, and the various arguments for and against the theory that its ancient channel was to the eastward of the present bed," had been "discussed *usque ad nauseam*." General Haig, however, with characteristic industry, comes again to the investigation of the problem in a geographical and historical memoir, which is well worth the attentive consideration of those persons into whose hands it may chance to fall. In his own words, the treatise—of which the first two chapters were written seven years ago—"pretends to be nothing more than a rough guide for those in Sindh, who, taking an interest in the past of a province, one of the poorest, and in its outward aspect the least lovely in India, care to seek out the relics of former ages, and trace for themselves some picture of the country as it was at different periods of its generally troubled history."

But General Haig has very much more wherewith to occupy his readers' attention than a description of the old easterly course of the Indus through the province of Sindh, on which Burton naturally laid especial stress. His nine chapters or divisions lay before us the Delta country as it is in our own times; as it was at the time of Alexander's expedition, in B.C. 325–26; as it was understood by later Greek writers, such as Agatharchides (probably B.C. 146), the author of the Periplus (A.D. 81–96), and Ptolemy of the Ptolemaïc system (A.D. 120–50); and again as described by the yet more modern Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, and the Muhammadan historians or geographers up to the ninth century. A short chapter follows, treating of the light thrown upon the same tracts by writers in the tenth century, the honoured names of Ibn Haukil, Istakhri, and Mas'ūdi occurring among the cited authorities. The remaining four chapters bear the respective headings of—(1) "The Delta Country after the second Muhammadan Invasion of India"; (2) "The Portuguese in the Delta"; (3) "The Campaign of the Imperial Forces in Lower Sindh

in 1591–92"; and (4) "Lower Sindh in the Modern Period."

It is both a dangerous and fascinating pursuit to seek, in the names of existing towns, villages, rivers, or sites, that affinity with ancient nomenclature which, when proven and confirmed, has a price above rubies for those who would connect the Present and the Past, and help onward the study of classical literature by the light of modern research. But so perverse is human nature that personal gratification at a supposed "find" is apt to demoralise the mind of the seeker, and cloud his appreciation of its real value. General Haig has wisely restricted the scope of his enquiries in this field. Had he passed on westward of Sonmiāni and the Pūr 'Ali, the temptation would, perhaps, have been greater, and he might have had to grapple with problems such as Dean Vincent, or more recent expositors, have sought to solve in identifying Kochari with Kokala, Malān with Malana, Kalmat with Kalama, Koppa with Kophas, and many other place-names now in use, with those of Alexander's chroniclers. His nearest approach to the *vexata quæstio* is to be found in the Appendices to his volume, notably that marked F, the basis of which is supplied by Colonel Holdich. On the present occasion we can do little more than allude to the subject, as a serious analysis is impracticable in a brief notice such as this.

The first word discussed is *Krokala*, which Haig thinks may have been the Greek way of writing *Kakrālā*, but that Holdich attaches too much importance to the resemblance between the two names. Let us quote the text hereon:—

"It has been discovered, I believe, by a gentleman in Lower Sindh that *Kakrālo* means 'Land's End.' That may be the recondite meaning known to a learned few, but in the vulgar Sindhi tongue *Kakro* means 'a pebble,' and *Kakrālo*, the adjective, means 'pebbly.' An island in the sea may, therefore, have very well had that name, and have been better entitled to it than a district in the Delta, where, south of the Bhagār Channel, I think pebbles are conspicuous by their absence. But *Krokala* may quite as

well represent something else. Sir H. Elliott thought it might have something to do with the *Kharuks*, a piratical tribe. At all events, it is certain that the district about Karāchi Bay was, at the time of this voyage, called, not *Kakrālā* but *Sangada*." But the very common Persian *sang* (a stone) and the Sindhi *kākro* (a pebble) are words which, however, varying in sound, have one and the same meaning, while both of the languages drawn upon are familiar to the local ear. In any case, the above extract supplies a fair specimen of the perplexing nature of the identifications attempted. Later on, the discussion turns upon the modern *Manora* and the ancient *Morontobara*; and here we might invite attention to the existence of a site called, thirty odd years ago, *Morona*, or *Morona Hill*, which the present writer passed on his second march from Karāchi towards Gwādar. It is referred to in a footnote of his published diary, as "not improbably the *Morontabara* of Arrian, and found in Arrowsmith's ancient 'Atlas Imperii Persici.'" The *bara* may have something in common with the *bare*, which General Haig interprets, in its accented form *bārī*, to be an old Sindhi suffix to place-names, and which, unaccented, is found, according to Ptolemy and the Periplus, in "Lonibare," the name of one of the seven mouths of the Indus. *Bara* is elsewhere translated "a roadstead." But Col. Holdich's *Morontabara* is close to the Arabis, far beyond the present *Morona*.

To retrace the original course of the main river, or to identify its former beds, is no simple process in a country of physical changes like Sindh; where the stream is ever capricious, and the so-called Rules of Alluvion and Diluvion are in such constant request. From year to year the Jāgīrdār, or holder of alienated land, becomes a gainer or loser of land, according to the action of the running waters, which may, on the one hand, add to his acres by uncovering and abandoning them, or, on the other hand, sweep them away by thoroughness of overflow. General Haig deserves great credit for the assiduity with which he has investigated this difficult question, in a scientific

as well as historical point of view; and we heartily congratulate him on the result of his useful labours, exhibited in the lately published volume on the Indus Delta country.

F. J. G.

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CORRECTION.

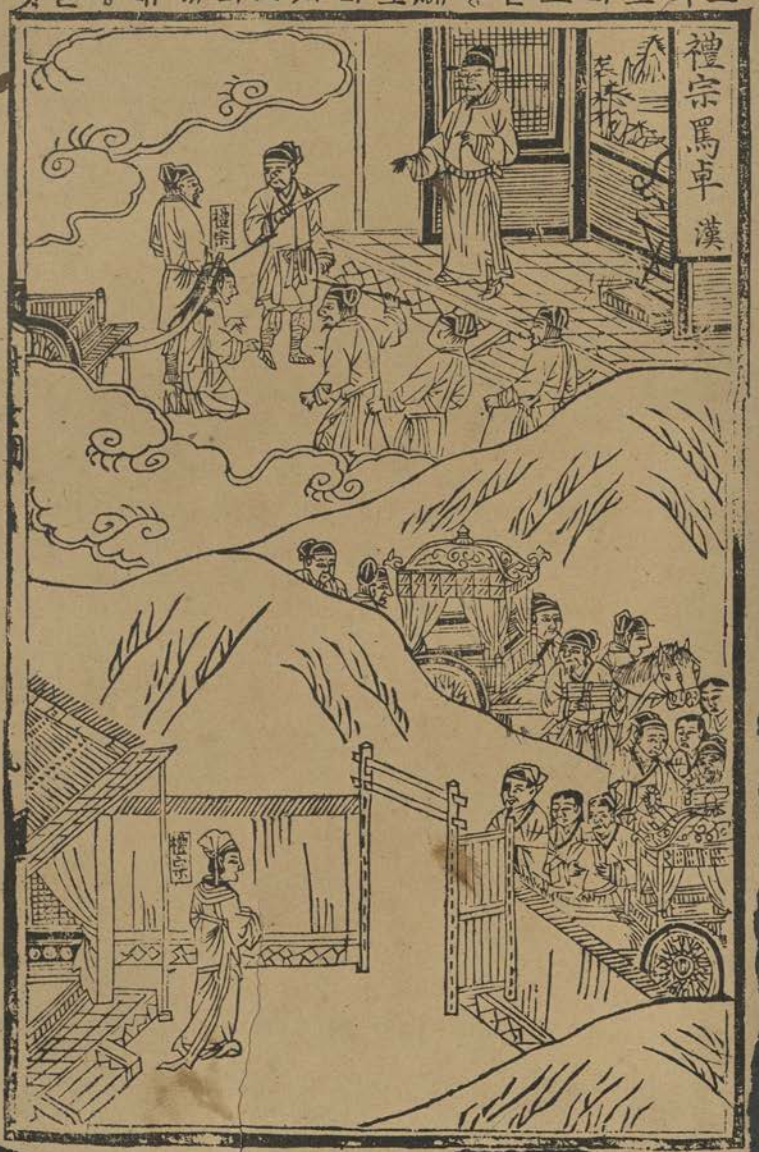
NOTE ON THE GAṆARATNAMAHODADHI.

By G. Bühler.

Page 247, line 26, *for* "Tānūnāyakasuta" *read* "Jānūo."

„ 248, „ 2, *for* "Tānū Nāyaka" *read* "Jānū."

„ 248, „ 12, "The date corresponds to Wednesday, November 7, 1229 A.D."


禮宗罵卓 漢

樂羊子妻。不知何氏女。羊子嘗行路。得金一餅。還以與妻曰。妾聞志士不飲盜泉之水。廉者不受嗟來之食。況遺求利。以汙其行乎。羊子大慙。乃捐金於野。而遠尋師七年不返。妻常躬勤養姑。又遠饋羊子。嘗有他舍雞誤入園中。姑盜殺而食之。妻對雞不餐而泣。姑怪問其故。妻曰。自傷居貧。使食有他肉。姑竟棄之。後盜有欲犯妻者。乃先刼其姑。妻聞。操刀而出。盜曰。釋汝刀。從我可全。不從我則殺汝姑。妻仰天而歎。舉刀刎頭而死。盜亦不殺其姑。太守聞之。捕殺盜。而賜妻繒帛。以禮葬之。號曰貞義

詩 路拾黃金恥古人。竊烹隣畜泣家貧。姑能遷善郎勤學。幾諫從容婦德新 有盜来侵首刎姑。謂言從已可全軀。舉刀刎頸摧肝膽。義烈貞姿照畫圖

젓뚜리 고 인보주돌셜우영
노이다ᄒᆞ얀ᄂᆞ시어미다ᄇᆞ러니
라ᄒᆞ에도ᄌᆞ기그각시ᄅᆞ얻고
져너겨몬져시어미ᄅᆞᆯ저리걸
그각시갈ᄃᆞᆯ교나니도ᄌᆞ기ᄂᆞᆯᄒᆞ
네갈노고나ᄅᆞᆫᄌᆞᆫ뎐살오나
ᄇᆞᆯᄌᆞᆺ써안니ᄒᆞ면네시어미ᄅᆞᆯ
주구리라ᄒᆞ얀ᄂᆞᆫ그각시한ᄂᆞᆯ
울워러한숨지코갈로ᄃᆞ리
ᄅᆞᆯ딜더주거ᄂᆞᆫ도ᄌᆞ기시어미
도주기디아니ᄒᆞ니라고올ᄒᆞᆫ
이ᄃᆞᆯ고도ᄌᆞᆯ자바주기고명
ᄒᆞ길ᄅᆞᆫ주어그각시ᄅᆞᆯ레ᄅᆞᆯᄂᆞᆯ
ᄭᅩ일ᄒᆞᆫᄃᆞᆯ뎡의라ᄒᆞ니라

JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XII.—*Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea.*

By W. G. ASTON.

Writing.

THE first definite statement with regard to a knowledge of the art of writing in Corea belongs to A.D. 372, the same year in which Buddhism was introduced from Tsin in Western China. The standard history of ancient Corea, known as the Tong-kuk-thong-kam, or, more briefly, the Tongkam, informs us that in this year "Kokuryŏ [1] established a High School, in which pupils were taught." Two years later, the same work contains the following notice:—

"Pèkché appointed one Kohung as Professor. From the establishment of the kingdom of Pèkché until this time it had no letters. It now for the first time had written records."

Of course the writing here referred to was the use of the Chinese character. As we shall see presently, it was not until centuries later that any means were invented of committing the Corean language to writing. It is probable,

[1] Corea was at this time divided into three kingdoms—Kokuryŏ, Pèkché, and Silla.

however, that these notices refer only to a regular course of study of Chinese under official auspices and the use of that language in official documents. There is good reason to think that some knowledge of writing already existed at least on the part of individuals, and it is unlikely that the Chinese occupation of Corea during the Han dynasty should not have left some traces of literary culture among the inhabitants.

The ordinary Japanese chronology gives A.D. 285 as the date of the first introduction of the art of writing from Corea into Japan. This is, of course, irreconcilable with the above statements. But for reasons I have given elsewhere, the Japanese chronology must here be rejected. The true date is A.D. 405, or 31 years after the first use of written records in Pèkché.

The Japanese scholar Hirata mentions 514 as the date of the first introduction of the art of writing into Silla, but on what authority he does so is not clear.

Printing.

The subject of printing in Corea has been fully dealt with by Mr. E. Satow in two papers published in the Transactions of the Japan Asiatic Society for 1882,[1] and I merely take this opportunity of supplementing his essays by a few gleanings from the native histories of that country.

I have not been able to discover any record of the first introduction of the art of printing into Corea, but it may be provisionally referred to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. Printed books were known in Japan in 987, and printing introduced early in

[1] It is not a little surprising that the interesting account given by Mr. Satow of early printing in Japan and Corea should have attracted so little attention from writers on the history of printing and from lovers of old and curious books. Many of the works described by him date from a period anterior to the so-called invention of printing in Europe, and bibliopoles whose horizon is not limited by the Suez Canal may still hope to secure copies. The libraries of the monasteries of Corea are said to possess treasures of this kind which no European has seen, and Japan is perhaps not quite exhausted.

A good number of the books referred to by Mr. Satow are now in the British Museum.

the twelfth century. It is probable that Corea preceded Japan by a short time in borrowing this invention, like that of writing, from China.

The first mention of this art in Corea which has come under my observation belongs to A.D. 1056. Under this date the Tongkam contains the following notice :—

"8th month.—The Governor of the Western Capital (Phyöng yang) represented to the king that the text-books in use by the senior and junior graduates of the capital, being all handed down by copying, contained numerous errors. He therefore requested that the books deposited in the Hanlin College (of Corea), viz., the nine classics, the histories of the Han, Tsin, and Thang dynasties, the Analects, the Classic of Filial Piety, the Child's History, the literary collections of various authors, works on medicine and divination, geography (including geomancy), law, and arithmetic, should be distributed among the various colleges. The king gave orders to the proper functionaries to print one copy of each and send them."

Another notice in the same work belongs to the year 1192. It is there stated that a Corean scholar having compiled a treatise on economy called 資治通鑑, orders were given that it should be carved on blocks and copies distributed to the learned ministers of the king's court.

As an evidence of the estimation in which books were held in Corea, it may be mentioned that in 1314 an agent who was sent to China brought back 10,800 volumes, and that in the same year the Emperor of China made a present to the King of Corea of 4371 volumes.

1403 A.D. is an important date in the history of printing in Corea. In that year the first fount of moveable copper types was provided. This was carefully preserved, and subsequently added to in 1420, 1434, 1772, and 1777. But for further details Mr. Satow's papers, already mentioned, must be referred to.

Among the books printed by the 1434 fount of types are mentioned the Sohak (小學) and the Sam-kang-hèng-sil (三綱行實), the latter being an illustrated work.

Alphabet.

By far the more important part of Corean literature is in the Chinese language, and is, of course, written by means of the Chinese character. But there is also a popular literature, consisting mainly of tales and books of edification, which is in Corean. For this an alphabetical script of native invention is in use, which is known as the Önmun or vulgar character.

The origin of this alphabet has been the subject of some controversy. Hirata and other Shinto scholars assigned it to those vague prehistoric times of Japan called the "Age of the Gods," but this notion, never a very plausible one, is now completely exploded,[1] and has no adherents at the present day, except, perhaps, the French savant, M. de Rosny.

Another view is that the Önmun was invented by a Corean scholar named Syölchhong, who lived towards the end of the seventh century. This error had its origin in a confusion of the Önmun with the Nido, *i.e.* "clerk's way," a system of writing Corean which was really invented by Syölchhong. But the Nido, which is still in use, especially by the clerks in public offices, is a means of representing Corean words by the use of a number of the more common Chinese characters to which a phonetic value is given. The Japanese employed a similar method about the same time, as may be seen in the poetry of the Kojiki and Nihongi. The Nido is therefore a syllabic script, and is quite different from the Önmun, which was framed after the model of the Sanskrit alphabet.

The date of the invention of the Önmun is recorded with precision in the Corean standard history of the present dynasty, called Kuk-cho-pong-kam (國朝寶鑑). Under the year 1446, this work contains the following passage:—

"The twenty-eight Önmun letters invented by the king are in imitation of the ancient seal character, and are classed as

[1] *Vide* a paper in this Journal for July, 1883, entitled "Two Questions of Japanese Archæology," by B. H. Chamberlain.

initial, medial, and final sounds. Though the characters are simple, they may be used in infinitely various ways. In a preface written by Chyŏng Liu-chi, President of the Board of Ceremonies, it is said, . . . This Eastern Land of ours resembles China in its ceremonies, its music, and its material civilization, but it differs from that country in its language. Hence scholars complained that their ideas could not be made clear, and the officials charged with criminal matters that the niceties of legal argumentation could not be rendered intelligible. Accordingly, in ancient times, Syŏlchhong of Silla invented the *nitu*, which has been in use until the present day, both by officials and private persons. This consisted, however, altogether in the borrowed (*i.e.* phonetic) use of Chinese characters, with the result, sometimes of impediment and sometimes of obstruction. It is in short a rude and inaccurate method, inadequate to express one ten-thousandth part of our spoken language.

"In the winter of the year 1443 the king invented characters for the twenty-eight true sounds, and drew up directions for their use, giving them the title of 'True Sound Characters for the instruction of the people.' These letters, like the ancient seal characters, depend on sound, and, therefore, the seven-fold vocal combinations, the three extremes, and the refinement of the two breathings, are all comprised in them. These twenty-eight letters can be variously applied without limit. They are simple and yet essential; they are minutely accurate and yet readily intelligible. A clever man can understand them in less than a morning. A stupid man may learn them in ten days. By these (Chinese) writings can be explained so that their import may be known; by these the facts of judicial causes may be ascertained. In pronouncing Chinese characters the distinction between hard and soft consonants, in music, the harmony of the notes of the chromatic scale, can all be fully and adequately rendered by their use. Even the noise of the wind, the scream of the crane, the crowing of cocks, and the barking of dogs, can all be written down by means of them. . . . ."

The alphabet thus introduced to the Corean public was as follows :—

Initials and Finals.	ㄱ *k*	ㄴ *n*	ㄷ *t*	ㄹ *l*	ㅁ *m*	ㅂ *p*	ㅅ *s* as initial, *t* as final.	ㅇ spiritus lenis as initial, *ng* as final.

Initials only. ㅈ ㅊ ㅌ ㅋ ㅍ ㅎ.
ch chh th kh ph h.

els. ㅏ ㅑ ㅓ ㅕ ㅗ ㅛ ㅜ ㅠ ㅡ ㅣ ㆍ.

a ya ö yö o yo u yü eu i ă.

The two combinations ㅜㅓ *wö* and ㅗㅏ *wa*, with a special use of ㅣ, make up the number 28 above mentioned.

The "two breathings" are probably the aspirated and unaspirated letters, which differ in the same way as the corresponding letters in Sanskrit, not like our *t* and *th*, etc.

The statement that the Önmun was framed after the model of the ancient seal character of China is quite unintelligible. Another Corean authority states that it was made upon the pattern of the Sanskrit alphabet, and internal evidence leaves no doubt that this is the case. A comparison with the Devanagari discloses several points of resemblance which cannot be accidental, and the fact that it is an alphabet and not a syllabary like the Japanese Kana points to the same conclusion. Nor is this all. It will be observed that a classification of letters according to the organs of speech with which they are pronounced was known to the inventor. Those letters which belong to the same class contain the same element, the labials the element ㅁ, the dentals ㄴ, the gutturals ㄱ, the throat breathings ㅇ, and the sibilants and palatals ㅅ. Perhaps, however, he had primarily in view the Chinese classification of sounds known as the Hung-wu (1368–1398) sounds, which is itself based on a study of the Sanskrit alphabet. According to the Hung-wu system there are seven classes of sounds, viz.: grinder (guttural), tongue-tip (dental), lip (labial), tooth-tip (palatal), throat (breathing), half-tongue (*l*), and half-tooth (*j*, the initial sound of ㅑ).

No doubt the reason why all mention of the Sanskrit alphabet was avoided by the President of the Board of Ceremonies was its association with Buddhism, which has long been a discredited religion in Corea. Its revenues are insignificant, its temples banished from the cities, and its priests counted with vagabonds and outcasts.

In one respect the Önmun does imitate the Chinese character. The grouping of the letters into syllables

follows the same order as the strokes of which a Chinese character is composed, viz. from left to right and from top to bottom. For example ㅅ ㅏ ㄱ *sak* is written 삭. The syllables, too, follow one another in columns, which are read in Chinese fashion from top to bottom, proceeding from right to left.

It may be observed that there is no provision in this alphabet for the distinction between hard and soft consonants. In order to mark this difference in writing foreign words such as Chinese, the letters are doubled for the soft consonants, a device which to our minds ought to have a precisely opposite effect. The Coreans attach no importance to this distinction in their own language, although their consonants are frequently pronounced soft in the middle of a word.

The annexed specimen (*vide* Plates) of an Önmun text is reproduced from a Corean book in the British Museum. It will be observed that there are three parts—a Chinese text, an Önmun translation in the upper margin, and an illustration. The work from which it is taken is the Sam-kang-hèng-sil, of which an edition in 1434, printed with moveable types, has been already mentioned. The present edition, however, has every appearance of having been printed from blocks. The original Önmun edition of this work appeared in 1481, and I am inclined to believe that the copy in the British Museum is of this date, but it would be too much to affirm so positively. In any case the wood-engraving belongs to a very early period in the history of the art, and the text is probably the oldest specimen extant of the Önmun script.

ART. XIII.—*Ghaṭayāla Inscription of the Pratihāra Kakkuka, of* [*Vikrama-*]*Saṁvat* 918. By MUNSHI DEBIPRASĀD, of Jodhpur.[1]

THE stone which bears this inscription is in the wall of a small building which is close to some ruins about a mile east of Ghaṭayāla, a village situated about twenty miles north of the city of Jodhpur. It contains twenty-two lines of writing, which cover a space of about 2′ 2″ broad by 1′ 9″ high. The first twenty lines are well preserved; of the two others the greater part is effaced or broken away, together with any subsequent lines of writing which the inscription originally may have contained. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{8}$″. The characters are Nāgarī; they closely resemble those of the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, and have been drawn and engraved with the same care and skill.[2] The language, up to nearly the end of line 20, is Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit; the small remainder is in Sanskṛit; and the whole is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that the letter *b*, when it is not combined with another consonant, is denoted by a sign of its own, not by the sign for *v*.

The inscription treats of the same line of *Pratihāra* (Paḍihāra or Parihāra) chiefs which is eulogised in the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka; and it is of some value both because it corrects and adds to the information which has been drawn from that inscription, and because by far

[1] Like the paper on the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka, published in this Journal for 1894, p. 1 ff., this paper also has been prepared by Professor Kielhorn, from rubbings and rough copies of the text and translation of the inscription, sent to the Secretary by Munshi Debiprasād of Jodhpur.

[2] For a somewhat rough lithograph of the two first lines of the inscription, see Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha's *Palæography of India*, plate xvi.

the greater part of it is written in Prākṛit. Its proper object is, to record (in verses 22 and 23) that a chief named *Kakkuka* (Kakkua) founded a Jaina temple and made it over to a Jaina community which belonged to the *gachchha* of *Dhaneśvara*. But it also tells us (in verses 19–21) that the same chief, on a date which will be considered below, established a market at the village of *Rohinsakūpa*, and erected two pillars, one at the same village and the other at *Maḍḍoara*. And by way of introduction it gives (in verses 3–6) the following genealogy of Kakkuka:—

The Brāhman Harichandra and his wife Bhadrā, who was of the Kshatriya caste, had a son named *Rajjila*. His son was *Narabhaṭa*; his son, *Nāgabhaṭa* (Ṇāhaḍa); his son, *Tāta*; his son, *Yaśovardhana*; his son, *Chanduka*; his son, *Śilluka*; his son, *Jhoṭa*; his son, *Bhilluka*; his son, *Kakka*; and his son, from *Durlabhadevī*, *Kakkuka*. With the exception of Durlabhadevī and her son Kakkuka, all these persons were known to us already (some under slightly different names) from the Jodhpur inscription; but the present inscription shows that *Yaśovardhana* was the son of Tāta, not, as has been wrongly inferred from the Jodhpur inscription, of Tāta's younger brother Bhoja, who is here omitted; and that the son of Śilluka (Śiluka or Śīluka) was named *Jhoṭa*, not Jhāṭovara. According to the Jodhpur inscription Kakka had another son, named *Bāuka*, from the *Mahārājñī* Padminī; he, of course, must have been a brother of *Kakkuka*, who in the present inscription is described as the son of Kakka and Durlabhadevī. If Munshi Debiprasād were right in reading the date of the Jodhpur inscription *saṁvva* 940, Kakkuka, whose present inscription contains a date of the year 918, would have to be considered as the predecessor of Bāuka; but, judging from the rubbing of the Jodhpur inscription, I still believe the date of that inscription to be *saṁvvat* 4, and it therefore remains doubtful which of the two chiefs was the elder brother.

The date given in verse 19 of the present inscription is Wednesday, the second lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 918 (apparently of the Vikrama era), while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. This last item at once shows that the date cannot be correct; for the moon might well be in Hasta on the second *tithi* of the *dark* half of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, but it would never be there on the second of the *bright* half of Chaitra. Nor is the week-day right; for Chaitra-śudi 2 would correspond, for the Chaitrādi Vikrama year 918 current, to Tuesday, the 27th February, A.D. 860; for the Chaitrādi Vikrama year 918 expired, to Monday, the 17th March, A.D. 861; and for the Kārttikādi Vikrama year 918 expired, to Friday, the 6th March, A.D. 862. And it may be added that the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra also did not end on a Wednesday in either the current or the expired Vikrama year 918. But although several of the details of the date are thus shown to be incorrect, there appears to be no reason why the year of the date, too, should be looked upon with suspicion, and I therefore believe that the two chiefs *Bāuka* and *Kakkuka*, in accordance with the present inscription, may be confidently placed in the second half of the ninth century A.D. From this it would follow that the chief *Bhaṭṭikadevarāja*, who in the Jodhpur inscription is stated to have been defeated by Bāuka's ancestor Śiluka, must have lived about the middle of the eighth century A.D., or about a hundred years before the Bhaṭṭi chief Deorāj of Jaisalmer, who is recorded to have been born in Vikrama-saṁvat 892.

In addition to the villages *Rohinsakūpa* and *Maḍḍoara*, which have not been identified, the inscription mentions several countries or districts for which the reader is referred to the text and translation of verses 16 and 17.

Text.

L. 1. ओं [॥*] सग्गापवग्गमग्गं पढमं सयलाण कारणं देवं।
णीसेसदुरिअद्दलणं परमगुरुं णमह जिणणाहं ॥—[1.]

2. रङ्कतिलओ पडिहारो आसी सिरिलक्खणो त्ति रामस्स।
तेण पडिहारवन्सो[1] समुणइं[2] एत्थ सम्पत्तो ॥—[2.]
विप्पो सिरि-

3. हरिअन्दो भज्जा आसि त्ति खत्तिआ भद्दा। ताण सुओ
उप्पणो वोरो सिरिरज्जिलो एत्थ ॥—[3.] अस्स वि
णरहडणामो जाओ सिरि-

4. णाहडो त्ति एअस्स। अस्स वि तणओ ताओ तस्स वि जस-
वड्ढणो जाओ ॥—[4.] अस्स वि चन्दुअणामा[3] उप्पणो
सिलुओ[4] वि एअस्स। झो-[5]

5. डो त्ति तस्स तणओ अस्स वि सिरिभिल्लओ चाई ॥—[5.]
सिरिभिल्लअस्स तणओ सिरिकड्ढो गुरुगुणेहि गारविओ।
अस्स वि कड्ढुअणा-

6. मो दुल्लहदेवीए उप्पणो ॥[6]—॥ [6.] ईसिविआसं हसिअं
मङ्गरं भणिअं पलोइअं सोम्मं। णमयं[7] जस्स ण दीणं[8] रो-

[1] Read °वंसो.

[2] This has been altered to समुणइं, which it should be.

[3] Read, perhaps, °णामो.

[4] The Jodhpur inscription has शिलुक in line 10, and शीलुक in line 12.

[5] This *akshara* is quite clear in the rubbings. The published version of the Jodhpur inscription, in line 12, has झाटोवरः सुतः; but on referring to my rubbing of it, I find that the first *akshara* of the name there too may possibly be झो, not झा, and I would read now झोटो वरः सुतः, in three words.

[6] Here there is an ornamental full stop in the original.

[7] Perhaps altered to णमियं in the original.

[8] In the original दीणं had first been engraved.

L. 7. [सो] थेओ थिरा मेत्ती ॥—[7.] णो जम्पिअं ण हसिअं ण
कयं ण पलोइअं ण सभरिअं। ण थिअं ण परिब्भमिअं[1]
जेण जणे

8. कज्जपरिहीणं ॥—[8.] सुत्था दुत्था वि पया अहमा तह
उत्तिमा वि सोक्खेण। जणणिव्व जेण धरिआ णिच्चं
णियमण्डले

9. सव्वा ॥—[9.] उअरोहराअमच्छरलोहेहि मि णायवज्जिअं
जेण। ण कओ दोण्ह विसेसो ववहारे कवि[2] मणय-
म्मि ॥—[10.] दिअवर-

10. दिणाणुज्जं जेण जणं रञ्जिऊण सयलम्मि। णिम्मच्छरेण
जणिअं दुट्ठाण वि दण्डणिट्ठवणं ॥—[11.] धणरिद्ध-[3]
समिद्धाण

11. वि पउराणं णिअकरस्स अब्भहिअं[4]। लक्खं सयच्च सरि-
सन्तणच्च[5] तह जेण दिट्ठाइं ॥—[12.] णवजोव्वणरूअप-
साहिएण सिङ्गार-

12. गुणगरुक्केण। जणवयणिज्जमलज्जं जेण जणे णेय सच्चरिअं॥
—[13.] बालाण गुरू तरुणाण तह सही गयवया-

13. ण तणओ व्व। इय सुचरिएहि णिच्चं जेण जणो पालिओ
सव्वो ॥—[14.] जेण णमन्तेण सया सम्माणं गुणथुई[6] कु-

14. णन्तेण। जम्पन्तेण य ललिअं दिसं पणईण धणणिवहं ॥—
[15.] मरुमाडवक्खतमणीपरिअङ्काअज्जगुज्जरत्तासु।
जणिओ जेण जणा-

[1] Read परिब्भमिअं.
[2] Read कोवि, or कहवि.
[3] Altered to धणरिद्धि° in the original.
[4] Read अब्भहिअं.
[5] Read सरिसत्तणच्च (?).
[6] Perhaps altered to °थुइं, which it should be.

L. 15. णं सङ्करिअगुणेहि अणुराओ ॥—[16.] गहिऊण गोहणाइं[1]
गिरिम्मि जालाउ[ला]ओ पल्लीओ । जणिआओ जेण
विसमे वडणाणयमण्डले पयडं ॥—[17.]

16. णीलुप्पलदलगन्धा रम्मा मायन्दमञ्जअविन्देहिं[2] । वरइ-
च्छुपणच्छणा एसा भूमो कया जेण ॥—[18.] वरिस-
सएसु अ णवसुं अट्ठारस-[3]

17. मग्गलेसु चेत्तम्मि। णक्खत्ते विज्जहत्थे वुहवारे धवलबीआए॥
—[19.] सिरिकङ्कुएण हट्टं महाजणं विप्पपयट्टणिब-
ज्झलं । रोहिन्सकूअ-

18. गामे णिवेसिअं कित्तिविद्धीए ॥—[20.] मड्डोअरम्मि एक्को
वीओ रोहिन्सकूअगामम्मि । जेण जसस्स व पुज्जा एए
त्यक्खा[4] समुत्थविआ ॥—[21.]

19. तेण सिरिकङ्कुएणं जिणस्स देवस्स दुरिअणिद्दलणं । कार-
विअं अचलमिमं भवणं भत्तीए सुहजणयं ॥—[22.]
अप्पिअमेअं भवणं सि-

20. द्धस्स धणेसरस्स गच्छम्मि । तह सन्तजम्वअम्वयवणिभाउड-
पमुहगोट्ठीए ॥—[23.] आद्ये जन्म कुले कलङ्करहितं
रूपं नवं

21. [यौ]वनं सौभाग्यं गुणभावना शुचि मनः चान्तिर्यशो
नम्रता । . . . . . .

[1] Read गोहणाइं.

[2] The sign of anusvāra in °विन्देहिं is doubtful in the original. The third Pāda of the verse offends against the metre.

[3] Originally अट्ठारहस° was engraved.

[4] Read थक्खा.

Translation.

OṂ!

(Verse 1.) Bow to the lord of the Jinas, who is the path to heaven and beatitude, the god who is the first cause of all things, the destroyer of every sin, the supreme preceptor!

(V. 2.) The glorious Lakshmaṇa, the ornament of the Raghus, was Rāma's door-keeper (*paḍihāra*); hence the *Pratihāra* (Paḍihāra) clan has attained here to eminence.

(V. 3.) There was a Brāhman named *Harichandra*; his wife was *Bhadrā*, of the Kshatriya caste. To them a valiant son was born, named *Rajjila*.

(V. 4.) To him, again, *Narabhaṭa* was born, and to him, *Nāgabhaṭa* (Ṇāhaḍa); his son was *Tāta*, and his son, *Yaśovardhana*.

(V. 5.) To him *Chanduka* was born, and to him, *Śilluka*; his son was *Jhoṭa*, and his, the generous *Bhilluka*.

(V. 6.) Bhilluka's son was *Kakka*, highly esteemed for his noble qualities; and to him was born, from *Durlabhadevī*, *Kakkuka*.—

(V. 7.) His smile is [like a] slightly opening [flower-bud], his speech sweet, his glance benign, his meekness not timid, his anger slight, his friendship firm.

(V. 8.) He never has spoken, or smiled, or acted, or looked, or remembered a thing, or stood still, or roamed about, without benefiting mankind.

(V. 9.) Like a mother, he constantly has kept in comfort all the people in his dominion, the poor and the prosperous, the lowest as well as the highest.

(V. 10.) And never has he, departing from what was right,[1] through favour, affection, envy, or greed, made the slightest difference between the parties in any transaction.

[1] I take the Sanskṛit translation of the original to be **उपरोधरागमत्सर-लोभैरपि न्यायवर्जितं येन.**

(V. 11.) Acting on the advice of the best of the twice-born,[1] he has pleased everybody, and has, free from passion, also inflicted punishment on the wicked.

(V. 12.) Even to citizens possessed of abundance of wealth he has assigned more than his revenue (?), a lac, and a hundred, and as much as was suitable (?).[2]

(V. 13.) Though decorated with the freshness of youth and with beauty, and full of the sentiment of love, he never has behaved to people so as to incur the reproach of men, without modesty.

(V. 14.) To children like a father, to young men like a friend, and to the aged like a son, he by such good conduct of his has constantly fostered everybody.

(V. 15.) Ever civil, showing respect and praising excellence, and speaking pleasantly, he has given plenty of wealth to those attached to him.

(V. 16.) By his excellent behaviour and qualities he has won the love of the people in *Marumāḍa* (?), *Valla*, *Tamaṇī*, ... and *Gujarāt* (?).[3]

(V. 17.) He has taken away the herds of cattle and has afterwards boldly destroyed by fire the villages on the hill in the inaccessible *Vaṭanānaka* (? Vaḍaṇāṇaya) district.

(V. 18.) [But] this land he has made fragrant with the leaves of blue lotuses, and pleasant with groups of mango and madhuka trees, and has covered it with the leaves of excellent sugar-cane.

(Verses 19 and 20.) And when nine hundred years were

[1] The Sanskṛit would be द्विजवरदत्तानुज्ञं, which I take to be a Bahuvrīhi compound, used adverbially.

[2] The wording of the original verse is perhaps incorrect.

[3] The first half of the verse apparently only contains the names of certain countries or districts. *Marumāḍa* probably is the modern Mārwār; *Valla* must be the *Valla-deśa* or *Valla-maṇḍala* mentioned in verses 18 and 19 of the Jodhpur inscription; and *Tamaṇī* perhaps is the *Stravaṇī* (?) or *Travaṇī* in verse 18 of the same inscription. Of the following *aksharas* of the text, *pariaṅkāajja* (*paryaṅkā-āryya* ?), I do not know what to make. *Gujjara* clearly is *Gurjara*.

increased[1] by the eighteenth, in Chaitra, when the moon's *nakshatra* was Hasta,[2] on Wednesday, the second lunar day of the bright half, the illustrious *Kakkuka*, for the increase of his fame, founded a market, fit for traders,[3] crowded with Brāhmans, soldiers and merchants, at the village of *Rohinsakūpa*.

(V. 21.) He has erected, like heaps of his renown, the two pillars here, one at *Maḍḍoara*,[4] and another at the village of *Rohinsakūpa*.

(V. 22.) This illustrious *Kakkuka* piously has caused to be built this imperishable temple of the god Jina, which destroys sin and creates happiness.

(V. 23.) And he has entrusted this temple to the community presided over by the ascetics Jāmbava (?) and Āmraka (?) and the merchant Bhākuṭa (?), in the *gachchha* of the holy *Dhaneśvara*.[5]

[1] On the use of the word *argala* in dates see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xix, p. 61, note 52.

[2] The literal meaning of the text would be "when the *nakshatra* was the moon's Hasta."

[3] I take *mahājanaṁ* to be used in the sense of the adjective *māhājanika*.

[4] I cannot suggest any suitable Sanskṛit equivalent of this name.

[5] After this, half a verse in Sanskṛit is preserved in the original, which it is unnecessary to translate.

Art. XIV.—*Mahuan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala (Bengal)*. By Geo. Phillips, M.R.A.S.

Introductory Notice.

The following is a Chinese description of the kingdom of Bengal, written at the commencement of the fifteenth century, about eighty years before the Portuguese discovered the route round the Cape of Good Hope, and about sixty years or so after Ibn Batuta[1] had visited those regions. This account is a chapter taken from a work, bearing the Chinese title Ying-yai-shêng-lan (a general account of the shores of the ocean), compiled by one Mahuan, an Interpreter attached to the suite of Chêng Ho, who was sent to the various kingdoms of the western ocean by the Chinese Emperor Yung-lo. The object of this expedition was, that the Emperor Yung-lo feared that Hui-ti, his predecessor, whom he had driven from the throne, was concealing himself in some country over the sea; he wanted to trace him, and at the same time to display his military force in foreign countries, in order to show that China was rich and strong.

In the sixth month of the year 1405, he ordered Chêng Ho, his companion Wang Ching Hung, and others, to go as envoys to the kingdoms in the western ocean. They took with them 30,000 soldiers and a large quantity of gold and silks. The fleet consisted of 62 ships, most of them of large tonnage, some measuring 440 feet long and 180 feet broad.[2] They sailed from Liu-kia-kiang, an inlet of the

[1] Ibn Batuta travelled in Bengal and visited Sunargaon in 1341.

[2] Such are the dimensions given to the Chinese vessels composing the expedition in the "Ming Dynasty History Book," 304. There can be no doubt the size of the vessels is greatly exaggerated; at the same time, however, the junks of those days were much larger than those of the present century—in some books of that period they are described as high as city walls and houses.

Yang-tze, situated a little to the north of Wusung, the entrance of the Shanghai river. They touched on their way south at Woga, at the mouth of the Min, from which place they sailed to Cochin China, and so on to the various countries in the Straits and India, making known at each place the orders from the Emperor.

They gave presents to the princes and chiefs, and those who would not submit were compelled to do so by force. Mahuan has left us an account of twenty of the kingdoms visited by the expedition: those relating to Java and Sumatra have been translated into English by Mr. W. P. Groeneveldt, while the chapter relating to Cochin China was translated by the late Mr. Mayers. The chapters relating to Siam and Ceylon have been translated by myself, and have appeared in the Journal of the China branch of this Society. The remaining chapters I have also translated, and the one relating to Bengal I am now about to read.

These travels, handed down to us by Mahuan, are well worthy of taking a place beside those of other mediæval travellers, such as Marco Polo, Friar Odoric, and Ibn Batuta. The most curious point about all these travellers is the striking resemblance that their descriptions bear to each other, which has been most happily described by the late learned scholar, Sir Henry Yule, when speaking of Friar Jordan's travels: "One must notice," says he, "the frequent coincidences of statement, and almost of expression, between this and other travellers of the same age, especially Marco Polo; at first one would think that Jordan had Polo's book, but he certainly had not Ibn Batuta's, and the coincidences with him are sometimes almost as striking. Had these ancient worthies, then, a Murray, from whom they pilfered experiences as modern travellers do. I think they had, but their Murray lay in the traditional yarns of the Arab sailors with whom they voyaged, some of which seem to have been handed down steadily from the time of Ptolemy—peradventure Herodotus—almost to our own day."

To this I might add that there are passages to be met with in Mahuan's travels which look as if they had been

pilfered direct from Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta and others, but this would have been quite impossible. Many, perhaps, are apt to think that the navigation of the Eastern seas in early times was entirely in the hands of the Arabs, Indians, and Persians; such was not really the case.

It should be mentioned here that the Indians and Persians most probably went to China by sea at the commencement of our era, and continued to do so for many centuries afterwards. For example, the Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hien, in 413, returned to China from Ceylon in an Indian vessel. I quite agree with my friend W. P. Groeneveldt, a gentleman holding a high post in Her Netherland Majesty's service in Java, and a ripe Chinese scholar, that the Chinese did not arrive in the Malay Archipelago before the fifth century, and that they did not extend their voyages to India, Arabia, and Persia till a century later. There is positive evidence, however, that in the Tang dynasty 618 to 906, their sailors were well acquainted with the navigation of the Indian seas, for sailing directions are to be found dating from that period, clearly setting forth the route and naming the countries to be met with between Canton and Bussorah at the head of the Persian Gulf. In these directions there is a most striking passage regarding the dangers to be guarded against when reaching El-Obollah, where beacons were said to be placed in the sea, upon which fires were lighted at night for the guidance of mariners. These beacons are mentioned in El-Masudi's historical "Encyclopædia," translated by Dr. Sprenger. He says: "Marks of wood are erected for sailors in the sea at El-Obollah, and look like three seats in the middle of the water, on which fires are burnt at night to caution vessels which come from Oman, Siraf, and other places." Reference is also made to these marks in the travels of Ibn Batuta, Lee's translation, page 36. This and other passages in the directions show clearly what knowledge the Chinese had of the navigation of these seas.

It will naturally be asked, from what port in China did these vessels sail? Canton appears, up to the

eleventh century, to have been the chief southern port frequented by foreign ships, and from which native vessels sailed for foreign countries. In 1086, or soon after the time of the Norman conquest of England, the eastern ports of China, viz. Changchow and Chinchew, were made ports of entry and exit for vessels carrying on foreign trade. Prior[1] to this all Fookien craft, going to and returning from foreign countries, were compelled to report themselves to the Canton Customs authorities. This was looked upon as a great hardship by the Fookien merchants, and, upon representation being made to the throne, a superintendent of Customs was appointed to collect the Customs revenue at these two Fookien ports. At this time a port sprang up into notice at the entrance of the Changchow river, not far from the present treaty port of Amoy, which, with the neighbouring port of Chinchew, did much of the foreign carrying trade of that part of China. Ships were built by the richer and manned by the poorer classes, and, eager in the pursuit of gain, were sent on long and distant voyages to foreign countries. This port was from 1086 to 1566 known as Gehkong, and is probably the Caichan, or Kaycon, of Friar Odoric, known also as Zaitun.[2] The trade of this port and that of Chinchew is now centred in Amoy. In 1561 this district suffered greatly from Japanese raids, and its commerce was almost entirely destroyed.

It should be known that the Japanese had been a scourge to this part of China for over twenty years, and they had inspired the people with such fear and dread, that for many years after the bare mention of the words Oe-a-loi, "the Japanese are coming," frightened the children into obedience, much in the same way as our fathers and mothers were frightened when they were told that "Boney" would have

[1] In the seventh year of T'ai p'ing hing kuo's reign, 983 of our era, Changchow as well as Chinchew junks were engaged in the trade with foreign countries.—"The Annals of the Canton Customs," a book found in the Summer Palace at Peking. In 1285 there was a superintendent of Customs at Changchow, who collected all shipping dues.

[2] In substantiation of this statement I refer the reader to Yule's "Cathay, and the way thither," vol. ii, appendix, p. xxiv.

them. To this day in Amoy, I am informed by Dr. J. J. M. de Groot, when the common people are angry with each other they make use of the expression Ok-na-koue-ni, "You are as cruel as a Japanese."

The next interesting point we have to discuss is, how the Chinese found their way to these distant foreign countries. It was my good fortune, many years ago, while strolling through a temple in the neighbourhood of Amoy, to come across a well-educated Chinaman, who was spending the summer there, who was most anxious to hear from me all about foreign countries, and he astonished me with his knowledge of the mediæval geography of India and the East generally. I naturally enquired where he got his knowledge from, and he said, "Come with me to my room and I will show you my books." On entering he handed me a copy of a book called the "Wu-pei-chih," which related chiefly to the art and science of war—a science which, by the way, has of late been sadly neglected by the Chinese to their cost. At the end of this work there is a set of maps said to be a copy of those used by Chêng Ho when he went on his expedition in 1416. Although these charts are stated to date from that time, there are to be found in them every place mentioned by Marco Polo on his voyage from China to Ormus, and I am inclined to think that charts, or charts of this nature, were in existence in Marco Polo's day. My reasons for so thinking are these: Marco Polo mentions that he derived some of his information as to the whereabouts of the countries he described by their being pointed out to him on the sea charts of the coasts of India. Further, Polo speaks of vessels being navigated by means of the North Star, and the latitude of places being determined by the number of cubits such star was above the horizon. In the charts said to be used in Chêng Ho's expedition, the latitude of places is shown by the North Star being reckoned at so many digits and so many eighths high. These are called in Chinese Chih and Chio: the first corresponds to the Arabic Issaba or Terfa, meaning a finger; and the latter to the Arabic Zam. In one word

the Chinese manner of navigation appears to have been the same as set forth in the Mohit, a Turkish work on navigation, a translation of which is to be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. v, page 444, 1836. The system of navigation appears to be also the same as that described by the Moorish pilot engaged by Vasco da Gama at Melinda. I might mention that in the identification of the various names met with in Chinese books of this period, a knowledge of the Amoy dialect enables one more readily to identify what place is meant than by reading the characters according to the Mandarin sound: for example, Marco Polo mentions a kingdom in Sumatra called Dragoian, or Dagoyam; this has puzzled many commentators, but on the Chinese chart I have mentioned there is a country called Ta-hua-mien, which in the Amoy dialect is pronounced Dakolien, in which it is very easy to recognize the Dragoian, or Dagoyam, of Marco Polo.

I think it is now time we turned our attention to reading Mahuan's description of Bengal; this account was apparently written not more than sixty years after Ibn Batuta had visited that country, and most of the names given by the Arab traveller are easily recognizable in those used by our Chinese traveller.

I cannot conclude these introductory remarks to my paper without paying a tribute to the late learned geographer, Sir Henry Yule, in the wonderful exactness with which he has elucidated the travels of Ibn Batuta in Bengal in a sketch map given in his work "Cathay, and the way thither." Nothing clearer could be given to show the Chinese traveller's route to the kingdom of Bengala: thereon is seen marked Chittagong, where the Chinese envoy landed, and the river up which he travelled until he reached Sona-urh-kong, called Sonarcawan by the Arab traveller; the position of Bengala as lying to the westward of Chittagong, and not to the eastward as placed by some early geographers, is here clearly defined, and fully agrees with the position given to it by our Chinese traveller.

MAHUAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF BENGALA (BENGAL).

Translated from the "Ying-yai-shêng-lan."

The kingdom of Pang-ko-la, 榜葛剌, Bengala, is reached by ship from the kingdom of Su-men-ta-la,[1] 蘇門荅剌, as follows: A course is shaped for the Mao-shan,[2] 帽山, and Tsui-lan Islands,[3] 翠藍山; these being reached, the vessel then has to steer north-west, and being favoured with a fair wind for twenty-one days, arrives first at Cheh-ti-gan,[4] 淛地港, where she anchors. Small boats are then used to ascend the river, up which, at a distance of 500 *li*[5] or more, one arrives at a place called Sona-urh-kong (Sunargaon),[6] where one lands; travelling

[1] *Sumentala.* The Samara of Marco Polo. The kingdom of Samalenga in Sumatra, near Acheen.

[2] *Mao-shan.* An island off Acheen Head, most probably Pulo Bras or Nasi.

[3] *Tsui-lan* Islands. The Nicobars. I am unable to give any explanation why these islands were so named by the Chinese; there can, however, be no doubt as to these islands being the Nicobars, for we are told by Mahuan, in his article on "Ceylon," that the largest of these islands was called Sa-beh-luan, which is a pretty accurate Chinese rendering of Sambelong, the name given to the largest of the Nicobars, according to Milburne, "Oriental Commerce," vol. ii, p. 94. Another Chinese name for the Nicobars is Lo-hing-kuo, "The Kingdom of Naked People," which appellation, according to all voyagers, is fully deserved, for the Nicobarians do not go to much expense in their dress.

[Since writing the above I have thought over the name Tsui-lan, given by the Chinese to the Nicobars, and I have but little doubt that the name in question is a corruption of Nocueran, the name given by Marco Polo to the group. The characters Tsui-lan, 翠藍, are pronounced Ch'ui-lan in Amoy, out of which it is easy to make Cueran. The Chinese omitted the initial syllable and called them the Cueran Islands, while Marco Polo called them the Nocueran Islands.]

[4] *Cheh-ti-gan.* Chittagan. This appears to have been the port of Bengal at which Chinese trading vessels anchored. Probably the Sudcawan of Ibn Batuta and the Chittagong of our day.

[5] *Li.* A *li* is about the third of a mile; 500 *li* is approximately 166 miles.

[6] 鎖納兒港, *So-na-urh-kiang* or *kong.* Probably the Sonarcawah of Ibn Batuta (Suvarna-gramma or Golden Town) has already been mentioned as one of the mediæval capitals of Bengal. It appears in Frao Mauro's map as Sonargavam. It lay a few miles south-east of Dacca, but I believe its exact site is not recoverable in that region of vast shifting rivers.—"Cathay, and the way thither," vol. ii, p. 465.

from which place in a south-westerly direction for thirty-five stages[1] the kingdom of Bengala is reached. It is a kingdom with walled cities, and [in the capital] the king and officials of all ranks have their residences. It is an extensive country; its products are abundant, and its people numerous; they are Muhammadans, and in their dealings are open and straightforward. The rich build ships, in which they carry on commerce with foreign nations; many are engaged in trade, and a goodly number occupy themselves with agricultural pursuits; while others exercise their crafts as mechanics. They are a dark-skinned race, although you occasionally see among them a light-complexioned person; the men shave their heads, and wear white cloth turbans and a long loose robe with a round collar, which they put on over their heads, and which is fastened in at the waist by a broad coloured handkerchief; they wear pointed leather shoes. The king and his officers all dress like Muhammadans; their head-dress and clothes are becomingly arranged. The language of the people is Bengalī; Persian is also spoken there.

The currency of the country is a silver coin called Tang-ka,[2] which is two Chinese mace in weight, is one inch and two-tenths in diameter, and is engraved on either side; all large business transactions are carried on with this coin, but for small purchases they use a sea-shell called by foreigners *kao-li*.[3]

The ceremonies observed by them on their coming of age, their funerals, sacrifices, and marriages are like those of the Muhammadans.

[1] *A stage*, according to Williams, is a league or ten *li* in length. Thirty-five stages are, therefore, about thirty-five leagues or 105 miles. The Ming-shih, "The History of the Ming Dynasty," gives thirty-five *li* or about twelve miles from Sona-urh-kong.

[2] *Tang-ka*. Barbosa, as quoted by Yule in his "Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words," p. 682, says it is a round coin like ours, with Moorish letters on both sides, and it is of very fine silver.

Tankas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each Tanka only exchanged for sixteen copper pice, making (says Briggs) the Tanka only worth about fourpence instead of two shillings (Briggs, "Firishta," 410).—"Cathay," *vol. ii*, p. 440.

[3] *Kao-li* (cowry). The small white shell *Cypræa moneta*. These shells were brought from the Maldives; the islanders there bartered them to the people of Bengal for rice.

The whole year through is hot like our summer. They have two crops of rice a year. There is also a peculiar kind of rice, whose grain is long, wiry, and red. Wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, and vegetables of many descriptions grow there in abundance. Their fruits are also many, among which they number the plantain; they have three or four kinds of wines, the cocoanut, rice, tarry, and kadjang. Ardent spirits are sold in the market-places.

Not having any tea, they offer their guests the betel-nut in its place. Their streets are well provided with shops of various kinds, also drinking and eating-houses and bathing establishments.

The animals and birds are numerous, among which are camels, horses, mules, asses, buffaloes, bullocks, goats, sheep, geese, ducks, fowls, pigs, dogs, and cats. They have also many other fruits besides the plantain, viz., the jack fruit, mangoes, pomegranates, also sugar-cane, granulated sugar, white sugar, and various candied and preserved fruits.

Among their manufactures are five or six kinds of fine cotton fabrics [muslins]; one like our Pi-pu has the foreign name of Pi-chih.[1] This fabric is of a soft texture, three feet broad, and made up in lengths of fifty-six or fifty-seven feet.

There is also a ginger-yellow fabric called Man-chê-ti, 滿者提, four feet or more wide and fifty feet long; it is very closely woven and strong.

[1] 畢治, *Pi-chi* or *Bit-ti*, Betteela (?). For the following three names of these Indian fabrics I am unable to find an equivalent.

Sha-na-keih, 沙糸內玄
Hin-pei-tung-tali, 忻白動搭黎
} Equivalents unknown.

沙榻兒, *Sha-ta-urh*. Most probably Choutar. A fine cloth so called from its four threads.

蔫黑蔫勒, *Mo-hei-mo-leh*. Most probably the muslin of which the finest muslin sashes are made, and called mamali shahi, which by confusion is generally named marmara shahi (royal marble).—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. v, p. 468, 1836.

There is another fabric, five feet wide and twenty feet long, called Sha-na-kieh, 沙納乞, like our Lo-pu.

There is also another kind with the foreign name of Hin-pei-tung-ta-li, 忻白動搭黎, three feet wide and sixty feet long; the meshes of this texture are open and regular; it is somewhat like gauze, and is much used for turbans.

There is the Sha-ta-urh, made up in lengths of forty or more feet and two feet five or six inches wide; it resembles very much the Chinese San-so.

There is the Mo-hei-mo-leh, made up in lengths of twenty feet or more and four feet wide; on both sides it has a facing four to five-tenths in thickness, and resembles the Chinese Tow-lo-kien.

The mulberry tree and silkworms are found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps, embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, guns, knives, and scissors are all to be had there. They manufacture a white paper from the bark of a tree, which is smooth and glossy like a deer's skin.

Their punishments for breaking the law are beating and the bastinado, and transportation to near and far countries. You find there, as with us, officers of various grades, with their public residences, their seals and system of official correspondence; also doctors, astrologers, professors of geomancy, artisans, and artificers. They have a standing Army, which is paid in kind, the commander-in-chief of which is called a Pa-szû-la-urh,[1] 吧斯剌兒.

Their mountebanks wear a long white cotton garment, embroidered with black thread, fastened round their waist with a coloured silk handkerchief; hanging over their shoulders they have a string of coloured stones and coral beads, and on their wrists bracelets of dark red stones. At feasts and parties these people are engaged to play certain pieces of music, and to sing their native songs, and to go through various dances together.

[1] *Pa-szû-la-urh.* Most probably Sipahselar, "a General-in-Chief." Persian Sipahsālār. Yule and Burnell's Glossary, p. 637.

There is another class of men called Kân-siao-su-lu-nai, 根肖速魯奈, that is to say, musicians. These men every morning, at about four o'clock, go to the houses of the high officials and the rich; one man plays a kind of trumpet, another beats a small drum, another a large one: when they commence, their time is slow, and it gradually increases to the end, when the music suddenly stops. In this way they pass on from house to house; at meal-times they again go to all the houses, when they receive presents of food or money.

There are many conjurors, but their performances are nothing very extraordinary.

The following feat, however, is worthy of mention. A man and his wife parade the streets with a tiger, secured by an iron chain; on arriving opposite a house they give the following performance: The tiger is unloosed and sits on the ground; the man, quite naked and with a switch in his hand, dances in front of the tiger, pulls him about, knocks him with his fist and kicks him; the tiger becomes enraged, growls and springs upon the man, and they both roll over together. The man then thrusts his arm into the tiger's mouth and down its throat; the tiger dares not bite him; when this is over the chain is again put round the tiger's neck, and he lies down. The performers then beg food for the tiger from the houses round, and they generally get pieces of meat given them for the beast, with a present of money for themselves.

They have a fixed calendar; twelve months go to the year; they have no intercalary month. The king fits out ships and sends them to foreign countries to trade. Pearls and precious stones are sent as tribute to China.

Such is Mahuan's account of Bengala; most of his facts are to be found endorsed in the records of foreign countries, to be met with in the Ming dynasty histories. In one account I find that Gai-ya-szu-ting, 鼾牙思丁, the king of Bengala, sent, in 1409, an embassy with presents to the

Chinese court; another king of Bengala, by name Kien-fuh-ting, 蹇弗丁, sent a letter to the Emperor of China, written on gold leaf, and accompanied by a present of a giraffe.

The first embassy, viz. that of Gai-ya-szu-ting, is said to have come to China in the sixth year of Yung-lo's reign, which corresponds with 1409 of our era. The Bengal king reigning at that time appears to have been Shihab-ad-din Bayazid Shah, who only came to the throne in that year. A former king, Ghiyas-ad-din, who reigned from 1370–1396, comes very near the Chinese name Gai-ya-szu-ting, but he had ceased to reign ten years before the embassy is said to have arrived in China. Possibly the Chinese dates are wrong. In the twelfth year of Yung-lo, 1415, the time assigned by the Chinese chroniclers to the arrival of the second embassy in China, Jalal-ad-din was king of Bengal. To make his name agree with the Chinese Kien-fuh-ting is somewhat difficult, but I think no other can be meant. The two characters, Fuh-ting, can be read Hut-ding in the Amoy dialect, and might easily be made to do duty for Ad-din. The character Kien may also be read Gien, but that in no way resembles Jalal. Probably the character Kien may be an error in transcription for some other nearer approaching the sound of Jal. This is all conjecture.

The names of the kings reigning in Bengal are taken from a work by Stanley Lane-Poole, called "The Coins of the Muhammadan States of India," p. 5.

With regard to the site of the supposed city of Bengala, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the question to enter into a discussion upon the subject.

Sir Henry Yule, in his "Cathay, and the way thither," gives a small map to elucidate Ibn Batuta's travels in Bengal, which seems to be also the route taken by the Chinese travellers from Chittagong to Sona-urh-kong, the site of which latter city Yule seems to think must be looked for some miles southward of the present city of Dacca, and the probability is great that the city of Bengala (if

such a city ever existed) was situated still farther to the southward of the said city of Dacca than Sona-urh-kong.

Mahuan's book contains also an account of Calicut, Ormus, Aden, the Maldives, and many other places in the Indian Ocean, which are extremely interesting, as much new light is thrown upon the historical geography of those countries; and I will in another paper give further extracts from this book.

ART. XV.—*The Story of Yūsuf Shah Sarrāj (the Saddler), and of how the inhabitants of Kazwīn*[1] *outwitted the heavenly bodies.* A Satire. Translated by Colonel Sir EDWARD C. ROSS, C.S.I., M.R.A.S.

Mīrzā Fath 'Ali, Akhwand-Zādeh, an officer of Tartar origin in the Russian Service at Tiflis, wrote a series of comedies in the Azeri-Tūrkī dialect, and this satirical tale, about the year 1858. These compositions were translated into Persian by Mīrzā Ja'afar of Karājah Dāgh, and these translations were lithographed and published at Tehrān in 1874. The volume contains six Plays—

The Wazīr of the Khān of Lankurān, in four acts.
The Thief-taking Bear, in three acts.
The Miser, in three acts.
The Court-Pleaders, in three acts.
Monsieur Jourdan, the Botanist, and Must'ali Shah, the reputed Sorcerer } in four acts.
Mūllā Ibrāhīm Khalīl, the Alchemist, in four acts.
And the Story of Yūsuf Shah, which comes between the fourth and fifth Plays, and is written partly in narrative, partly in drama form.

The first of the Plays was edited with a translation, notes, and vocabulary by Messrs. W. Haggard and Guy le Strange in 1882, and a most useful little book it has been to students of Persian.

A translation of "The Alchemist," by Mr. Guy le Strange, appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of January, 1886. "The Bear," "The Pleaders,"

[1] Kazwīn—Capital of Irāk-'Ajemi, founded by Shapūr.

and "Sorcerer" have been published in the Persian, with English translations, by Mr. Rogers, and I learn from Sir Frederic Goldsmid that a translation of "The Miser" was published in Madras. Two of the comedies, "The Wazīr" and "Pleaders," have been translated into French by M. Alphonse Cillière, Paris, 1888. Three of the Plays have also been edited in the Persian from the Tehran edition, with glossary and notes, by MM. Barbier de Meynard and S. Guyard, Paris, 1886.

The story of Yūsuf Shah has not, as far as I know, been hitherto translated into English or French. It is rather a curiosity in its way, and by no means devoid of pungent humour.

E. C. R.

The Story of Yūsuf Shah, the Saddler.

The remarkable incidents here narrated happened in the early years of the rule of the Safawīs, when, on account of the occurrence of certain events, Mohammed Shah Safawī had abdicated in favour of his son, Shah 'Abbās the First.

The scene is laid in Kazwīn, in the seventh year of the reign of Shah 'Abbās (A.D. 1592, or *circa*). It is the beginning of spring, three days after the Nowrōz,[1] and about three o'clock in the afternoon. Shah 'Abbās the First is sitting in the palace, enjoying the society of his beloved Selmā Khawātūn.

Āghā Mubārik, the chief eunuch, raising the curtain, and bowing respectfully, announces: "Mīrzā[2] Sadr-ed-dīn, the Munejjim[3] Bāshī, solicits the honour of paying his respects to your Majesty on an urgent affair."

The Shah, signing to Selmā Khawātūn to retire to the ladies' apartments, says to the Chief Eunuch, "Tell him to come in."

[1] Nowrōz — Vernal equinox. Persian national fête of the new year, of Zoroastrian origin.

[2] Mīrzā—From Amīr Zādeh. Prefixed to names it is a simple title of respect equivalent to Mr.; after a name it signifies a royal prince; alone "secretary."

[3] Munejjim Bāshī—Chief astrologer rather than astronomer is meant here.

The Munejjim Bāshī, having entered the Shah's presence, and bowed respectfully—

The Shah: "What is it, Mīrzā?"

The Munejjim Bāshī: "May Heaven guard your Majesty! It appears from the courses of the stars that, fifteen days after Nowrōz, Mars will be in conjunction with Scorpio, and the first result of this malign conjunction will be that in an Eastern land—probably Irān—a great catastrophe will befall the reigning monarch. I have therefore considered it my duty, as the devoted well-wisher of this sublime Court, to give your Majesty timely warning of this aspect of affairs."

Now at that time the Shah was not, at most, more than twenty-two years old, and it is well known how sweet, how dear, and how precious life is at that youthful age, more especially in the case of one enjoying the exalted position of a Sovereign. The communication of the Chief Astrologer caused the youthful Shah extreme terror, so that he suddenly turned pale, and demeaned himself like one distraught; but after a few minutes he raised his head and said to Mīrzā Sadr-ed-dīn, "Very well, you can go."

The Chief Astrologer bowed and retired, and the Shah remained alone in deep thought for half an hour, after which he turned to Āghā Mubārik and said, "Send a ferrāsh[1] to summon to my presence Mīrzā Mohsin the Wazīr, the Sirdār Mīrzā Zemān Khān, Mīrzā Yahyā the Mustowfī,[2] and Akhwand[3] Samad the Chief Mūllā.[4]

The eunuch goes out and despatches a ferrāsh, who brings the persons designated, who, after receiving permission to enter, make their bows and await orders.

The Shah: "I have summoned you to hold a consultation regarding the means of averting a catastrophe, so that,

[1] Ferrāsh—Lit. "spreader," post-classical intensive noun from the Arabic root *farasha*. One who spreads carpets, beds, mattresses, etc., and keeps them in order. In Persian establishments the ferrāshes are messengers, ushers, and domestic police to inflict punishments.

[2] Mustowfī—Minister of Finance or Chief Paymaster and Auditor of Accounts.

[3] Akhwand—Dominie.

[4] Mūllā Bāshī—Ar. Mowlā. The Mūllās are the religious teachers and priests. It is a title often prefixed to names of learned men.

after due consideration of the matter, you may devise an expedient, and suggest an advisable course. This being a special council, you have my august permission to be seated, and proceed to deliberate on this affair."

These personages having obeyed the Shah's commands, his Majesty proceeds to inform them of the intelligence communicated by the Chief Astrologer, and asks their advice as to the best means of guarding his own person against this catastrophe. All are struck with astonishment. Then, after a moment's silence, the Wazīr Mīrzā Mohsin delivers his opinion in the following terms:—

Wazīr Mīrzā Mohsin: "The loyalty and devotion of this humble servant towards the illustrious Government are unquestionable. Your Majesty will, no doubt, recollect to what degree the treasury became deplenished in the time of your august father, owing to the incompetence and neglect of my predecessors in the Wazāret. From the day that this important function was entrusted to the vigilance of your servant, I organized measures for keeping the treasury replenished, in accordance with which every State official, on appointment to the government of a province, pays a sum of money proportionate to his means to the treasury by way of Pīshkash.[1] Moreover, whenever your Majesty honours a noble by visiting his house, the master of that house has to add presents of costly stuffs to his money offerings. By such expedients, now that it is the seventh year of your Majesty's reign, the public treasury is, thank God! well filled with money. As regards the administration of the business of the Ministry, therefore, your humble servant cannot be accused of any shortcoming; but in face of the prevailing influences of the stars I am powerless and bewildered."

Sirdār Zemān Khān next delivers himself as follows: "Although [it is known to you all] this servant has whitened his beard through devotion and assiduity in the service of the illustrious Government, still I may cite an

[1] Pishkash—Present.

instance: Ten years ago, when the Turkish forces, numbering nearly 70,000 men, under the leadership of Bakr Pāshā and Marchī Oghli, were preparing to invade the soil of Irān, your Majesty's illustrious father entrusted the command of the Persian forces to me. Although our troops were not less numerous than those of the Turks, I was nevertheless loth to expose the forces of the 'elect people' to the risk of destruction in encountering the hosts of perdition. I accordingly issued orders that, from the Turkish frontier to the further extremity of Azerbāījān, all the crops of the peasantry should be cut, their cattle driven in, and all the roads and bridges along the route destroyed. So when Bakr Pāshā crossed our frontier, whilst not seeing a single man of our army before him, yet he found the roads so destroyed and deserted that he was quite unable to move forward his artillery, which he was obliged to leave at the frontier. Pushing on with his cavalry and infantry, it was only after experiencing all sorts of difficulties and hardships that he succeeded in reaching Tabrīz,[1] and no matter in what direction he sent his cavalry in search of provisions, not a grain of wheat or barley, not a single cow, nor a sheep were they able to bring in. So after three days, during which his troops, famished and dejected, were reduced to great straits, he saw no escape from his dilemma but to beat the drum of retreat and fly from Tabrīz. By this strategy the kingdom of Irān was saved from the invasion of the foreign hordes. The destruction of the roads and bridges had proved so advantageous that even after the flight of Bakr Pāshā the Persian Government considered it inadvisable to reconstruct them, or to re-establish the prosperity of the places I had caused to be laid waste, in order that foreign armies should be unable to invade the soil of Irān; and even up to the present time they remain in the same condition. By these means, whilst not a drop of blood of a single soldier of the sublime Government was shed, the whole of the victorious

[1] Tabrīz—Persians perhaps fancifully derive the name from *tab-* and *rīz*, febrifugal.

army was preserved safe against the fierce violence of our hostile neighbour. In affairs of this sort, then, the old mastiff of the glorious threshold is by no means without resource, but as regards resistance against the stars, his limited wisdom is unavailing to devise a remedy."

The Shah's terror increases.

Mīrzā Yahyā, the Mustowfī, speaks: "Forasmuch as this unworthy servant was brought up by the Wazīr, is of the number of his relatives, and has through the blessing of his existence attained his present rank, I accordingly altogether follow his excellent example and laudable principles in evincing loyalty and devotion, and make the following representation before the ground under your Majesty's auspicious feet. The pay of the forces and of the inferior officers is, by your Majesty's command and by my instrumentality, paid from the revenues of the provinces. When a deficit, as stated by the Wazīr, occurred in the public treasury, I also was grieved on that account. So, whilst in order that the illustrious Government should not be discredited by stoppage of the salaries of Government servants, the orders for payment of the salaries were duly signed and issued to the various provinces, I sent at the same time secret written orders to the governors of provinces to withhold payment of the salaries, unless receiving my separate orders in writing. By this device the public treasury has been replenished, and there is a vast difference in that respect; and although the officers and men of the army have been kept in arrears of their pay, still, thank God! from the prevalence of peace and tranquillity and exceedingly low prices in Irān, they have not much felt the want of their pay. The skill and resource which your servant is endowed with are ample to enable him to discharge duties of this sort with honour and credit; but to avert the penetrating influences of the heavenly bodies, his intellect is of no avail."

It being now the *Mūllā Bāshī's* turn, he speaks as follows: "May the blessed Lord, for the honour of the nine Imāms, protect the person of his sacred Majesty from all

earthly and celestial misfortunes! The loyalty and fidelity of this suppliant for the perpetuity of the victorious Government, under the noble Safawī dynasty, transcend description. When I attained to the rank of Mūllā Bāshī, in the time of your Majesty's august father, half the people of Persia, nay even half the inhabitants of the capital, were Sunnī. By judicious exhortation in the first place, and secondly by stern commination, I have led the whole of the Sunnīs into the right path of the religion of the twelve Imāms, so that now, through the grace of God and my sanctity, there are not more than five or six Sunnīs to be found in all Persia. I am highly pleased, too, with the people of Persia in this respect, insomuch as at my mere requisition they forsook the ancient faith of their forefathers and submitted themselves to my guidance. So much so, that I was desirous of trying my hand on the Jews and Armenians, in view to turning them also to the Shī'ah faith, but some well-meaning persons thought it best not to undertake this, and as after all there are Jews and Armenians in every country, it matters not if a few remain in ours also. Further, in this land of Islām, in accordance with the perspicuous traditions, the possessor of the throne and crown is not considered entitled to that ultimate degree of obedience and reverence which, according to the learned Mūjtehids,[1] is due only to the Imām, and the representatives of the Imām. I, however, wrote to the preachers in all the provinces, directing them to ascend the pulpits of the various mosques and proclaim therefrom that those traditions do not apply to the Safawī dynasty, for it descends from the family of the Prophet and of the Imāms, and it is plain that the Imāms (the peace of God be on them!) uttered those traditionary sayings concerning others, and not in reference to their own descendants. But now that his Majesty is in peril from the influences of the stars, my heart, from sorrow, is like a fish grilling in a

[1] Mūjtehid—Doctor of Divinity and Law. Formerly a degree conferred by the colleges. Judge of a religious court.

frying-pan, and it appears to my limited comprehension that the accursed Chief Astrologer himself, who understands better than we do how to deal with this matter, has acted treasonably towards his Majesty in revealing the danger impending from the stars without disclosing the means of averting it. The question certainly suggests itself to one's mind—when he has shown the poison, why should he conceal the antidote and withdraw himself?

"The Prophet, on whom be God's blessings, said: 'All astrologers are liars.' I take this saying to refer to their dispositions rather than to their knowledge, for the predictions of the wretches have frequently been fulfilled, but they themselves are unprincipled liars. Let his Majesty summon him and demand the specific by means of which this impending catastrophe may be averted, and if he excuses himself let his head be struck off."

It is evident that the Mūllā Bāshī had an old standing grudge against the Munejjim Bāshī, and seeing in the situation a fine opportunity for accomplishing his purpose, wished to burn his enemy's father and the whole tribe of astrologers. In sooth, however, let us not be unjust. The Munejjim Bāshī must, on his side, have acted very foolishly, for why should he have imparted such alarming intelligence to the Shah, and so cause all this discussion, and bring destruction on himself? It seems that the Munejjim Bāshī, when afterwards questioned on this point, replied: "I was afraid that if I were not the first to communicate this information to the Shah it would be imparted by other astrologers, and the Shah would have thought me an ignoramus, and I would have been dismissed from my post."

Seemingly the Shah had become unfavourably disposed towards the Munejjim Bāshī on account of that news of ill omen, and, the incitation of the Mūllā Bāshī fanning the flame, his Majesty, falling into a towering passion, called out angrily to the Chief Eunuch: "Send a ferrāsh at once to bring the Munejjim Bāshī."

The Munejjim Bāshī is brought in.

The Shah, seated knees akimbo, and regarding the Munejjim Bāshī like an angry lion: "Son of a burnt father! So you threaten me with calamity from the stars, and conceal the remedy! Executioner!" (In the twinkling of an eye the dread executioner appears, dagger in belt, cord in hand. The soul of the hapless Munejjim Bāshī bounds, and he trembles like a leaf.) "Strike the head off this vile cur."

Sirdār Zemān Khān, though of the fraternity of the sword, was, nevertheless, a very kind-hearted man. Pitying the condition of the Munejjim Bāshī, he stands up and says: "May I perish for you! After they have struck this cur's head off, of whom shall we inquire about the means of warding off the threatened calamity? By the honour due to my grey beard, I, your humble servant, would urge that his life be spared, and that he be questioned as to the remedial measures by which the catastrophe may be averted. If he fails to reply as required, then is he guilty and deserving of death. It is for your Majesty to decide in the matter."

The Shah, to the executioner: "Very well. Suspend the execution; leave him there, and retire." Then to the Munejjim Bāshī: "Accursed wretch! instantly devise means of averting this calamity."

The unfortunate Munejjim Bāshī, in evil plight, knew no remedy against the occurrence, but in fear of death and mortal terror, he dared not avow this, and said: "May I be your ransom! The remedy is possible. Grant me an hour's respite that I may go and consult the Tables of Alagh Beg, and return to communicate the result."

Now nothing was ever recorded in the Tables of Alagh Beg about averting accidents of this sort, but the Munejjim Bāshī wished, by this pretext, to gain time to have recourse to his preceptor, our lord and master, Jemāl-ed-dīn, and consult him, knowing him to be more learned and experienced than himself in the science of the heavenly bodies.

The Shah accorded permission, but before the Munejjim Bāshī got out Āghā Mubārik entered and announced: "Our

master Jemāl-ed-dīn [1] craves the honour of audience of your Majesty."

The Shah : "Call him in." Then to the Munejjim Bāshī: "Remain a while where you are."

Our master Jemāl-ed-dīn, having entered the apartment and duly paid his respects, sat down at a sign from the Shah, and spoke as follows: "May your Majesty be preserved from all danger! Although your servant has latterly been prevented by old age from attending at Court, and forced to elect retirement, still, as at the present season, that is to say during the fifteen days succeeding Nowrōz, there seems, from the conjunction of Mars and Scorpio, to be probability of a great catastrophe befalling your Majesty's person, I have, therefore, considered it my duty, lest the younger astrologers should be ignorant of, or unable to deal with, this crisis, to wait on your Majesty, in order to inform you and point out the measures necessary for averting the danger."

The Shah, radiant with delight: "My lord, we have just been discussing this very matter; we are apprized of the impending occurrence: tell us, then, how to ward off the danger."

Our master Jemāl-ed-dīn: "During these days of ill omen, that is to say, until fifteen days shall have elapsed after the festival, your Majesty must relinquish the throne and sceptre, and make them over to a criminal deserving of death, you yourself disappearing from the sight of the people. In those circumstances that criminal being *pro tempore* actual monarch of Irān, the evil effects of the stellar influences will fall on his head; after which, when the event has happened, and that criminal temporarily in possession of the throne and sceptre shall have perished therefrom, your Majesty will come forth from concealment, re-ascend the throne, and reign in all prosperity and happiness. But it is essential that not a single person of the people of the land shall be aware of this stratagem,

[1] Mowlāna Jemāl-ed-dīn—A Shī'an divine. Celebrated for learning and piety. *Mowlā-na*, our lord or our master; syn. with Seyyid.

nor suspect that your Majesty has only temporarily abdicated and lent the throne and sceptre to another; so that the malefactor seated on the throne may imagine himself in verity the monarch. And it is also necessary to divorce the ladies of the Harem, to tear up their marriage contracts, and ask them whether they are willing to renew them, and wedding anew 'Abbās, son of Mohammed, no longer Shah but merely a private individual like others, be satisfied with a life of poverty and resignation. Whosoever consents let her marriage be renewed in the name of 'Abbās, son of Mohammed, and the contract written, and let any who are not willing be at once allowed to depart." So the Munejjim Bāshī found deliverance from death. The lines of care at once disappeared from the Shah's face, and his pallor gave place to ruddiness. A chorus of praise of the consummate wisdom of our master Jemāl-ed-dīn went up from the members of the Council.

The Shah, turning a radiant and smiling countenance towards the Mūllā Bāshī, inquired, "Have you in view any evil-doer, deserving of death according to the religious law, to whom I may transfer the crown and throne?"

The Mūllā Bāshī: "May the Ruler of the Universe vouchsafe a long term of natural life to your Majesty! In this city of Kazwīn a good-for-nothing fellow has been discovered, than whom no one on the face of the earth is more wicked and deserving of death. He is known by the name of Yūsuf the Saddler (Sarrāj), but where he was brought up is not known, only that at the present time he is residing in the city of Kazwīn, and having gathered round him a number of followers drawn from the lowest dregs of the population, is incessantly attacking and denouncing the illustrious literati[1] and the ministers of the religious law. This accursed wretch is, indeed, constantly telling his disciples in the plainest terms that the honoured literati are in the habit of gulling the common people. As an example of his doctrine, he holds it unnecessary to

[1] Literati—'Ulemā, the learned in religious law.

wage religious wars, and wrong to pay 'fifths' and the Imāms' dues, and asserts that the 'ulemā disapprove of the common people being guided by the opinions of demised Mūjtahids, in order that their own market may be brisk. He, moreover, impugns even the sublime Government, as if all the officials from Kedkhodā[1] to Shah were tyrants and highway robbers, from whom no benefit accrues either to the country or to the Faith; who are ever mulcting and punishing the hapless people merely in the indulgence of their own sensual inclinations, and are never guided in their conduct and acts by law or rule. In short, he attributes to those persons the behaviour of bullies and highwaymen. It is also alleged that he professes belief in the doctrine of transmigration of souls. This suppliant for the endurance of the sublime Government deems it advisable that your Majesty should transfer the crown and throne to this accursed wretch, so that, having met with his deserts through the planetary influences, he may descend to the nethermost hell."

The members of the Council unanimously approved and corroborated this view, and vociferously exclaimed, "Yūsuf Sarrāj, the son of a burnt father, is fully deserving of death, and a meet subject for the celestial wrath."

The Shah, pleased and happy: "I consent to his immolation; to-morrow this plan will be acted on and completely carried out." He then dismisses all the members of the conclave, and the Council breaks up.

Possibly the readers of this narrative will regard it as a fable, and, incredulous as to the occurrence of the events, assign them to fiction. In that case, I trust they will peruse the narrative of the events of the seventh year of the reign of Shah 'Abbās, contained in the "Tārīkh-i-'Ālim-Ārā."

It is now necessary to tell you who Yūsuf Sarrāj was. He was the son of Kerbelāī[2] Selīm, a peasant of one of

[1] Kedkhodā—In rural districts, the village headman. In cities, a municipal magistrate. The primary sense is house-lord.

[2] Kerbelāī—One who has visited the holy shrine of Husain, the son of 'Ali, at Kerbelā.

the villages of Kazwīn. This Kerbelāī Selīm, being a religious, God-fearing man, wished his son to become a Mūllā, and join the fraternity of the 'ulemā. He accordingly brought him, in the days of his youth, to the town of Kazwīn, and put him to school, where he remained some years, until he grew up and became conscious of a matured intellect. With a view to acquiring knowledge, he then went to Ispahān, and thence, after some years, to holy Kerbelā, where, in the assemblies of the honoured 'ulemā, he set about completing his knowledge, and during a prolonged residence in that holy place he became well versed in all the learning of Islām. As he saw through the charlatanism of the Mūllās in many matters, he conceived a repugnance to the class, and had no desire to enrol himself in that crew. Returning from Kerbelā he went to Hamadān, and there, being then forty years of age, he occupied himself for one year in learning the trade of saddler, under a master of the craft named Khālid, after which he returned to Kazwīn, because, from being the capital, this handicraft seemed to be more in demand there. On arrival at Kazwīn he chose a wife and opened a shop. Being himself a man of gentle disposition and blameless life, his mind was constantly troubled by the unseemly conduct of the Mūllās and officials, and he was unable to restrain his tongue from reproaching and denouncing them. Although his concern about such matters won him sincere friends and well-wishers, yet in the end it was the cause of his undoing.

The next day, in accordance with the Shah's command, all the nobles, the officers of State, the 'ulemā, the princes and officials, from Kedkhodā to Wazīr, assembled in the Royal Hall of Audience at two hours before noon, and each person having taken his appointed seat, they all awaited the Shah's appearance in perfect silence. Whereupon the Shah appeared, wearing the crown on his head, a jewelled mace in his hand, diamond armlets on his arms, and sword and dagger set with precious stones girt to his waist, and, entering the Durbār room, which, raised a cubit's height

above the level of the ground, is open in front and without screen or anything to intercept the view of the people, ascended the throne and took his seat. Then, turning his face towards the assemblage, his Majesty addressed them as follows: "O people! It is now the seventh year that by the will of Almighty God I have been your king, and have to the best of my ability shown kindness and favour to each and all of you. I, too, am very well satisfied and pleased with you, as, from the affection you bear to the Safawī family, you have manifested loyalty and fidelity towards me. To-day, for certain reasons which I consider it unnecessary to impart to you, I am obliged to relinquish the sovereignty, and make over the throne and crown to one who is more fitted and adapted for this position than myself. This person will be indicated to you by Sirdār Zemān Khān, the Wazīr, the Mustowfī, our master Jemāl-ed-dīn, and the Munejjim Bāshī. You must all go and bring him here with the utmost pomp and ceremony, and, having seated him on this throne, regard him as absolutely your king. Woe betide anyone who swerves from obedience to this command of mine, or fails in allegiance to that person!"

The Shah, having concluded his address, removed the crown from his head, and quitted the throne. Then, having taken off his sumptuous robes and donned old, worn-out clothing, he turns to the people and says: "Now I am simply a common individual, a poor man, by name 'Abbās, son of Mohammed. Seek me no more, for you will not find me. Farewell, I am off." Exit.

The assembled people were amazed, and were at a loss to account for this state of affairs.

The Shah proceeded thence to the Harem, and by his orders all the ladies assembled in one room and there awaited his Majesty, who appeared before them in those same old garments. The ladies of the Harem, seeing him in this garb, felt inclined to burst into peals of laughter, but the Shah's stern looks and bearing restrained them from doing so, and checked their merriment. Thereupon

the Shah commands the Head Eunuch: "Bring Mūllā Resūl and two of his associates." The Mūllās, who were already in attendance outside, entered the presence, and the Shah signed to them to be seated. Then turning to the ladies he says: "My dear couch-fellows, I am extremely sorry to have to announce to you that I am no longer king of Irān, no longer the possessor of wealth and palaces, or able to maintain you elegantly dressed and bedight, in luxurious apartments. I am now one of the rank and file of the people, poor and destitute. Needs must I read your divorces, and set you all at liberty to choose whomsoever you may feel inclined for." Then turning to Mūllā Resūl: "Proceed to carry into effect the formal divorcement of these ladies." Mūllā Resūl reads the form of divorce of them all, in presence of the witnesses he had brought with him. When the fair ladies of the Harem saw what a strange thing had befallen, they were greatly alarmed and agitated, and not knowing how matters stood, failed to understand the case, and were lost in amazement. When the deeds of divorcement had been read, Khwājah Mubārik tore up the marriage contracts by order of the Shah, who, turning again to the ladies of the Harem, said: "If any of you, content to endure poverty with resignation, will accept me, 'Abbās, the son of Mohammed, for husband, I will renew the contract of marriage with her."

Nearly all the ladies agreed to re-espouse the Shah, for he was young and very handsome, and, moreover, the ladies thought it was merely a matter of jest and pleasantry, and did not for a moment believe that Shah 'Abbās could become plain 'Abbās, son of Mohammed. But amongst them were two fair charmers who had entered the Shah's Harem against their will. These two made the following appeal, very bashfully and in a low voice: "We have regarded the high honour of being wedded to the Shah as good fortune, and have derived the utmost pleasure from our high position, but now that we are to be debarred from this enjoyment, it will never suit us to espouse 'Abbās, the son of Mohammed."

Both were instantly dismissed. One of them was a Georgian girl whom the Wālī of Georgia had sent as a present to the Shah. The very next day she set out with her cousin, taking with her all her jewellery and wearing apparel and a large sum of money, and returned to her native land. In Georgia her story was disbelieved; it was thought she had fled, and it was in contemplation to send her back to Persia. I know not what occurred to cause her case to be forgotten, but this girl eventually married a Georgian youth, and passed the remainder of her life in Georgia.

The other heart-ravisher was the daughter of a merchant of Kazwīn. She had been betrothed to a good-looking youth, but the Shah's agents had laid hands on her on account of her beauty and introduced her into the royal Harem. Perceiving, in the position of affairs described, the means of attaining her own desire, she returned to her father's house and was united to her betrothed.

The marriage contracts of all the other ladies having been renewed as between them and plain 'Abbās, son of Mohammed, the Shah directed the Chief Eunuch to take them all forthwith to a house that had been prepared for them at the entrance of the sixth street of Kazwīn, and, leaving them there, to return himself to the royal palace. Thereupon 'Abbās, son of Mohammed, issuing forth from the Harem, went on his way and vanishes out of sight.

The shop of Yūsuf, the saddler, was situated to the east of the Maidān (plain) of the Shah's mosque. At two o'clock in the afternoon Yūsuf, after duly performing the afternoon prayers, was sitting employed in preparing a leading halter which a customer had ordered for delivery that day, wishing to finish it so as not to break his promise. Two of his friends were sitting in front of him, listening to his conversation. He was deploring the dearness prevailing in the town, and affirming that the hapless poor were this year in great straits and distress. For that year was one of drought, and in most of the districts of Kazwīn no rain had fallen, so that cultivation was impossible, and

this had occasioned dearness. Yūsuf's words were: "I am astonished at this Government, which is able, in a thousand ways, to bring water into Kazwīn, but is so steeped in neglect that it does not give the slightest consideration to this work, heedless alike of the condition of the people and the embellishment of its capital."

At this juncture a cloud of dust arose from the west of the Maidān, and Yūsuf Sarrāj, needle in hand, raised his head and perceived that some ceremonial was taking place, but it never occurred to his mind that this procession and parade were on his account. First came twelve pursuivants in their liveries, wearing four-cornered hats; after them twelve standard-bearers carrying the royal banners; then came a band of valets with bundles on their heads, and a body of footmen carrying rods. Behind them came the "Master of the Horse,"[1] with led horses having jewelled saddle-cloths thrown over their backs, headstalls bespangled with gems, breast-plates studded with pearls, and emerald ornaments hung round their necks. Next came the Mūllā Bāshī, Sirdār Zemān Khān, the Wazīr, the Mustowfī, our master Jemāl-ed-dīn, the Munejjim Bāshī with the honourable 'Ulemā, the great lords and dignitaries, the nobles, the high officials, followed by a body of infantry. A detachment of cavalry in full array brought up the rear at leisurely pace.

As soon as they arrived opposite Yūsuf Sarrāj's shop all came to a halt, and the Mūllā Bāshī and the Sirdār came forward and bowed to Yūsuf, who stood up and made obeisance in great astonishment. The Mūllā Bāshī then addressed him, saying: "Master Yūsuf, by the gracious decree of fate, you are to-day King of Irān. Shah 'Abbās has now vacated the royal throne. Vouchsafe to confer on us honour and good fortune by coming to the Royal Hall of Audience, that your auspicious enthronement may there be accomplished."

But Yūsuf Sarrāj, ignorant as he was of the circumstances, was utterly astounded, and although he saw all the

[1] Mīr Akhwar—Superintendent of the royal stables.

"Pillars of the State" before his eyes for certain, and knew the Mūllā Bāshī who had spoken these words to be reckoned one of the solid men of Persia, still the affair was so extraordinary and inexplicable that he was nowise able to realize it. Obliged to return an answer, he at length spoke as follows: "My lord Mūllā Bāshī! I esteem you one of the solid men of Irān, and I know not whether (God forbid!) you have become insane or partaken of 'bang'[1] that you address words of this sort to me. I am a poor saddler body. What have I to do with throne or crown? I know not, by Allah! to what to attribute your proceedings. I am amazed and dumbfounded, and humbly beg you will leave your servant in peace."

Sirdār Zemān Khān then replied: "To-day you have become the cynosure of the world; we, too, are your slaves and as the dogs of your threshold, and submissive and suppliant expressions to the like of us are no longer befitting. For you lordly command is more suitable, and the issue of orders. We are neither mad nor intoxicated, but all of us in our sound and perfect senses; but the decrees of the Lord are not to be changed. This day all the empire of Irān and the sovereignty thereof are entrusted to you. In accordance with the words of the Munejjim Bāshī, vouchsafe to come to the royal palace that your auspicious enthronement may take place." Then, turning to the valets: "Bring the regal robes, and attire the cynosure of the universe in them."

The valets come forward bearing a bundle containing a regal dress, enter the shop, and place the bundle on the ground. They then proceed to divest Yūsuf Sarrāj of his old garments and attire him in royal robes. As opposition was unavailing, Yūsuf Sarrāj resigned himself whilst these sapient people carried out their wishes. When they had finished dressing him the Mīr Akhwar led up a horse with jewelled trappings, on which they mounted Yūsuf Sarrāj,

[1] Bang—An intoxicating decoction from powdered hemp leaves. Also called hashīsh, whence "hashīshīn," an epithet applied to the followers of the old man of the mountain, which some consider the origin of our word assassin.

and they all set out for the royal palace with the same ceremony and in the same order as before. As they marched along, the sound of the joyful acclamations raised in the streets by the attendants made the welkin ring. The whole population of Kazwīn, male and female, great and small, came to the windows and thronged the roof-tops to gaze, all from ignorance of the state of the case, being in wonderment. At the gate of the royal palace the ferrāshes dismounted Yūsuf Sarrāj, and the Mūllā Bāshī and Sirdār Zemān Khān, taking hold of his arms, conducted him with the utmost respect into an apartment of the palace, and seated him on the royal throne. The "Pillars of the State," the 'ulemā, the lords, nobles, and high officials, forming in ranks in front of the throne-room, stood with their hands on their breasts. The Mūllā Bāshī, having recited a prayer, placed the regal crown on the head of Yūsuf Sarrāj, then girt his waist with jewelled belt and scimitar, bound on his arms armlets of precious stones, and placed in his hands a mace studded with diamonds. Then, having recited another prayer, he turned his face to the people and said, "give voice to your felicitations"; whereupon a shout of congratulation went up to the heavens. The palace walls re-echoed the sound of the acclamations, and trumpets and kettle-drums sounded joyously. At the same moment a royal salute, fired from the palace, made the heavens ring, and at this signal a salute of one hundred and ten rounds was fired from the guns of the fort outside the city. Although, since the times of Sa'adi and Hāfiz, the poetic art had greatly declined in Persia, and the verses of the poets were mostly meaningless, mere verbosity and trash,[1] still, in that same year, some accomplished poets, gifted with the art of improvization, were found to celebrate in fine sonnets the auspicious accession of Yūsuf Sarrāj, comparing him with Solomon for wisdom, with Hātim [Tāi] for generosity, with Rūstam for courage. After glorifying his power and

[1] Pūch.

likening it to Destiny and Fate, they passed out of sight. The wits of Kazwīn found the date of his accession in the following words: "Yūsuf was not Shah of fair ladies [or of the good], but became Shah of the kingdom of Irān."

When these proceedings had terminated the Mūllā Bāshī intimated to the people that they could depart, and all went out of the royal levée hall, leaving only Yūsuf Shah seated on the throne, Āghā Mubārik with a few other eunuchs, 'Azīm Beg, chief valet, with some valets before him, and some ferrāshes outside the room. Yūsuf Shah was lost in amazement, and after a short reverie turned his face to Āghā Mubārik and inquired who he was. Āghā Mubārik replied: "We are the faithful eunuch servants. I am the chief of them, and these are my subordinates who obey my commands." Then turning to the valets, he asked: "Who are ye?" 'Azīm Beg, the head valet, replied: "Your humble servants, the 'Pīsh-khidmets.'[1] I am the chief of them, and these are my subordinates." Yūsuf Shah next inquired: "Then who are those standing outside?" 'Azīm Beg replied: "Those are the ferrāshes, who are always ready at your beck and call." Yūsuf Shah said: "Go outside, all of you; Āghā Mubārik, let all your subordinates go out, and remain yourself." All disappeared. Yūsuf Shah, summoning Āghā Mubārik to approach, said to him: "I perceive from your countenance that you must be a good man. I adjure you by God to tell me what is the origin of this adventure. As you have always been an inmate of Shah 'Abbās' anderūn[2] it is impossible that you can be ignorant of this matter." Now Āghā Mubārik, obliged to be constantly at the door of Shah 'Abbās' apartment ready to carry out his behests, was fully acquainted with the events of the preceding day, and knew all about the consultations which had taken place. He was, in truth, a very ingenuous, truthful man, and considering that it would be wrong to conceal the truth

[1] Pīsh-khidmet—Body-servant, valet de chambre, and table-servant.
[2] Anderūn—Inner apartments, penetralia and seraglio.

from the sovereign, he related the whole of the circumstances, from beginning to end, to Yūsuf Shah. The latter further inquired: "Then where is Shah 'Abbās?" The reply was: "He has disappeared, disguised in the attire of a mendicant, and his whereabouts is unknown."

Yūsuf Shah was a man of sense, who had never felt any fears or doubts on account of the stars, but this mysterious elevation filled his heart with terror and apprehension. But notwithstanding all such feelings, he saw no possibility of escape by declining the sovereignty, so, perforce, he applied himself to the discharge of the affairs of the State, and to the exercise of the royal functions. To begin with, he sent for Asad Beg the Ferrāsh Bāshī, and gave him the following orders: "You will at once take with you twelve ferrāshes and go and arrest Akhwand Samad the Mūllā Bāshī, Sirdār Zemān Khān, Mīrzā Hasan the Wazīr, Mīrzā Yahyā the Mustowfī, Mīrzā Sadr-ed-dīn the Munejjim Bāshī, and our Master Jemāl-ed-dīn; you will take them and lodge them in the prison of the citadel, and return and report to me the execution of these orders."

Asad Beg bows and sets out.

He next summoned 'Azīm Beg, the head valet, and says: "See that they prepare the evening meal for me, for I have eaten nothing to-day." The Chief Valet represents: "I have already given directions, and the cooks are engaged in preparing the repast." The Shah said: "Then do you and the Chief Eunuch come and show me the various rooms and ladies' apartments, one by one, and point out which is my own retiring room."

The Head Valet and Chief Eunuch preceded the Shah, and showed each chamber of the "anderūn." The floor of the first room was covered with carpets of various patterns, and the walls and ceiling embellished with paintings of flowers and plants and rare birds. The second room also was carpeted in like manner, and on its walls were painted portraits of former kings and princes of the Safawī dynasty. On the walls of the third room were depicted the likenesses of the Persian line of monarchs. On the walls of the

fourth room they had painted pictures of the ancient warriors of Irān, and the Dīvs of Mazanderān of whom Firdausi wrote; these were depicted with horns and tails, and engaged in combat. The walls of the fifth room bore illustrations of the wars between Shah Ismā'īl and his rivals. On the walls of the seraglio apartments they had painted pictures of youths politely offering flowers to maidens, and maidens handing goblets to youths. Every chamber was provided with sleeping gear.

Yūsuf Shah, having chosen one of the rooms of the seraglio for his own chamber of repose, asked the Chief Eunuch: "Which is the ladies' ornament-room?" The Chief Eunuch replied: "That is an upper room, but the door is locked, and the key is with Āghā Hasan, the box-keeper." At the Shah's command a valet at once summoned the Box-keeper, and they opened the finery strong-room and showed it to the Shah. It was a large room with boxes ranged on every side. Opening the lids of these, they showed the Shah some wonderful and rare jewellery and rich ornaments; amongst them were Kashmīr shawls of great value, beautiful ladies' dresses, rich silken robes, ear-rings and finger-rings of diamonds, and necklaces of pearls.

Yūsuf Shah had three daughters, the eldest fourteen, the middle one twelve, and the youngest eight years old; he had also two sons, six and four years of age. He selected for each of his daughters a brooch, two ear-rings, a ring, a necklace, a dress, and a shawl head-dress; for his wife he chose a shawl head-dress and a dress. Giving these to the Head Eunuch he said to him: "Take these to my old house, in the second street of Kazwīn, and deliver them to my wife, and tell her not to be at all uneasy about me, and to send my sons to me here to-morrow." Āghā Mubārik gave the articles to two ferrāshes, who went off with them. The sun set. The Shah having, at the instance of the Chief Valet, returned to the first room, found golden candlesticks lighted up, and a princely repast spread out. Having first performed ablutions and said the evening and bed-time prayers, he sat down to table, and the servants presented

various kinds of dishes. The Shah ate his fill, and they cleared the table. Then they brought ewer and basin, and the Shah washed his hands. They brought coffee, which he drank, and a "Kaliyān,"[1] which he smoked. Thereupon the Ferrāsh Bāshī entered and reported having carried out his orders. The Shah said: "Very well, you can go." After that Āghā Mubārik returned to report the delivery of the things, and said: "The wife and daughters of the Shah were highly delighted with the presents sent them. They had no anxiety about you; on the contrary, they were so very pleased and joyful at this unlooked-for event that they jumped and danced in their exceeding delight." So the Shah's mind was at ease regarding his wife and children. He continued to question the Chief Eunuch and Head Valet regarding the particulars of the surroundings, until it was the hour of four,[2] when he arose and proceeded to the sleeping apartment, and they laid out his sleeping attire. He ordered the Head Valet to enjoin the officers of the guard to post sentinels everywhere, according to the previous practice. Then he donned his night attire and went to sleep, and the Chief Eunuch and Valet went to their own apartments.

The following morning Yūsuf Shah repaired to the levée room and sent for Mūllā Ramazān, Kūrbān Beg, Mīrzā Jalīl, and Mīrzā Zekī, persons he counted amongst his friends, and in whom he had perfect confidence in every respect. He conferred the post of Mūllā Bāshī on Mūllā Ramazān and the Sirdārship on Kūrbān Beg, with the title of Khān; the office of Wazīr he entrusted to Mīrzā Jalīl, and appointed Mīrzā Zekī to the rank of "Mustowfī," and abolished the post of Chief Astrologer altogether, as he considered that function detrimentary rather than advantageous to the State and Religion.

The Shah directed that despatches should be sent to the Governors of all provinces, containing stringent orders to the effect that in future no Muslim was on any account to

[1] Kaliyān—The Persian water-pipe.
[2] *i.e.* four hours after sunset.

be subjected to punishment without being first tried in the religious courts, and that no person was to be mulcted from mere personal caprice. Sentences of death, the mutilation of ears and noses, and putting out eyes were to be discontinued. Furthermore, trustworthy emissaries[1] were selected to go and ascertain the condition of the various provinces and the needs of the people, and report thereon. Yūsuf Shāh summoned these emissaries to his presence and addressed them as follows: "Tell the Governors of the provinces from me to fear God, and pass no unjust sentences, to refrain from harassing the people or plundering their property, to accept no bribes, and to rest assured that actions of that sort will, in the long run, lead to misfortune and end in their ruin. They have over and over seen that those who have accumulated wealth by such conduct have eventually perished, or else have encountered utter misfortune, disgrace, and destitution. When possessions have been amassed by such methods in Irān, they have never remained permanently in any family. Where are now the crores upon crores of wealth of Ja'afar Khān Damghāni? Whither have the flocks, the retinues of Selīm Khān Karākulu betaken themselves? What has become of the possessions of Mīrzā Takī Shīrāzī? Whenever the monarchs of Irān have perceived that any person of high degree has amassed great wealth, it has been confiscated by the Government. They know it is the property of subjects and dependants, wrested from them by plunder or in bribes, so they forthwith call that person to account on some pretext, and, stripping him of all he possesses, either put him to death or cast him into misery and destitution. This phase of the Governors of our provinces closely resembles that of leeches which have become swollen from sucking blood; their owner gives them a squeeze, when they vomit all that blood; some die in this way, and some live on in a weak and languid state. If, on the other hand, the Governors be virtuous and content with their lawful

[1] Jāsus—Spies.

fortunes, they will ever retain their rank, be exalted and reverenced in the sight of the people, and honoured by the king, so that they will increase in dignity day by day."

After making these instructions clear to them, he dismissed the emissaries. He then repeated his commands that the taxation and levy of duties should be reduced to a moderate amount, that the roads should everywhere be repaired, and the requisite bridges and caravanserais built for each stage, that hospitals should be established in every province, and schools opened, that water should be brought to places devoid of it, that it should be considered an incumbent duty to aid and succour widows and orphans, the blind and the paralytic; also, that in the various provinces it should not be permitted to every good-for-nothing, self-opinionated person to enter himself on the roll of the 'ulemā, but in each particular case the sanction of the Mūllā Bāshī must be obtained, and in no place was the class of the 'ulemā to be allowed to be in excess of what would suffice for the requirements of the population. He also granted fixed allowances from the public treasury for all the 'ulemā sufficient for their support, to the end that, being in receipt of Government grants, they should become well-affected to the State and cease to denounce the Government officials and royal servants as oppressors. He took the management of the affairs of the courts of justice, which constitute the mainstay of the State, out of the hands of the 'ulemā, and entrusted it to officials of integrity, so that the people should, as regards their law-suits, consider themselves independent of the 'ulemā, who were only to be so far referred to as not to be altogether excluded from the administration. Lists of the charities necessary in each district were to be submitted to four upright persons, and the poor of the province relieved in accordance with these lists, the accounts being submitted to the royal court, so that none should be excluded from charitable relief. He also ordered that the "fifths" and dues of the Imām should no longer be paid, in order that the descendants of the Prophet (blessings on him and

peace!) should be saved from the disgrace of begging, and earn their livelihood, like other people, by plying their trades. In this matter, some eminent men of learning showed Yūsuf Shah decisions which they extracted from books of the law. Notifications were also sent to the provinces to the effect that in future no one should presume to offer presents or spread reception carpets for the Shah, the ministers of State, or the attendants of the royal court. No one was to seek office by means of presents, but to consider good services, loyalty, and devotion as the passport to the realization of such ambitions. The Government revenues of every province were to be handed over to trustworthy persons, there to remain to the credit of the treasury, and the Government expenditure, being apportioned in accordance with the account books, should, at the proper time, be appropriated to that district, and the people entirely relieved from any further demands on account of expenditure. Further, he ordained, in view to increase of the State revenue, that the merchants, gentry, nobles, and princes, as also the literati and Seyyids, and all classes of the population, should contribute one-tenth of their incomes in the towns, and one-twentieth in the agricultural districts. The pay of the soldiery and other Government servants was not to be withheld, such a course being injurious to the State, but was invariably to be paid without any delay from the provincial treasuries. The sum of five shāhis[1] was to be paid to the treasury from the price of all property bought and sold. The existing laws and conditions of pecuniary transactions were to be abrogated, in order that monied people should not be tempted by the laws customary and in force to receive pledges and grant loans on them, in view to necessitous persons becoming desperate and destitute, and then selling up the property placed in pawn at low prices, in hopes of the persons requiring advances being unable to redeem their property.

[1] Shāhi—One-twentieth of a kerān.

As Yūsuf Shah knew—

(1) That the Master of the Horse was in the habit of going to the uplands[1] in the summer on pretence of pasturing the royal stud, and committed great oppression on the people of those districts, harrying them and seizing their property and flocks;

(2) That the Commandant of the Artillery drew the whole of the pay of the artillerymen, and did not pay a dīnār[2] to any of them;

(3) That the Treasurer mixed false money with the Imperial coinage, and issued the same to the public;

(4) That the Mayor[3] of Kazwīn was a receiver of bribes;

(5) That the Superintendent of Police was in the habit of shelving cases preferred by the poor against the rich;

(6) That the municipal officers neglected the streets of Kazwīn,

he dismissed all those officials, and appointed reputable and worthy persons in their stead. Akhwand Samad, the Mūllā Bāshī, having heard from the jailor in the prison of the citadel that his post had been given to his rival Mūllā Ramazān, died of vexation on the spot.

Yūsuf Shah also gave orders that the streets of Kazwīn should be widened, and that, for the safety of wayfarers, all open wells in the streets should be covered in. Arrangements were made for hearing and inquiring into petitions, and it was ordered that wheat should be supplied to the poor from the royal granaries. A committee was formed of men of experience and experts in waterworks to confer and consult regarding a water supply for Kazwīn, and ordered to submit a written report of their proceedings and recommendations.

At that period, some of the people of Holland[4] had

[1] Yelāk—The cool summer mountain resorts of the nomad tribes. The winter quarters are termed kishlāk.

[2] Dīnār—A nominal value equal to one-thousandth part of a kerān.

[3] Mayor—Beglerbegi, a Turki term primarily meaning chief of chiefs.

[4] The Dutch as well as English and French had established factories at this time at Gombroon, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. In the year 1622, when the English aided the Persians to drive the Portuguese from the adjacent

occupied a place in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf, and during these days an envoy from them with his suite arrived at Kazwīn, with a view to concluding a commercial treaty with the Government of Persia. The envoy and his suite were introduced to the presence of Yūsuf Shah, and were charmed and delighted by his wisdom, sagacity, statesmanship, and well-timed courtesies. After fully attaining the object of their mission, the envoy and suite were dismissed with presents, and returned entirely satisfied.

A week had elapsed from the accession of Yūsuf Shah, and every day the people had been shown good deeds fraught with justice, and the signs of every kind of well-being were apparent. These were the halcyon days of prosperity and gladness in Irān; an era of happiness and good fortune had dawned. But "cui bono?" For the human race the day of happiness is ever transient. What, haply, was lacking or amiss to our father Adam and our mother Eve in Eden that they should have disobeyed God's commands and been driven forth from Paradise? Such is man!

The inhabitants of Kazwīn, no longer seeing mutilated portions of men's bodies[1] hanging at the fort gate every day, nor beholding the wonted spectacle of the executioner putting men to death, gibbeting them, gouging out their eyes, and cutting off their ears and noses, thought matters had come to a strange pass indeed. At first they said: "Undoubtedly this new king is very clement and forbearing.[2]" Afterwards they took to criticizing his mildness and humanity, and attributed this conduct to an indolent disposition and weakness of character. Furthermore, they discovered a thousand divers faults in Yūsuf Shah, the upshot of their talk being that life under the rule of a soft-hearted king like this seemed insufferably tedious.

island of Ormuz, the Shah ordered Gombroon to be named in future Bunder 'Abbās, the name it has since borne.

[1] Mushakkah-hā-i-Ādam—The term is not found in dictionaries, but is derived from the Ar. *shakk* "to split," "rive," "rip open," or "sunder." Shakkah means a side of butcher's meat.

[2] Būrd-bār.

The deposed officials guided the current of popular opinion into this channel, and, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity they saw, harboured designs of tumult and rebellion, and serious disturbances soon broke out in Kazwīn.

The originator of these disturbances, in the first instance, was the dismissed Master of the Horse, who, having met the late Treasurer in the street, joined him in his walk and said: "For God's sake, Mīrzā Habīb, tell me, for I want to know, what do the people say about our new king?" Mīrzā Habīb replied: "The people do not like the new king; they are having a bitter time of it; they have come to the conclusion that he is imbecile and incompetent."

The Master of the Horse: "By Allah! Mīrzā Habīb, the people have more sense than ourselves, they say truly. In God's name! what folly is this we have committed, to have brought forward a low saddler, and made him our king? We have drawn trouble on our own heads. In return for our services he has deprived us of our posts. Now we are no more esteemed in the land than the street dogs. By Allah! nothing could be more ignominious than what we have done."

The Treasurer: "Nay, we made him king by Shah 'Abbās' command: what choice had we then?"

The Master of the Horse: "True, but Shah 'Abbās was then king, and his orders were binding on us. But now that there is no Shah 'Abbās, what is there to prevent our casting this accursed freethinker (who they say, too, is a Pythagorean) down from the throne, and putting an end to him? Afterwards we can place on the throne a prince of the Safawī family, who will, at all events, be fitted for throne and crown by reason of his noble origin."

The Treasurer: "You say well. I shall co-operate with you in this respect, but we are only two individuals, and what can we effect? Let us go to the Commandant of Artillery and ascertain his views; he, too, like ourselves is one of those deposed from office."

The two repair to the house of the Commandant of

Artillery, who, greatly pleased at their visit, listens most eagerly to their communication, and fully agrees with them regarding an insurrection, but says that this affair cannot be carried into execution without the concurrence of Bākir Khān, commander of the Chagīn cavalry.

The Commandant of Artillery: "Bākir Khān is my particular friend, and I pledge myself to secure his co-operation with us in this undertaking. I shall say to him: 'The mishap which has befallen us in the days of the reign of this unbelieving Yūsuf Shah will eventually fall on your head also. You had better provide against it beforehand.' I am certain this language will be effectual with him, for yesterday, at the public levée, the Shah was angry with, and rebuked him, so that he drank wine and went drunk to the mosque for prayers. If Bākir Khān agrees to join in this enterprise, Faraj Khān, commander of the infantry, will also consent, for he is the cousin and son-in-law of Bākir Khān, and never does anything in opposition to him. But do you two get up and go to the late mayor of Kazwīn, and, having obtained his concurrence, engage him to seek the deposed Dāroghah[1] and the Kedkhodā to talk the matter over with them, and gain them over also."

The conspirators separate, and each sets about the accomplishment of this purpose, and they very soon succeeded in their object, as in the course of three or four days all those selected were informed, and, all being disposed for insurrection and ready for the fray, it was settled that they should surround the royal palace on Saturday morning, and, entering the inner apartments, cast Yūsuf Shah down from the throne and put him to death; after which they would appoint a new king for themselves from the Safawī family.

On the morning of the appointed day, before the gate of the royal palace was opened, a large number of cavalry and infantry, in complete array, surrounded it on all sides. Yūsuf Shah, being informed of the state of affairs, gave

[1] Dāroghah—Town or Police Magistrate and Head of the City Police.

orders that the gates should not be opened. He had, indeed, expected such inequitable actions from the former Mūllā Bāshī, Sirdār Zemān Khān, the late Wazīr, and Mustowfī, the Munejjim Bāshī, and our master Jemāl-ed-dīn, who were powerful persons and openly hostile to him. It was for this reason that he had, at the outset of his reign, taken the precaution to throw them all into prison. But the door of ruin opened from another quarter.

In this juncture the well-wishers of Yūsuf Shah, being apprised, armed themselves and hurried, minute by minute, in large numbers towards the palace, and confronting the insurgents began to reason with them, and to exhort them to desist from these proceedings, but to no avail. The matter passing beyond the stage of negotiation and conciliation, hostilities and fighting commenced, and in the mêlée which ensued both sides were reckless of their lives. From bullets they passed to swords and daggers, and, falling on each other, blood flowed like water. After three hours and a half of fierce fighting nearly six thousand men of both sides were killed and wounded. At length the party of Yūsuf Shah showed symptoms of exhaustion and defeat; for the ungrateful populace kept issuing from the city and joining the ranks of the insurgents, adding to their numbers and strength. On this account the adherents of Yūsuf Shah suffered defeat, and each one withdrew himself as best he could from the fray to save his own life. The insurgents, making a rush, broke in the gate of the Shah's palace and entered it, but howsoever they searched for Yūsuf Shah they found him not. He had disappeared, and no trace of him was to be discovered. Some said that, during the fight, he had gone amongst his loyal adherents, encouraging them by his presence in the fray, and had been killed in the mêlée; others that he had concealed himself and escaped by flight. The essential point is that his body was not found amongst the slain. Howbeit no one thereafter pointed him out anywhere.

The insurgents plundered the royal palace, and thence, surging into the bazaar, looted the shops and caravanserais;

from thence they hurried to the quarter of the Jews and Armenians, and ransacked and plundered all their houses, committing all sorts of outrages and excesses. The sun set. The tumult and pillage ceased, and everyone returned to his abode.

The next morning the leaders of the insurrection set out for the citadel, and having released from the prison Sirdār Zemān Khān, Mīrzā Mohsin the Wazīr, Mīrzā Yahyā the Mustowfī, our master Jemāl-ed-dīn, and the Munejjim Bāshī, related to them what had happened, and inquired: "Now which prince of the Safawī family do you consider most eligible for the throne and crown?" Our master Jemāl-ed-dīn said: "In God's name, tell me what day of the month is this?" The Master of the Horse replied: "To-day is the sixteenth day after the festival of Nowrōz." Our master, manifesting his delight, said: "Be no longer grieved; the tumult has occurred to the very day; it is clear the catastrophe is over. No one of the Safawī princes is fitted for the monarchy; they are all beardless and blind, some having been rendered so by Shah Ismā'īl the second, some by Shah 'Abbās himself; they are no longer eligible, and would not serve our purpose. Shah 'Abbās is still our king."

The Master of the Horse replied: "We are well pleased with his kingly rule, and it went very happily with all of us during his time, but what good is that? Since he has abdicated the throne and crown, and disappeared from our sight, what can we do? Moreover, we know not where he is."

Our master laughed and said: "There was a reason for his abdication; lo! that reason no longer exists. We ourselves know his place of concealment. We shall go fetch him, and escort him to his own palace."

All arose and proceeded to the house in which Shah 'Abbās lay concealed, and bringing him forth conveyed him to the royal palace. He resumed his former position as Lord of the throne and crown, and matters settled down into the old course, as if nothing had happened.

Author's Epilogue.

I am amazed at the stupidity of these heavenly bodies, so deceived as they were by the people of Irān, that they knew not that Yūsuf Sarrāj was not really Shah, but only a mock king set up to dupe them. Such simplicity and credulity as allowed the stars to be hoodwinked by the Persians was very wonderful. Strange, too, that they should cling to Shah 'Abbās, consign to his doom poor innocent Yūsuf, the saddler, and thereafter for forty years behold with indifference the cruelty and tyranny of the former. Amongst the least conspicuous examples of the ruthlessness of Shah 'Abbās were his putting to death one of his own sons, and putting out the eyes of two others. Nor had he any other son, so a grandson became heir to his throne. However, there is no reason to blame the stars, which had no enmity towards Shah 'Abbās. It had become incumbent on them that fifteen days after the Nowrōz they should depose an individual from the throne of Persia, and cause his ruin. Yūsuf Sarrāj was at that time seated on the throne of Persia; accordingly the stars brought to pass his fall and doom. It never occurred to the stars that the people of Irān would trick them by such a stratagem, and that a mock king instead of the real one would succumb to their blow.

ART. XVI.—*The Lî Sâo Poem and its Author.* By Professor LEGGE, Oxford.

II. THE POEM.

IN my former paper I endeavoured to set forth the principal events in the life of Ch'ü Yüan, the author of the *Lî Sâo* Poem, as they are related in the biography of him by the historian Sze-mâ Ch'ieh.

I have now to describe the contents of the poem which he left as the principal memorial of himself. It is his longest poem, but it is not itself long, consisting only of 373 lines; and its literary value is but very middling. I agree in the estimate of it by the Marquis d'Hervey, who says, "The Chinese have little aptitude for the composition of poems of great extent, requiring method and invention. The admiration with which they regard the work of Ch'ü Yüan is a proof to us of their inferiority in this respect. It would be useless to seek for a rival of Homer or of Virgil in the literature of this people, who, notwithstanding, have their Horace in the person of Lî T'âi-po of our eighth century." The marquis, indeed, had a reason of his own for studying the *Lî Sâo*, but it is not necessary for me here to enter on any account or discussion of it, my object in this paper being simply to exhibit the contents of the poem, or what the reader is to look for in the perusal of it. In doing so, I will adopt the division of the piece which has been made by the Chinese critics themselves, into fourteen Sections,[1] touching most of them with a light hand, and

[1] These divisions are given by the Marquis d'Hervey at the conclusion of his translation of the poem. I have taken them from a note at the end of the "Collection of Comments" by Ling Ch'ien, styled Kâo-chih (陵錢杲之集傳), of the Tsin (晉) dynasty. He says at the close, "The larger sections may also be subdivided into smaller ones, which the student can do for himself."

spending my strength on the passages which seem to lead to important conclusions concerning the history of the nation, and others which indicate on the one hand the peculiarities of the writer's character, and on the other the fatuity—I can think of no milder term—of his understanding.

I. The first Section consists of six stanzas, or twenty-four lines. The author tells us in it of his lineage, the date of his birth, and the names given to him by his father; of his earnest discharge of his official duties; and of his high aim, by self-cultivation, to form a character pure, beautiful, and righteous. He intimates also his dissatisfaction with king Hwâi, who was too readily accessible to worthless advisers, and kept aloof from himself and his better counsels.

The first stanza is,

"A descendant am I of the *Tî* Kâo-yang.
My excellent deceased father was named Po-yung.
When Sheh-t'î (=the planet Jupiter) culminated in the first month of spring,
On *kăng-yin* (=the 27th cycle-day) I was born."

Ought we to receive these statements as correct or even possible? The dynastic appellation of the *Tî* (or Emperor) styled Kâo-yang[1] was Chwan-hsü; and in a carefully prepared system of Chinese chronology by a Twan Hsî-yâi,[2] published in 1817, his first year was B.C. 2510. He was, or is said to have been, a grandson of the emperor Hwang-Tî, whose first year is put down as B.C. 2697. Chwan-hsü's rule must on this view be assigned to the lifetime of Noah, and placed before what we call "The Deluge," according to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible,

[1] 高陽氏="He of Kâo-yang." Kâo-yang would be the name of the centre where he first ruled. There is still a district of that name in the department of Pâo-ting, in Chih-lî, which appears in the "Topography of different Dynasties" as "the Land of the ancient Chwan-hsü (古顓頊地)."

[2] 段西崖之歷代二十四史統紀全表.

as calculated by Calmet; or, if we prefer the estimates of Dr. Hales, based on the numbers in the Septuagint version of the Hebrew, it began about 350 years before the birth of Abraham.

I am not prepared, however, absolutely to deny the statement of Ch'ü Yüan on this ground. If we are to accept it, we must believe that his knowledge of his ancestry had been gained from some chronological data transmitted from that early time; and there is certainly some reason for our doing so. We are all aware that the Chinese cycle of time is arranged in periods of sixty years instead of being reckoned by hundreds like our own. It is made up of two series of what are for the most part short and easily written characters, one consisting of what are called *ten stems*,[1] and the other of *twelve branches*.[1] By joining the characters of these two series together, we obtain sixty combinations in which no two terms are the same, sixty being the least common multiple of ten and twelve. If we carry the combination on, we have simply to repeat the same operation; we have constituted the Chiâ-tsze[2] cycle, the cycle of Chinese numeration;—very ingenious indeed, while inferior to the use of our digits and cipher, which may be prolonged *ad infinitum* without any two terms being the same. This is the whole mystery, which is really no mystery, of the Chinese cycle. But how did the old fathers of the nation get the idea of the ten stems and twelve branches? and what led them to the formation of the simple characters by which these are represented? In a paper on Chinese Chronology written in 1891 I stated that I had been brooding over these questions without effect for many years. Since then, however, I have obtained considerable light on them from my friend Professor Gustave Schlegel, of the University of Leyden, a Chinese scholar of

[1] The ten stems are 甲, 乙, 丙, 丁, 戊, 己, 庚, 辛, 壬, 癸; and the twelve branches are 子, 丑, 寅, 卯, 辰, 巳, 午, 未, 申, 酉, 戌, 亥.

[2] 甲 子.

great attainments, and well versed also in astronomy and mathematics. According to him, the ten stems were made to denote the days in the decades of the month, each month being most naturally divided by the Chinese down to the present day into three decades. The same characters are also applied to other series of things besides the days of the decade. The different volumes, for instance, of a work in ten volumes might be marked with them from *chiâ* and *yî* down to *zăn* and *kwei*. As to their application to the days of the decade at a very early period, we have an instance of it in the words of the Great Yü,[1] as recorded in the Shû Ching, part II, iv, par. 8: "When I married in T'û-shan, I remained with my wife only the days *hsin*, *zăn*, *kwei*, and *chiâ*," which are the last three and the first of the stems.

So much for the stems. Professor Schlegel has given an equally satisfactory account of the twelve branches. Their names, he says, were originally employed to denote the months of the year, and he seems to me to establish this clearly in his "Uranographie Chinoise," pp. 37 *seq*. The character representing each month was significant of its quality or character. That the year consisted, anciently as now, in China of twelve months of thirty days each and a fraction of a day, appears from the address of the sovereign Yâo to his astronomers, assigned to the year B.C. 2357: "A round year," he said to them, "consists of 366 days. By means of an intercalary month do you fix the four seasons, and complete the determination of the year. By regulating the proceedings of the various officers in accordance with this, all the business of the year will be fully performed."[2]

The more I study the Chinese year of more than 2000 years before the birth of Christ, the more am I led to think of the year adopted by the first French Republic in 1793, and the names given to its months. The French names and

[1] Yü was a descendant of Chwan-hsü, from whom our author also claimed descent. He became sovereign in B.C. 2217.

[2] See the Shû Ching, Part I, paragraph 8.

the Chinese names, of course, are different, but the meaning of the differently sounding terms is in several of them very much the same. We find the equivalents of a *Fructidor*, a *Messidor*, and a *Vendémiaire* among the Chinese names. I ask if it be more wonderful to discover such an arrangement of the year and nomenclature of its months in China 2000 years and more before the birth of Christ, than to find the same arrangement and a similar nomenclature of its months being adopted in France nearly 2000 years after the birth of Christ. I cannot, therefore, because of that first line in the *Lî Sâo* brand the whole poem and the history of its author as baseless and absurd. I do not think that Ch'ü Yüan was writing without authority and without book, when he said that he was descended from Chwan-hsü, who ruled in China B.C. 2510.

There is another question suggested by the third and fourth lines of the stanza, which is as perplexing as that which we have been considering about the origin of the cycle. The fourth line tells us that Ch'ü Yüan was born on the *käng-yin*, or 27th, day of the cycle. There is no difficulty about that; but in what year was he born? The third line says it was when the planet Jupiter culminated in the first month of spring. Possibly a skilful astronomer and mathematician may approximate at least to a determination of this year; but it is beyond my power to do so, and I have not attempted it. I showed in my former paper that we can historically come very near to the year of Ch'ü's death; but the year of his birth is hidden from us, excepting as he has told it to us in this line, which he has done in a peculiar way. He says that he was born "when *Sheh-t'î* culminated in the first month of spring." Now *Sheh-t'î* is a foreign name, having no suitable meaning in Chinese. It is employed, however, to denote the planet Jupiter, which, moreover, is generally called the "Year Star."

To find our way through this puzzle, we must bear in mind that the cycle characters of which I have spoken were made to denote days and not years. To use the words

of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers,[1] "Not a single instance of the application of the cycle to years can be found till after the classical period, and this fact is sufficient to satisfy us that this invaluable method of dating years was never used in ancient times. The first attempt to arrange the years in cycles of sixty is found in the 26th Book of Sze-mâ Ch'ien's History, in the form of a table constructed for the purpose of intercalation, and extending over a period of 76 years, the first year being B.C. 104. This cycle consists like that for days of ten stems and twelve branches. It is called *Sheh-t'i Këh*, or cycle of *Sheh-t'i*; but all its terms are phonetizations of dissyllabic and trisyllabic words from some foreign language." From what language they were taken has not yet been made out. Knowing that the Sanskrit name for the Regent of the planet Jupiter is *Vrihaspati*, and dividing that word into *Vriha* and *spati*, and knowing that Ch'ien's *Sheh-t'i* was pronounced in Cantonese as *Shîp-t'ai*, I thought I had got to the solution of the mystery; on referring, however, to a Sanskrit-English Dictionary, I found that the mythological name *Vrihaspati* was analyzed into *Vrihas-pati*, meaning "Lord of Prayer." It was thus impossible that the *Sheh-t'i* could be derived from the Sanskrit name for the Regent of Jupiter, and the illusion of my fancied discovery melted away. Nevertheless, the origin of the ten dissyllabic foreign names of Ch'ien's stems, and of the nine dissyllabic and three trisyllabic names of his branches is still to seek. I hope that it may soon be found.

A valuable work called *Kala Sankalita* was published at Madras in 1825 by a Lieutenant-Colonel John Warren. It is "a collection of memoirs of the various modes according to which the nations of the southern parts of India divide time." There is in it an account of the Hindu cycle of sixty, "the origin of which is unknown," but the author appends to it the following note:—"In the cycle of sixty are contained five cycles of twelve years,

[1] In his essay on "The Astronomy of the Ancient Chinese," in my Chinese Classics, Vol. III, proleg. p. 97 *seq.*

each supposed to equal one year of the planet (Jupiter). I only mention this cycle because I find it mentioned in some books, but I know of no nation or tribe that reckons time after that account" (p. 212). It is to be regretted that Colonel Warren had not heard of the *Chiâ-tsze* cycle of China, which is made up of five cycles of twelve years. If at first and for long it was only applied to the succession of days, the cumbrous system for years proposed by Sze-mâ Ch'ien soon ceased, notwithstanding his authority, to hold its ground; and after the year A.D. 21 it disappears nearly altogether from Chinese literature, and gave place to the terms of the native cycle for days as applied also to years.

It is high time that I should leave this first stanza, and proceed with the analysis of the poem. As I have said, I accept lines one and two as historical; and I must leave three and four till more light has been thrown on them.

Of the names which our author received from his father I need not now speak. He describes his earnest self-cultivation and discharge of his official duties under the figure of being fond of, and gathering and wearing, flowers. The most brilliant in colour, the most delicate in fragrance, and those yielding the most delicious taste are all collected by him and worn at his girdle. Orchids and angelicas, the cassia, the pepper-plant, and many others are gathered by him and cherished as symbolical of the attributes of mind and character which fitted him to serve his king and country. This is one of the chief characteristics of the poem, and it abounds also in symbolism of other forms. Where he complains, for instance, of king Hwâi's want of appreciation of him, it is under the figure of a lover complaining that the object of his or her admiration is failing to keep their promised tryst.

II. The second Section of the poem contains thirty-two lines, and will not require much elucidation. There are mentioned in it first the methods of the founders of the three great feudal dynasties, and their glorious predecessors, Yâo and Shun. These all welcomed to their presence the

wise and the good, receiving and following their counsels. With their methods there are contrasted the courses of the two cruel and abandoned sovereigns, Chieh and Châu, with whom the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang ended, and their disastrous results. The poet then shows the difference between himself and his envious opponents, and deplores the king's course. His own way was always in the line of what was right, and was the outcome of his loving loyalty. Glad would he have been to be recalled to the court, and be received there as the king's adviser. But his efforts to bring this about were of no avail. Notwithstanding his earnest appeals to Heaven in confirmation of his truth,

"The king made no account of the loyal feelings of his heart,
But believed the slanderers, and burned with anger against him."

What would the end be, not for himself, but for the throne and kingdom?

III. The third Section is very short, occupying only eight lines. It gives very fully, in floral metaphor, a description of the author's self-culture, and laments the failure of his hopes. He was disliked and hated the more because of his fragrant virtues.

IV. The fourth Section, in twenty-eight lines, sets forth how, while the king's favourites were eager only for their material ends, Ch'ü Yüan's wish was to leave a good name behind him. He would never give up nor regret his course, though nine deaths should await him. He intimates, indeed, in one line that the idea of terminating his disappointments by suicide, which we saw in the former paper that he did in the end, was being revolved by him. He says,

"Not agreeing with the practice of the men of to-day,
I wish to imitate the pattern handed down by P'ăng Hsien."

This P'ăng Hsien was, it is believed, a worthy Great officer of the Yin dynasty, who, when his words of remonstrance

were not listened to by his sovereign, committed suicide by drowning himself.

V. The fifth Section, in twelve lines, is occupied with angry references to the king's indifference to him, and to the malicious abuse of him by the courtiers. He is the beauty of the harem with her silkworm eyebrows, and they are her envious associates who dislike and vilify her. They are, moreover, like foolish builders whose work comes to nothing through their stupidity. Sudden death would be more welcome to him than to act as they did.

VI. The sixth Section, in thirty-two lines, shows how impossible it was for the author and his enemies to associate; as impossible as for what was square and what was round to fit together, as for two to walk together when they are not agreed. Some expressions in it lead us to think that, when banished from the court, he had gone back and tried in vain to propitiate the king. He had then retired and cultivated his old habits, and would continue to do so. All at once the thought occurred to him that he would travel, and see "the most distant regions in all directions." Peradventure he might somewhere meet with a worthy sovereign, who would welcome his counsels and accept his guidance, or with some good ministers with whom he could cordially co-operate. This gives the key-note to the greater part of the poem which follows; whatever the result might be to himself, though his body were dismembered, he would not change either his principles or his course.

VII. The seventh Section, in twelve lines, is an interesting episode, in which "the lovely sister" of the author appears, expostulating with him on the dangerous obstinacy of his course. There is a tradition that Ch'ü Yüan's ancestral home was in what is now, I believe, the district of Hsing-shan in Kwei-châu, of the Î-ch'ang department of Hû-pei (湖北宜昌府歸州興山), and that on the north-east of the site there used to be, perhaps is now, a temple to this sister. Hearing of her brother's disgrace and trouble, she now came to him, all the people hoping she would succeed in inducing him to change his way. She reminds him of the

fate of their ancester Kwăn, a descendant, like themselves, of Chwan-hsü, and the father of the famous Yü. Kwăn is mentioned in the first two books of the Shû Ching, as disliked by Yâo, and kept till his death a prisoner by Shun. We form a more unfavourable opinion of him from the references to him in the Shû than we do from the language of the lady; but this is favourable rather than unfavourable to the genuineness of what she says about their ancestor. Her expostulation, however, produced no change in her brother.

VIII. We pass on to the eighth Section of the poem, containing forty lines. We saw in Section VI how there had suddenly come into our author's mind the idea of visiting "the most distant regions," and searching in them for a sovereign and ministers to his mind. The time might seem to have come for him to carry this purpose into effect; but he thought again that he would first like to test the correctness of his views by those of the ancient sages, and in order to do this he would visit the grave of the ancient sovereign Shun, whose plenary occupation of the throne dates in chronology from B.C. 2255 to 2217. He died in one of his progresses to the south, and two sites, one in Hû-nan and the other in Kwang-hsî, are claimants for the place of his grave. Our author seems to have sought for it in a district so-called, comprehended in Tâo-châu in the department of Yung Châu of Hû-nan. There, at some point on the hill of *Chiû-î*, or "Nine Doubts" (so-called from the great similarity of so many peaks in the mountain's ridge), he knelt, with his skirt outspread near the grave, and poured out his complaint, mournfully unfolding the exercises of his mind. He speaks of Shun by the name of Ch'ung-hwâ, given to him also in the Shû Ching, though there has been, and still is, some difference of opinion as to the meaning of the denomination. Briefly and imperfectly, but not incorrectly, he sketched the history of the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, showing how they rose by the virtues of their founders, and fell by the vices of their last sovereigns. The former were good and cherished their good ministers,

the latter were bad and persecuted their good ministers. From those references he ascended to the impartiality of Heaven, verifying a sentence which, no doubt, he had read in the Tâo-têh Ching of Lâo-tsze. At the close of the 79th chapter of that Work we find: "In the way of Heaven there is no partiality of love; it is always on the side of the good man"; and this appears in the *Lî Sâo*, as

"August Heaven has no private partialities;
It observes the qualities of men, and dispenses its help accordingly.
It is only the conduct fully ordered by sage wisdom
Which can obtain rule on this earth below."

All observation of men and times confirms the judgment that is thus given, and Ch'ü Yüan adds,

"Looking back to the earlier and contemplating the later times,
We obtain a complete view of Heaven's dealings with men.
Who without righteousness was ever fit to be employed?
Who without goodness was ever fit to direct affairs?"

Kneeling by the grave of Shun on his outspread skirt, our author thus made his plaint. No answer, of course, came to him from the spirit of the ancient sovereign; but he obtained a clear conviction that his views were true and correct. Sighing and sobbing, he could only bewail that the time was so unsuitable for him. He held his soft orchids to hide the tears which fell in torrents, and wetted the lapel of his dress. The time had come for him to commence the great journey which he had thought of.

IX. We have come to the ninth and much the longest Section of the poem, occupying seventy-six lines. A strange medley it is, and Chû Hsî, the incomparable scholar and critic of his country, interjects at this point the remark that "many of the descriptions in it are imaginary, and we are not to suppose that there were

such things in reality, or that such occurrences took place."

The chief place in the journey is occupied by the K'wăn-lun range of mountains, which still awaits the investigation of the scientific explorer. Starting near what is called "the Pushtikur knot," in lat. 36° N., it runs easterly over nearly the whole breadth of the high table-land between India and China, dividing, in part of its course, Thibet from the sands or desert of Gobi. The two great rivers of China, the Hwang Ho or Yellow River, and the Yang-tsze Chiang, and other streams as well, take their rise at the foot of its spurs at no great distance from one another.

The name K'wăn-lun is found in the Shû, in connection with the labours of Yü (more than 2000 years B.C.), but simply as the denomination of a wild tribe in the far west, whose seat may have been near the foot of the mountain-range, which was not then the famous place in Chinese mythology which it afterwards became. In Lieh-tsze, not long after the time of Confucius, and in later Tâoist writers, it appears as a sort of Olympus and Fairy-land; and is described as consisting of peak rising above peak to a height of more than 3000 miles![1] Trees, flowers, and fruits grow upon it, of marvellous kind; trees of pearls, of jade-stone, and of the fruit of immortality. It is peopled also, being the abode of genii and spirits, and the seat of the Royal Mother of the West, at the head of her fairy attendants; yea, of the rulers or gods of the Elements also, with their legions of Immortals. Mayers, in his article on K'wăn-lun, quotes, from the "Gatherings of Matters Omitted in the History of the Past (拾遺記)," which is not a work of great authority, a statement that "Mount K'wăn-lun is called in the west Mount Sumêru"; but I do not wish to enter here on the discussion of a connection between the mythologies of India and China. Sumêru is merely a dream of fancy, while K'wăn-lun has a very substantial

[1] Ch. Cl. III, Bk. I, Pt. i, 83.

existence, though a mass of fables has gathered about its heights and recesses.

But how shall Ch'ü Yüan ascend the great mountain, and accomplish the journey across it? After his communing with the spirit of Shun, next morning apparently, there appeared to him a car in the form of a phœnix-bird, to which were yoked four unhorned dragons, smooth as jade, and in this, through dust and wind, he suddenly ascended on high. The phœnix-bird which thus becomes a car is denoted by a peculiar character (鷖, called Î), but we are not to think of it as other than a real phœnix, which, of course, is a fabulous bird; and, in the "Classic of Hills and Seas" (i, p. 7), it is thus described: "On the hill of Cinnabar Caves there is a bird like a fowl, with plumage variegated, and exhibiting various characters. On its head there is the character *Virtue* (=Goodness); on the wings *Righteousness*; on its breast *Benevolence*; on its back *Propriety*; and on its belly *Good Faith*. When it eats and drinks, it of itself sings and dances. When it is seen, the whole world is at rest and quiet. It is called *fâng-hwang, fâng* being the designation of the male, and *hwang* of the female."

Then this phœnix-car is drawn by a team of four dragons. But the dragon is the symbol employed by the Chinese to denote "the superior man" and "the great man." It has always been the emblem with them of the highest dignity and sagehood. I must believe that in the ascending car, with its phœnix and dragons, we have the symbol of our author himself, good and able, untiringly rising above the reach and aim of meaner men, and not to be contented with less than the attainment of his own lofty ambition. This view gives a sort of unity to the poem, instead of its being merely a fantastic compound of *membra disjecta*, with no internal connection.

I hasten on from the car and its team to the journey. In the morning our hero started from Ts'ang-wû, and towards the evening he came to Hsüan-pû, the second of the three stages into which the whole ascent of the mountain

was divided.[1] According to Nan-hwâi Tsze, "He who gets to the first stage is beyond the reach of death; he who gets to the second stage becomes powerful, and can summon wind and rain at his pleasure; and he who gets to the topmost stage becomes a spiritual being." At the second peak our traveller was confronted by a gate sculptured like that of a royal residence,[2] and he wished to stay a little and enter, but the day was hastening to a close.

Eager to get on in his search for the right sovereign, the author tells us,

"I ordered Hsî and Ho to delay the stages of the sun,
And not to hurry on as they made for Yen-tsze!
The way was very long, and distant was my goal:
I would ascend and descend, pursuing my search."

Hsî and Ho are here the charioteers of the Sun, so named after the astronomers of the ancient Yâo, who appear in the first Book of the Shû Ching. About 200 years after Yâo we find astronomers of the same name, also in the Shû, and threatened with death by king Chung-k'ang of the Hsiâ dynasty for having neglected their duty.

Here we find the charioteers of the Sun called by their names about 2000 years later, mythology having assigned that office to them at some time during the long intervening period. Our hero, anxious to pursue his search, orders

[1] Wang Yî, quoting from a description of K'wăn-lun, says: "There are three stages of it. The lowest stage is called *Fan-t'ung* (樊 桐), and also *Pan-sung* (板 松); the second *Hsüan-pû* (玄 圃), and also *Lang-făng* (閬 風); the last *Tsăng-ch'ăng* (層 城), and also *T'ien-t'ing* (天 庭)."

[2] The name of the peak is written variously. The better text for it is 縣 圃, but 懸, "to suspend," is also found, and the Marquis d'Hervey, adopting this, translates: "Le soir j'arrivais aux jardins suspendus de Hsüan-pû." The 縣 is pronounced like 玄, and Williams describes 玄 圃 as "an elysium in the K'wăn-lun mountains, where the Heavenly Ruler resides," and Giles similarly calls it "a peak of the K'wăn-lun mountains, where God resides." But neither the "Heavenly Ruler" of the one nor "the God" of the other is to be understood of the Confucian Shang Tî.

them to drive slowly, and not to hurry on to the mountain Yen-tsze,[1] when the day would be over, for the sun was supposed to enter this mountain, and plunge into the waters at the foot of it.

Thus ends the first day's journey; and next morning we discover Ch'ü in the region of the rising sun! He tells us nothing about how he had got there; we are at our wits' end in trying to realize his progress. We left him in the dusk of the evening drawing near to the hill of Yen-tsze,[1] which he has gone into in his car and so been hidden from our view; and next morning he is before us in the far east, in the country of the rising sun.

In the fiftieth stanza we read,

"I watered my horses at the pool of Hsîen;
I gathered up and tied the reins to a Fû-sang tree;
I broke off a branch from a *Zo* tree to hold against the sun,
And thus I enjoyed myself, aimlessly rambling."

"The pool of Hsîen" is a name variously applied. Wang Yî defines it here as "the place where the sun bathed," for which Chû Hsî has "the place where the sun descended," meaning, no doubt, the pool into which the sun plunged after passing through Yen-tsze hill. The other applications of the name need not be mentioned here.

Fû-sang is the name of a tree at the foot of which the sun was said to re-appear in the morning, as by Hwâi-nan Tsze (Book iii, p. 12ª). Of course it was to be found in the east; and at a later time it came to be applied to a country of the east, which not a few speculators in these

[1] See the account of this mountain in the "Classic of Hills and Seas," at the end of the second book, with all the references to it in Wang Yî *in loc.* One account of it, given also in the K'ang-hsî Dictionary, is that it lay south-west from the *Niâo Shü T'ung Hsüeh* Hill, mentioned in the Shû (III, i, pt. i, 76), which would take us to the department of Lan-châu, in Kan-sû; but how could the car be advancing on and aloft from Hsüan-pû and down in Kan-sû? [As to the name of the hill, "Bird and Rat occupying the same Hole," in 1873 I saw a little owl in the mouth of a rat's or some other animal's hole, a little way from Merced, in California. I thought at once of the name in the Shû. Afterwards I was told that the phenomenon was common in California.]

later times have maintained to be America, in the discovery of which the Chinese would thus have anticipated Columbus by more than a thousand years.

Nor is this all. Our author, having tied his horses, the four unhorned dragons, to a fû-sang, proceeded to pluck a branch from another fabulous tree, called the *Zo* (Hwâi-nan Tsze, Book iv, p. 3ᵇ), the brightness of whose flowers was said to illumine the ground below it. Armed with this as a protection against the sun, he rested for a time, and sauntered leisurely about, enjoying himself.

But he did not rest long. We soon see him *en route* again; and he is assisted by certain mythological personages, who still maintain their places in the sacrificial canon of China.[1] Before him he sent Wang Shû, the charioteer of the Moon, as his precursor, and behind him hurried Fei-lien,[2] the earl or master of the Wind. There were also in attendance the *lwan*, a fabulous bird, of brilliant plumage, generally associated, as here, with the phœnix, and the Thunder-master, called Făng-lung, which is described by Hwâi-nan Tsze as "coming forth in the last month of spring to regulate the rains (iii, p. 19ᵇ)."

Encouraged by having such assistants, Ch'ü Yüan ordered his phœnix, for the bird here displaces the car, to soar aloft, and continue its flight day and night, so intent is he to prosecute his search. All at once, however, he is met by a whirlwind, bringing with it a crowd of opponents, who came to meet and resist him, as so many clouds and rainbows. His bright hopes were thus overcast. The appearance of a rainbow has always been deemed unpropitious by the Chinese.[3] What was Ch'ü Yüan to do? While the opposing host now separated and now divided in great confusion, here ascending and there descending, he seems to have succeeded in attaining the topmost height of the mountain; and, reaching the gate of Heaven, he

[1] Compare with this assertion the offerings made to nearly all these personages as taken from the Ming statutes in my "Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits," pp. 34, 35.

[2] See the Historical Records of the Ch'in dynasty, near the beginning.

[3] See the Shih-ching, I, iv, Ode 7, and the notes on it.

would have entered and made his appeal to God, but when he ordered the porter to open, that surly minister only leant against the door and looked at him.

Denied admission to God, Ch'ü felt more than he had done, that the time was dark and dreary for him. Still he maintained his purity. Even in that region he found orchids to gather; deploring how the good were kept in obscurity, and he himself was the object of jealousy and envy. When morning dawned, he was still in the region of the K'wăn-lun, and he saw the stream of the White Water,[1] one of those to which a reference has already been made, as rising amid the spurs of the mountain, being that which is said to flow towards China, and becomes the Hwang Ho or Yellow River, on entering it. Across the stream, he directed his car up to Lang-făng, a height of the peak, and there tethered his horses. This done, all at once he looked back, and was moved to shed tears, lamenting that "on the lofty height there was no lady for him." "He looked back," we may well suppose that it was on the kingdom of Ch'û from which he had flown; but the sudden introduction of a young lady as the object of his search is strange; and we hesitate to accept Chû Hsî's interpretation that she is now the emblem of "the worthy ruler," whom he was seeking for, or even to adopt Wang Yî's interpretation that the lady stands to our hero for worthy ministers, like-minded with himself.

At this point we might make a subdivision of the long section of the poem which has thus far occupied us. We are suddenly transferred from the highest western region of the K'wăn-lun range away to the far East, where in the sky was the residence of the Green god (青帝). That the reader may understand this, I must ask him to peruse in my "Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits" what I wrote in 1852 concerning the Five Tîs or gods, which appeared in China towards the end of the Châu dynasty. They were the spirits presiding over the

[1] The White Water is mentioned also by Chwang-tsze (Bk. xii, par. 1), but with no reference to its place, and apparently with a metaphorical signification.

Five Elements, the Five Planets, and other numerical categories of Five Terms, and were denominated the Five Tîs or gods. It was not till the reign of the emperor Wăn (文 帝, B.C. 179–157) of the first Han dynasty, that these Tîs were elevated and styled Shang-Tîs. The great scholar Chăng Hsüan (A.D. 127–200) styled them the Green, the Red, the Yellow, the White, and the Black Tî.[1] The Green god presided over the eastern quarter, the Spring, and the planet Jupiter, and was called Ling-wei-yang,[2] the origin of which name has not yet been discovered. The whole thing was of Tâoist origin (original or derived) in Chinese literature, and, being adopted by the Han emperors and the great scholar mentioned above, continued as an intrusion into the Confucian teaching, until it was swept away under the Ming dynasty, to whose decision the present dynasty has adhered.

Our author, then, is now at the palace of the Spring; and, rambling about it, he finds a jade-stone tree, nearly "2000 feet high, and thirty outspread arms in circumference."[3] He breaks off a branch of this tree to attach to his girdle, and wishes to see the attendant of the lady to present to her the offering that would be preliminary to a union between him and her. We do not know what lady he had in mind. He has told us that on the loftiest height of K'wăn-lun there was no lady for him. No doubt, I think, the one he has now in mind is the lady Fû mentioned in the next stanza. He cannot afford to lose any time. He wishes to effect the union with her as representing the worthy sovereign whom he sought, while he was yet in vigour, and before the glorious flower of his

[1] See Chalmers's "Origin of the Chinese," chapter ii, pp. 24–29; and Mayers' Manual, part ii, on "Numerical Categories," under "Five," 139, 160, 169, etc.

[2] 靈 威 仰. The 靈 is probably used as an adjective, meaning "intelligent" or "efficacious."

[3] Such is the size of the tree as given by Wang Yî; Mayers, art. 317, makes it larger.

youth had all fallen. The attendant lady may represent any minister enjoying that sovereign's confidence.

Our author then ordered the Thunder-master, mentioned already and here called by his name of Făng-lung, to mount on the clouds and search for the place where the lady Fû was. He also unloosed the string of his girdle, which, with all the ornaments attached to it, would serve as the gage of his truth, and ordered Ch'ien-hsiû (蹇脩) to transact the affair for him. All this appears to us very absurd. The lady Fû was a fabled daughter of Fû Hsî, with whose reign anything like the line of Chinese sovereigns commences, so that she must have lived about 3000 years before Ch'ü Yüan came into the world. The story about her, according to Wang Yî, is that she was drowned in the Lo, and came to be regarded as the tutelary spirit of that river. Ch'ien-hsiû, who was to act as go-between in arranging for the union between our hero and her, is supposed to have been a minister of Fû Hsî.

The mission of Ch'ien-hsiû proved to be as ineffectual as had been the attempt of the author to find admission to the Elysium of Hsüan-pû (see stanza 53); and the failure in both cases is told in much the same way. The first statements in both stanzas are exactly the same, and the second are built on the same lines. Opposition, not to be overcome, is encountered, and Ch'ü is compelled in the evening to return to the earth again, and halt for the night at the hill of Ch'iung-shih, which is to be found in the present district of Chang-yeh, belonging to the department Kan-châu of Kan-sû. Here had been the principality of the famous archer Î, mentioned in Ch'ü's communing with the spirit of Shun at his grave, and near the foot of which the Weak-water took its rise. There he spent the night, and in the morning he bathed his hair in the stream Wêi-p'an, which, probably, was not far off.[1]

[1] The Weak-water is mentioned twice in the Shû (III, i, pt. i, par. 73; and pt. ii, par. 5), in the notes to which the reader will find collected all that we thus far know about it. See also "Hwâi-nan Tsze," iv, p. 3ª.

In the course of that day, we may suppose, he heard, probably from Ch'ien-hsiû, a bad account of the lady Fû's character. Beautiful she was, but haughty, pleasure-seeking, and regardless of propriety. He gave up all thought of her, and would prosecute his search elsewhere. And where did that search lead him? In his inspection he surveyed the earth to its four extremities; he travelled also all over the sky, and came down again to the earth. Then, a long way off, he saw the lofty tower which the Lord of Sung had caused to be built of the finest materials for his beautiful daughter, who afterwards became the favourite lady of the emperor K'û, and gave birth to Hsieh, the father of the Shang dynasty. We are not to think of the duchy of Sung in the time of the Châu dynasty in connection with this lady. The Chinese names for the two principalities, though similarly pronounced, are quite different. The lady's name has come down to us as Chien-tî, mentioned in the fourth of the "Sacrificial odes of Shang," for the son whom she bore to the Emperor K'û, became, as said above, the ancestor of the sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang. As the reign of K'û is placed between B.C. 2432 and 2362, the absurdity of Ch'ü's thinking of a union with her is hardly less great than that of his former desire for the daughter of Fû Hsî, nor are the other details of the courtship less ridiculous. He sent his proposals to her by Châu, the name of the secretary-falcon, which is said to be so poisonous, that even water in which its feathers have been steeped causes the death of those who drink it. This strange go-between, by whom must be intended one of Ch'ü's most virulent slanderers, brought him back word that the lady was not good. And another, smaller, opponent of the same character came in, and, under the semblance of a jackdaw or a cuckoo, screamed out the lady's faults; but the suitor only detested their furtive cunning.

Full of doubt and mistrust, he would fain have gone and made his proposals in person; but that was forbidden by the rules of propriety. And then it occurred to him

that Kâo-hsin, which was the personal appellation of Tî K'û, must have sent the phœnix to Chien-tî, and that thus his own desire for her had been anticipated by that ancient sovereign.

Thus, disappointed a second time, our hero wished to settle somewhere far away, but he knew not where to go to, nor was he contented to ramble about and idly enjoy himself. Ha! he thinks of Shâo-k'ang, the fourth of the line of Yü, who ruled the dynasty of Hsiâ, and of the Yâo ladies who became his wives; but he does not consider that they had all been gone from the world nearly as long as Chien-tî! The murder of Shâo-k'ang's father and the escape of his mother have been mentioned under stanza 39. The lady fled to her father's principality of Zăng, and next year gave birth to her son, who grew up in obscurity, till, in his 22nd year, he was obliged to flee to Yü, the state from which Shun had sprung, and whose rulers had the surname of Yâo. By-and-by, after he had acted as cook in the ruler's household, his quality and merits were recognized, and he received the ruler's daughters in marriage, along with a city and territory. He continued to prosper, and ere long was able to overcome Âo, the strong son of the usurper Han-cho, and regained the throne of Hsiâ. All this is interesting, but what had Ch'ü P'ing to do with Shâo-k'ang and his wives?

He did, indeed, become more than half convinced that his search for a good king and for worthy ministers like-minded with himself, was likely to be fruitless. He says,

"The age is one of confusion and greed, and of hatred of the wise and good;
All love to keep the excellent in obscurity, and to see the bad raised to distinction."

Good colleagues being so difficult to find, and king Hwâi, whom he calls "the wise king," not awaking to a sense of his duty, he comes to the conclusion "to cherish his

views in his breast and not express them. How could he bear to associate with such people to the long end?"

X. We have come to the end of the longest division of the poem, and go on to the tenth Section of it, which occupies twenty lines. The marvellous journey or journeys up and down K'wăn-lun had given our author no satisfaction, and to guide him in his future course he had recourse to divination. He collects materials for the operation,—plants of the *Hibiscus Syriacus*, and splinters of bamboo; and obtains the presence of Ling-făn, a noted diviner of old, to interpret the result for him. How the operation was performed we do not know, but the interpretation was that the "two Beauties," meaning Ch'ü himself and the good patron of whom he was in search, were sure to come together, but not in the kingdom of Ch'û. Who would believe in his self-culture and desire him? He should consider the vast extent of the nine regions of the country, and go elsewhere. In what place were there no fragrant plants? Why should he keep on thinking only of his old abode?

To this counsel Ch'ü Yüan responds that the age was dull and dark, and liable to be dazzled by what was bright, so that he knew not who would carefully examine his merit. People everywhere differed in their likings and dislikings, but his opponents in Ch'û were quite peculiar. The partizans in Ch'û, in fact, preferred the bad to the good. They preferred to wear at their girdle bags filled with the fœtid moxa, and considered it more fragrant than the most delicate orchids. He was inclined to take Ling-făn's advice, but hesitated and was perplexed in his mind. It might be in other places as he had found it in Ch'û.

XI. We come to the eleventh Section, in thirty-six lines. Before deciding what he would do, Ch'ü would take the advice of Wû Hsien, a famous wizard or conjurer of old time, who, he had heard, was to come down to the world that same day in the evening. In order for an interview with him, he has the pepper and finest rice necessary for such an occasion made ready, and will constrain him to interpret the result of their divination.

Wû Hsien[1] arrives in great state. Hundreds of spirits cast a shadow round him as he came down from above, and multitudes of others were sent by Shun from his grave on the hill of Nine Doubts to meet him; august Heaven also gloriously displayed its power. The object of all was to inform Ch'ü that the issue of Ling-făn's advice would be good.

Then Wû Hsien delivered his oracle, and advised him to carry on his search, above and below, with vigour, and seek for those whose rules and measures agreed with his own, even as Yü and T'ang did till they found Kâo Yâo and Î Yin. Loving his self-culture as he did, why should he call in the help of go-betweens? Let him think of the builder Fû Yüeh whom Wû-ting made his counsellor and minister;[2] and of Lü Wang, who was raised from his butcher's stall, and from his fishing, to be the great helper of kings Wăn and Wû in establishing the dynasty of Châu;[3] and of Ning Ch'î, who rose from being a waggoner to an honourable position in the service of the famous duke Hwan of Ch'î.[4] Might not as great distinction be awaiting Ch'ü Yüan in the future? Wû Hsien therefore exhorts him, while it was still not too late in his life, to seek a reconciliation with king Hwâi or to find another sovereign. Such was the oracle of Wû Hsien, the advice of a shrewd man of the world more than the utterances of a diviner. Our author was not cheered by it, however. He replied, deploring the confusion and degeneracy of the time. He was aware of the virtues of his own character, but his numerous and secret opponents strove to hide them. He was afraid that their hatred and jealousy would cause his ruin. Wherever he looked, he saw change to the worse going on. Those whom he had formerly compared in his

[1] The name Wû Hsien occurs in the Shû (V, xvi, 7) as a minister of the Chung Tsung T'âi-wû (B.C. 1637–1560). He may be the personage mentioned here, having been deified, or made a powerful sorcerer, after his death.

[2] See the case of Wû-ting and Fü Yüeh in the Shû, IV, viii, and notes.

[3] See the account of him in Mayers' Manual, under the name of Kiang Tsze-ya, p. 81.

[4] See also Mayers, art. 517. There is a graphic account of the meeting of duke Hwan and the waggoner, Ning Ch'î, in the Lièh-kwo Chih, Book xviii.

mind to orchids and angelicas had lost their fragrance. Their beauty and attractiveness were gone; and he could not account for the change, but by the jealousy and opposition which his love of culture seemed to awaken in their minds.

XII. We have arrived at the twelfth Section of the poem, contained in twenty lines. All through it, the author writes in his own person, and continues his complaint of the courtiers, whose characters had all changed for the worse. How could he ever have been so mistaken as to compare them to beautiful and fragrant orchids? They liked to fill the perfume bags at their girdles with the fruit of the *sha*, which, according to Bretschneider, is *Boymia* or *Zanthoxylon*. Another name for it is Chû Yü (茱萸). Thus deploring the decay of character in the officers, descending to and vitiating still more the manners of the common people, he comes back to himself; he had been undervalued and misunderstood, but no change for the worse had come over him. He had lost nothing of character, ability, or will. His mind is made up. He will resume his travelling and search. Perhaps he may yet meet with the sovereign or the minister whom he wished to find.

XIII. The poem is drawing to its close. Ling-făn had encouraged Ch'ü to try his fortune again and repeat his journeying; and this Section, in thirty-six lines, carries us to its concluding stanza, which the Marquis d'Hervey calls "the epilogue of the poem."

Having chosen a fortunate day for his departure, he broke off a branch of the *Ch'iung* tree[1] for his food, and macerated or boiled it till it became the richest nourishment. These preparations having been made, an equipage and carriage, substantially the same as that in which he made his former journey, appears ready for him. The carriage

[1] This tree has been named before in stanza 56, section ix. See the account of it in Mayers' Manual, art. 317. The author here, in what he says about it, enters altogether into the region of mythological fable, or adopts the most fanciful fairy legends. I cannot agree with the Marquis d'Hervey in making Ling-făn the subject of lines 2, 3, 4 of stanza 85. The subject of them is Ch'ü Yüan himself.

is further adorned with figures made of the finest jade and ivory. He would go far away, and keep himself apart from Ch'û. How could he act in union with those who were estranged from him in heart?

Again he turned his course to K'wăn-lun. The way was long, and he travelled far, amidst the dark and shady clouds, brightened with marvellous rainbows, and the music of the bells of jade about the chariot.

He had started in the morning from T'ien-tsin, which at first suggests to us the city of that name near the mouth of the Pei-ho river, and where our second treaty with China was concluded in 1858; but the name in the poem is that of a space in the Milky Way included in our Scorpio-Saggittarius. How Ch'ü had arrived there with his equipage, and rested over the night also there, we do not know; but next day's driving, he tells us, brought him in the evening to the extreme west. At the back of the carriage, rose two flags, displaying a pair of phœnixes, one on each, which reverently greeted him as he reached his halting-place.

He did not rest there long. He tells us that "immediately he walked over the Moving Sands, and then proceeded gaily along the course of the Red-river." The "Moving Sands" are mentioned in the Shû (III, 1, part i, 73 an pt. ii, 5, 23); meaning, no doubt, what we now call "The desert of Gobi," or at least some portion of it. "The Red-water" is said in the K'ang-hsî dictionary to take its rise in the south-east corner of the wild in which the K'wăn-lun begins. And Chwang-tsze (xv, p. 4) says that "Hwang-Tî, enjoying himself north of the Red-water, ascended to the heights of the K'wăn-lun.

Wanting to cross over a ford of the Red-water, Ch'ü Yüan motioned with his hand to his dragons to make themselves into a bridge, and at the same time summoned the Emperor of the West to wade with him across. Of a similar living bridge we have an instance, as is pointed out by both Wang Yî and Chû, in the Record of the adventurous king Mû, who caused his attendant gavials and turtles to render him such a service.

"The Emperor of the West" is understood to be Shâo Hâo, the son and successor of Hwang-Tî in B.C. 2594, known also as Chin T'ien Shih (金天氏), because he reigned "by the virtue of metal," whatever that may mean. But metal among the elements is connected with the West, and therefore he is called, as here, "The Sovereign of the West." But why is he brought in? And what could he, in the 26th century B.C., have to do with our author? And what had they to do with wading through the ford over which the dragons had made themselves a bridge?

Having crossed the Red-water our traveller continued his course to the west, going at the same time somewhat to the north. Of course, the way among the mountains was very difficult, and he made arrangements for their transit. "*Pu-châu*" was the name of a hill on the north-west, called "Incomplete," in consequence of some peculiarity in its form.[1] Ch'ü would go by it as his own route, while the other carriages starting before him, should ascend wherever they could find a practicable bye-path, waiting for one another. When they all had got across, they should make for the shore of the Western Sea, and all assemble there. By the Western Sea was meant probably the Caspian Sea, or, perhaps, the sea of Aral. That we cannot more exactly identify it is of less importance, because there follows no intimation that the rendezvous took place.

A stanza follows the account of these arrangements, in which we are told that the carriages were a thousand in number, to each of which eight dragons were yoked. The author does not say where he had collected such a cavalcade; we hear of it here for the first time and for the last. It would seem, however, that as he went on his excitement increased. He felt that he was drawing near the end of his quest, and he tells us,

"I repressed my emotion, and moderated my haste;
But my spirit was borne aloft very far.

[1] 不周. The hill is mentioned by Hwâi-nan Tsze, iv, p. 5ª, and in the Shan Hâi Ching, ii, p. 18ª.

I sang the nine songs (of Yü), and danced the dance (of Shun);
Borrowing a day for enjoyment and pleasure."

The second book of Ch'ü P'ing's poems has the title of "The Nine Songs"; but those could not be the songs which he chanted now. What is intended are the "Nine Songs" of Yü, mentioned in stanza 38; and the dance of Shun, often called his "Music," was divided into nine pantomimic performances, and Chwang-tsze (Book xix, 44) calls it "The Nine Performances of the *Shâo*."

We have come to the end of our author's quest. He has told us that his spirit was borne aloft; and, unable to repress his excitement, he ascended to the glorious brightness of the great sky. How he accomplished the ascent we are not told. From amidst the supernal light, however, he looked down askance, and there beneath him lay outspread his old neighbourhood or home in Ch'û. The *Hwang* in l. 1 is interpreted as Hwang T'ien (皇 天), "Great or August Heaven," for which Giles gives "Almighty God"; but I am loath to adopt that rendering.

In l. 3 there is to me an echo of the third Ode in the first Book of the Shih; and hence we understand how the poet transforms his "dragons" into horses, which have not been mentioned before in connection with his marvellous journeyings to the summit of the K'wăn-lun range. The horses, however, partake of his emotion, and long for the cherished Ch'û.

蜷 局 is a difficult phrase. Wang Yî explains it by "the appearance of a snake stiff and motionless," and this definition of it is adopted in the K'ang-hsî Dictionary. So would Ch'ü Yüan tell us that he was arrested in his course, and his game lost and ended.

XIV. The fourteenth and last Section of the poem, at which we have now arrived, consists of only one stanza, which contains five lines, being different from the ninety-three stanzas that precede, all of which are made up of four lines, with the single exception of the twelfth, which is manifestly defective.

The Marquis d'Hervey prefixes to it the name "Epilogue," as a translation of the first two characters (*Lwan Yüeh*), and I was inclined to follow him; but the *yüeh* seems to require that the stanza should be taken as the utterance of the poet himself. *Lwan* occurs in the Confucian Analects (xiii–xv), as "the name of the concluding part of a musical service," and I believe the meaning of the phrase is fully expressed by "In conclusion I say," and making the first line to end with *tsâi*, the fifth character. It is singular that of our three chief Chinese-English dictionaries, Morrison's, Medhurst's, and Giles's, which may all be pronounced to be great Works, not one of them mentions this usage of *lwan*. The substance of the whole stanza is this,—the fruitlessness of the discarded minister's search for a good sovereign who would adopt him as his counsellor, and for loyal ministers who would co-operate with him in his loyal service; and, failing this, his resolution to commit suicide as P'ăng Hsien had done. Twice before in the poem had he given expression to that purpose, and now he concludes with the more positive affirmation of it. At the same time there is nothing in his language to necessitate our supposing that the tragedy of his death followed immediately on the conclusion of the poem. Stanza sixty-five seems to indicate that king Hwâi was still alive when it was composed. In stanza seventy-six the sorcerer, Wû Hsien, speaks of its not yet being too late in the years of Ch'ü's life for him to think of resuming his service at Court.

The writer has thus gone over the poem of the *Lî Sâo*, and endeavoured to set forth the connection of its parts and the unity of object which appears in it from beginning to end. It is not a great poem, but it possesses considerable interest, and awakens in the mind no small amount of sympathy with its author. We start with him in it at his birth; go back with him to the long distant time to which he traced his lineage; and only part with him when almost in sight of the deep pool in which he was to end his life. We admire his self-culture, his devoted

service, and his inflexible conviction of his own honesty and honour; we pity him as the object of jealousy and envy, slandered, disgraced, and banished. The view which we have taken of the ninth and longest Section of the composition, as symbolical of his own course and character, redeems it from being regarded as a mere tissue of absurdities and foolish superstitions. We rather like the man without admiring his poetry, and are sorry for his adverse fortune and melancholy fate.

Art. XVII.—*Ssŭma Ch'ien's Historical Records.* By Herbert J. Allen, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from page* 110, *January number.*)

Chapter III. *The Yin Dynasty.*

Hsieh of Yin's mother was Chien Ti, who was one of the daughters of Yusung[1] and the secondary wife of Emperor Ku. She was going with her two sisters to bathe, when she saw a dark bird[2] drop its egg. Chien Ti picked it up, and swallowed it, and thus being with child gave birth to Hsieh. When Hsieh grew up, he was successful in assisting Yü to control the flood, and the Emperor Shun, directing Hsieh, said:[3] "The people are wanting in affection for one another, and do not observe the five orders of relationship. You, as Minister of Instruction, should reverently inculcate the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders, but do so with gentleness." He held in fief the principality of Shang, and was given the surname of Tzŭ (son). Hsieh flourished in the reigns of Yao, Shun,

[1] The term Yusung is doubtless a variant of Yu-hsiung, one of the names of the 'Yellow Emperor' of the first chapter of the Records. The second of the two characters may also be read Jung, for it is the same as the ordinary one for 'Jung,' with the addition of the determinative 'woman' (娥), as M. Lacouperie has already pointed out. Ssŭma Ch'ien, in his history of the Hsiungnu (Huns), also calls the tribe Mountain Jung, so that if there were any truth in the history it might be shown that we have here a tradition of the descent of the Chinese nation from the Huns. The name Chien Ti means 'impetuous barbarian of the North.'

[2] The dark bird is a swallow. In the third sacrificial ode of Shang ('Sacred Books of the East,' iii, p. 307) we are told that 'Heaven commissioned the swallow to descend and give birth to the Shangs.'

[3] Quoting the passage from the Canon of Shun, also in the first chapter of the Records.

and the great Yü. His services were manifest to the people, who were accordingly at peace.

Hsieh (documents) died, and his son Chaoming (luminous) succeeded him.

Chaoming died, and his son Hsiangt'u (view land) succeeded him.

Hsiangt'u died, and his son Ch'ang Jo (bright-like) succeeded him.

Ch'ang Jo died, and his son Ts'ao Yü (cattle-pens) succeeded him.

Ts'ao Yü died, and his son Ming (obscure) succeeded him.

Ming died, and his son Chên (shake) succeeded him.

Chên died, and his son Wei (diminutive) succeeded him.

Wei died, and his son Paoting (report D) succeeded him.

Paoting died, and his son Paoyi (report B) succeeded him.

Paoyi died, and his son Paoping (report C) succeeded him.

Paoping died, and his son Chujên (lord I) succeeded him.

Chujên died, and his son Chu Kuei (lord J) succeeded him.

Chu Kuei died, and his son T'ien Yi (Heaven B) or T'ang the Completer succeeded him. [1] "From Hsieh to T'ang the Completer there were eight changes of the capital. T'ang at first dwelt in Po, choosing the residence of the first king, and the 'Emperor's Announcement' was written. When T'ang made an expedition against the princes, the chief of Ko was not offering the proper sacrifices, and T'ang began by punishing him." T'ang said: 'I observe that if a man looks at the water he sees his reflection; if he seeks to make an impression on the people, should he not know how to govern?' Iyin said: 'That is clear! If you say that you will listen to reason you may offer yourself as ruler of the State. Whether the people do right or not depends entirely on the king and his ministers. Rouse yourself to action!' T'ang said: 'If you cannot respect my commands, I will inflict upon you the extreme penalty of death. You will not obtain forgiveness.' [1] "The punitive expedition of T'ang was written." Iyin's name was Ahêng.

[1] From the preface to the Shuching, paras. 9 and 10.

Ahêng wanted to meet T'ang, but had no opportunity of doing so; he therefore became cook to the prince of Hsin, and while bringing T'ang dishes to taste urged him to perfect himself in the way of the ancient kings.[1] Some say that when Iyin was living in retirement T'ang sent five times to invite him to a meeting before he would obey him, and talk about matters connected with the guileless king and the nine rulers.[2] T'ang promoted Jên to the administration of affairs. [3] "Iyin went from T'ang to Hsia. Being indignant with the sovereign of Hsia, he returned to Po, and as he entered by the north gate met Juchiu and Jufang, and the 'Juchiu' and 'Jufang' were written." T'ang went out and saw a rustic, who was spreading nets in every direction, and vowing that every bird in the sky should go into his net. T'ang said, 'What! all?' Then, taking away the nets on three sides, he vowed that those which wanted to go to the left should go left, and those which wanted to go right should go right, and that only those which were the victims of fate should be caught in the net. The princes, hearing of it, said, 'T'ang's kindness is extreme, and extends even to birds and beasts.' At this time Chieh of Hsia was oppressive, and his rule dissipated, and one of the princes K'unwu[4] rebelled, so T'ang, levying an army, put himself at the head of the princes. Iyin followed T'ang, who, grasping a halberd, marched against K'unwu, and then attacked Chieh. [5] "T'ang said: Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen ye all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to raise a rebellion. The

[1] Iyin is stated to have come to Po in the train of a daughter of the prince of Hsin, whom T'ang was marrying, and recommended himself to the favour of the latter by his knowledge of cookery (L. C. II, p. 238).

[2] A native commentator says that the guileless king was T'ai-su-shang-huang (great guileless supreme sovereign). The nine rulers are stated by one author to be the 'three sovereigns,' the 'five gods,' and Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, while another says they are the 'nine sovereigns of man' (*vide* Introductory Chapter to the Historical Records).

[3] Quotation from the preface to the Shuching, para. 11.

[4] *Cf.* the name K'unmo, king of the Wusun country, to which a princess of China was sent B.C. 105.

[5] The whole of the 'Speech of T'ang,' being the first of the 'Books of Shang,' is here quoted.

ruler of Hsia has committed many crimes. I have indeed heard the words of you all, but the Hsia ruler is an offender, and, as I fear the Supreme god, I dare not but punish him. Now, as the Hsia ruler has committed many crimes, Heaven has charged me to destroy him. Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, 'Our sovereign does not compassionate us; he disregards our husbandry, and his government is a cruel one.' You say, 'As to his crimes, what remedy have we?' The king of Hsia does nothing but exhaust his people's strength, and treat the kingdom of Hsia oppressively. His people have all become idle, and are not in harmony with him, saying, 'When will this sun set? We shall all perish together.' Such being the conduct of the sovereign of Hsia, I must advance. Do you help me, the one man, to carry out the punishment decreed by Heaven, and I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me. I will not retract my words. If you do not carry out the words of my speech, I will put you and your children to death; you shall not be pardoned." This being announced to the army, "the speech of T'ang was written."[1] T'ang then said, 'I am very warlike'; and he was styled the 'warlike king.'[2] Chieh was defeated in the wilds of Yusung, and fled to Mingt'iao.[3] "The army of Hsia being entirely defeated, T'ang smote Santsung, where he captured the precious jewels. Ipo and Ch'ungpo wrote the 'Statutes and Jewels.' When T'ang had conquered Hsia, he wished to remove the altars to the spirits of the land, but was unable to do so, and the 'Altar of Hsia' was written." Iyin made a report, and the princes being satisfied, T'ang ascended the Imperial throne, and tranquillized the country within the four seas.[4] "When T'ang returned he came

[1] Preface to the Shuching, para. 12.

[2] It is noticeable that the term 'warlike king' was applied to the founders of both the Shang and Chou dynasties, as well as to the emperor under whose sway the historian wrote.

[3] Quotation from the 14th and 13th paragraphs of the preface to the Shuching.

[4] Quotation from the preface to the Shuching, paras. 15 and 16. The 'Announcement of Chunghui' is the second book of Shang, and the 'Announcement of T'ang' the third book of Shang.

to T'aichüant'ao, and Chunghui wrote his announcement. Having made an end of the sovereignty of Hsia, T'ang returned to Po and wrote the 'Announcement of T'ang.'" In the third month the king came himself to the eastern suburb and made the following announcement to the princes and nobles: 'If you do not perform meritorious service for the people and be diligent in your business, I shall inflict the extreme punishment of death. Do not murmur against me.' He also said: 'Formerly Yü and Kaoyao laboured long in distant regions. They performed meritorious service for the people, who dwelt in peace. On the east there was the Great river, on the north the Chi, on the west the Yellow river, and on the south the Huai. These four streams were kept within bounds, and the people dwelt in safety. Prince Millet told them how to sow and cultivate the various kinds of grain. These three chiefs all performed meritorious service for the people, and were therefore ennobled. Formerly Ch'ihyu and his officers raised a rebellion among the people, but the [Yellow] Emperor disapproved, and his crimes were exposed. The words of the former kings cannot but rouse you to action. If you are unprincipled you shall not rule in the State. Do not murmur against me.' Thus he directed the princes. [1] "Iyin wrote the book 'Both possessed pure Virtue,' and Chiutan wrote the 'Illustrious Abode.'" T'ang altered the day of the New Year, and changed the colour of the dresses, white being uniformly worn at State functions. [2] "After the demise of T'ang" his eldest son,

[1] Quotation from the preface to the Shuching, paras. 20 and 17. The 'Both possessed pure Virtue' is the sixth book of Shang.

[2] Quotation from Mencius (L. C. II, p. 236). Dr. Legge having noticed the historical difficulty as to T'ang's successor, and intimated that he should follow the standard chronology, which omits the reigns of Waiping and Chungjên, it would be as well to give the reading of Mencius, which, although rather vague, seems to confirm the historian's statement. Mencius says: "After T'ang's demise, T'aiting did not come to the throne. Waiping two years; Chungjên four years; T'aichia turned upside down the statutes of T'ang, and Iyin placed him in T'ung," etc. Dr. Legge considers that the language of the 18th paragraph of the preface to the Shuching, viz. "After the death of T'ang, in the first year of T'aichia," is opposed to the view that there were two reigns between T'ang and T'aichia.

"T'aiting (Great D), died before he could come to the throne"; and so T'aiting's younger brother Waiping (Outer C), that is Emperor Waiping, came to the throne.

Emperor "Waiping" reigned "three years," and died, and his brother Chungjên (Middle I), that is Emperor Chungjên, came to the throne.

Emperor "Chungjên" reigned "four years," and died. Iyin then set T'aiting's son, T'aichia (Great A), on the throne. He was T'ang the Completer's eldest legitimate grandson. This was Emperor T'aichia. [1]"In the first year of Emperor T'aichia, Iyin wrote the 'Instructions of I,' the 'Declaration of the Appointment of Heaven,' and the 'Deceased Sovereign.' After Emperor T'aichia had been on the throne" three years, "he proved unintelligent" and cruel. He did not obey T'ang's laws, and his conduct was disorderly, so [1]"Iyin placed him in the Dryandra" (palace). For three years Iyin administered the government, and as ruler of the State gave audience to the nobles. After the Emperor T'aichia had dwelt in the Dryandra palace [2]"for three years, he repented of his errors, blamed himself, and amended his ways." Whereupon Iyin met the Emperor T'aichia and resigned to him the reins of government. Emperor T'aichia became virtuous, the princes all returned to the Yin capital, and the people were tranquil. Iyin praised him, and [1]"wrote the 'Instructions to T'aichia' in three books." Commending Emperor T'aichia, he honoured him with the title of 'Great Master.'

'Great Master' died, and his son Wuting (Glossy D) came to the throne. In Emperor Wuting's reign, Iyin died. [3]"When they had buried Iyin at Po, Chiu Tan set forth as lessons the doings of Iyin; and the 'Wuting' was written."

Wuting died, and his brother T'aikêng (Great G), that is Emperor T'aikêng, came to the throne.

[1] Quotations from the preface to the Shuching, paras. 18 and 19. The 'Instructions of I and the T'aichia' are the fourth and fifth books of Shang.
[2] Quotation from Mencius, V, 1, VI, 5.
[3] Quotation from the preface to the Shuching, para. 21.

Emperor T'aikêng died, and his son Emperor Hsiaochia (Little A) came to the throne.

Emperor Hsiaochia died, and his brother Yungchi (Harmonious F), that is Emperor Yungchi, came to the throne. The influence of the Yin dynasty beginning to decline, the princes occasionally neglected to come to court.

Emperor Yungchi died, and his brother T'aimou (Great E), that is Emperor T'aimou, came to the throne. In his reign [1]"Ichih became prime minister, when there were omens in Po, for a mulberry tree and a stalk of grain grew up together in the court." They attained full size in one evening, and Emperor T'aimou, being alarmed, questioned Ichih on the subject. Ichih said: 'I, your servant, have heard that virtue is not overcome by evil omens. There may be defects in your Majesty's government, but let your Majesty cultivate virtue.' T'aimou followed his advice, and the ominous mulberry withered away. [1]"Ichih consulted with Hsien the wizard," who governed the king's household admirably, [1]"and wrote the 'Hsien-ai'" and the 'T'aimou.' Emperor [2]"T'aimou spoke on the subject with Ichih" in court, and said he was disloyal. Ichih gave up his post, and [2]"wrote the original commands." Yin prospered again, and the princes gave their allegiance to the Emperor, who was called Middle Master.

Middle Master died, and his son Emperor Chungting (Middle D) came to the throne. Emperor [3]"Chungting removed to Hsiao. Hotanchia lived in Hsiang." Tsuyi removed to Kêng.

Emperor Chungting died, and his brother Waijên (Outer I), that is Emperor Waijên, came to the throne. The omissions in the book 'Chungting' were not supplied.

Emperor Waijên died, and his brother Hotanchia (River

[1] Quotations from the preface to the Shuching, para. 22.
[2] Quotations from the preface to the Shuching, para. 23.
[3] Quotation from paras. 24 and 25 of the preface to the Shuching. Para. 26 reads: "Tsuyi was overthrown in Kêng."

Truth A), that is Emperor Hotanchia, came to the throne. In his time the influence of Yin again began to wane.

Hotanchia died, and his son Emperor Tsuyi (Ancestor B) came to the throne. In Emperor Tsuyi's time Yin again prospered, and the wizard Hsien held office.

Tsuyi died, and his son Emperor Tsuhsin (Ancestor H) came to the throne.

Emperor Tsuhsin died, and his brother Wuchia (Glossy A), *i.e.* Emperor Wuchia, came to the throne.

Emperor Wuchia died, and Tsuting (Ancestor D), that is Emperor Tsuting, who was Wuchia's elder brother, was put on the throne.

Emperor Tsuting died, and his brother Wuchia's son, Nankêng (South G), that is Emperor Nankêng, was put on the throne.

Emperor Nankêng died, and Emperor Tsuting's son Yangchia (Male A), that is Emperor Yangchia, was put on the throne. In his reign the power of the Yins declined. Ever since the reign of Chungting the legitimate heir had been set aside, and junior scions put on the throne instead. These used to fight and displace each other. For the last nine generations there had been anarchy, and the princes neglected to come to court.

Emperor Yangchia died, and his brother Pankêng (Plate G), that is Emperor Pankêng, came to the throne. In his reign the Yins had their capital on the north of the Yellow river, but Pankêng crossed to the south of the river, and reoccupied the old palace of T'ang the Completer. This [1] "made the fifth change of capital," and, as they had no fixed place of abode, [1] "the people of Yin murmured and repined," for they did not like moving about. Pankêng made the following announcement to the princes and ministers: 'Formerly our exalted sovereign T'ang the Completer, in conjunction with your ancestors, decided what laws and regulations of the empire should be attended to or set aside, but if you do not make an effort how can

[1] From para. 27 of preface to the Shuching. The Pankêng is the seventh book of Shang.

you attain perfection?' He then crossed over to the south of the river, set up his capital at Po, and having adopted T'ang's system of government, the people were thereby tranquillized, and the fortunes of Yin were again in the ascendant. The princes came to court, and were influenced by the virtues of T'ang the Completer.

Emperor Pankêng died, and his brother Hsiaohsin (Little H), that is Emperor Hsiaohsin, came to the throne. In his reign the power of Yin was again on the wane. The people remembered Pankêng, and [1]"the 'Pankêng' in three parts was written."

Emperor Hsiaohsin died, and his brother Hsiaoyi (Little B), that is Emperor Hsiaoyi, came to the throne.

Emperor Hsiaoyi died, and his son Emperor Wuting (Martial D) came to the throne. When Emperor Wuting was on the throne, he pondered how the Yin dynasty could be revivified, but as he had not obtained an assistant he [2]"did not speak" for three years, government affairs having to be conducted by the prime minister, who examined into the customs of the country. Wuting [3]"dreamed" one night "that he had found a holy man named Yue," and, in order that he might secure the man he had seen in his dream, he passed under review his officers and ministers of State, but not one of them was the right man. He then [3]"made all his officers search for him in the wilds, and Yue was discovered at the crag of Fu." At this time Yue was a clerk, not [2]"a builder at the crag of Fu." He had an audience of Wuting, who said, 'That is the right man.' Having talked with him, and finding that he really was a holy man, Wuting [2]"promoted him to be his prime minister." The

[1] Para. 27 of preface to the Shuching.

[2] This passage becomes more intelligible on referring to the 'Charge to Yue,' or the eighth book of Shang, a portion of which is quoted (L. C. III, pt. i, p. 250), where the king says: "As it is mine to secure what is right in the four quarters of the empire, I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to that of my predecessors, and, therefore, have not spoken. But while I was respectfully and silently thinking of the right way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant, who should speak for me. He then minutely described the appearance of the person, and caused search to be made for him, by means of an image of him, throughout the empire. Yue, a builder in the country of Fuyen, was found like," etc.

[3] Para. 28 of preface to the Shuching.

kingdom of Yin was well governed in consequence, and he was named after the crag of Fu, being called Fu Yue. [1]"Wuting was sacrificing to T'ang the Completer" the next day, "when a pheasant flew up, lighted on the ear of a tripod, and crowed." Wuting was alarmed, but [2]"Tsuchi (Ancestor F) said" the king should not be anxious; he must first rectify the administration of affairs. "Tsuchi accordingly lectured the king, saying, 'In its superintendence over men below, Heaven pays special regard to their proper behaviour, and bestows on them accordingly length of years or the reverse. Heaven does not cut short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men may not have conformed to virtue, and will not acknowledge their crimes; Heaven then charges them to correct their conduct, but they say, 'What shall we do?' Ah! the king should continuously treat the people with respect. Are they not Heaven's descendants? Be constant in sacrificing, and do not worship with the rites of a discarded religion.'" Wuting instituted a government reform, and practised virtue. The whole nation rejoiced, and the fortunes of Yin again flourished.

Emperor Wuting died, and his son Emperor Tsukêng (Ancestor G) came to the throne. Tsuchi commended Wuting for considering the omen of the pheasant as a ground for practising virtue, and conferred on him the posthumous title of 'exalted ancestor,' and [3]"the 'Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaotsung' and the 'Instructions [to Kaotsung]' were written."

Emperor Tsukêng died, and his brother Tsuchia (Ancestor A), that is Emperor Chia, came to the throne. He was dissipated, and the fortunes of Yin again waned.

Emperor Chia died, and his son Emperor Linhsin (Granary H) sat on the throne.

Emperor Linhsin died, and his brother Kêngting (G. D), that is Emperor Kêngting, sat on the throne.

[1] From para. 29 of preface to the Shuching.
[2] Here follows the whole of the book called 'The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaotsung,' that being the ninth book of Shang.
[3] From para. 29 of preface to the Shuching.

Emperor Kêngting died, and his son Emperor Wuyi (Martial B) sat on the throne. The Yins again left Po, and crossed to the north bank of the river. The Emperor Wuyi was unprincipled and made images, which he called 'Heavenly gods.' With these he played chess, ordering some one to make the moves for them; and when the 'celestial gods' did not win he abused them, and making a leather bag, filled it with blood, threw it up and shot at it. This he called shooting at Heaven. While Wuyi was hunting between the Yellow and Wei rivers, there was a clap of thunder, and Wuyi was struck dead by lightning.

His son Emperor T'aiting (Great D) came to the throne.

Emperor T'aiting died, and his son Emperor Yi (B) sat on the throne. In his reign the fortunes of Yin declined still further. Emperor Yi's (B) eldest son was Ch'i, viscount of Wei. Ch'i's mother being of low caste, he could not be heir to the throne. His younger son was Hsin (H), whose mother was the principal consort, and so he became the heir-apparent.

Emperor Yi died, and his son Hsin sat on the throne. Emperor Hsin was called by everybody in the empire Chou (the tyrant). Emperor Chou's discrimination was acute, his hearing and sight particularly good, his natural abilities extraordinary, and his physical strength equal to that of a wild beast. He had cunning enough to evade reproofs, and volubility enough to gloss over his faults. He boasted that he was above his ministers on the ground of ability, and that he surpassed the people of the empire on account of his reputation. He indulged in wine, women, and lusts of all sorts. His partiality for Tachi (Actress F) caused him to carry out whatever she desired, so that his ministers had to devise new forms of dissipation, the most depraved dances and extravagant music; he increased the taxation in order to fill the Stag tower with money, and to store the granary at 'Big bridge.' He made a collection of dogs, horses, and curiosities, with which he filled his palaces; and enlarging his parks and towers at Shach'iu,

procured numbers of wild beasts and birds and put them therein. He slighted the spirits, assembled a great number of play actors at Shach'iu, made a pond of wine, hung the trees with meat, made men and women chase each other about quite naked, and had drinking bouts the whole night long. The people murmured, and when the nobles rebelled Chouhsin increased the severity of his punishments, instituting the punishment of roasting.[1] He appointed Ch'ang Chief of the West, the prince of Chiu, and the prince of Ou his three principal ministers. The prince of Chiu had a beloved daughter who was sent in to the emperor, and when she disapproved of his debaucheries the tyrant killed her in his rage, and made mincemeat of her father. The prince of Ou objected, and vehemently remonstrated with him, whereupon he was sliced to pieces. Ch'ang Chief of the West, hearing of all this, sighed furtively, but 'Tiger' the prince of Ts'ung, being aware of it, informed the tyrant, who thereupon cast Chief of the West into prison at Yuli. His servant Hungyao and others procured a pretty girl, rare curiosities, and fine horses, which they presented to the tyrant, who thereupon pardoned Chief of the West. The latter went forth and gave the country to the west of the Lo river to the tyrant, and begged that he would abolish the punishment of roasting. The emperor agreed to this, and gave him bows, arrows, axes, and halberds, with a commission to start on a warlike expedition. He was appointed Chief of the West, and Feich'ung was employed in the government. Feich'ung was fond of flattery and greedy of gain, so the men of Yin were not attached to him. The tyrant also gave Alai an appointment, but Alai was fond of vilifying persons, so the princes became more and more estranged from the court. Now Chief of the West, on returning from his expedition, secretly cultivated virtue, and was charitable; many of the princes revolted from

[1] This was a copper rod placed over a pan of live charcoal, and rubbed with grease, and arranged in such a way that when the poor wretches had to cross over it, they slipped and fell into the fire.

the tyrant and gave their allegiance to Chief of the West, who from this time gained in influence, while the tyrant rather lost his authority. The monarch's son Pikan remonstrated with his father, but he was not listened to. Shangyung praised his worth, and the people loved him, but the tyrant set him aside. Chief of the West marched against and conquered the Chi State, and the tyrant's minister [1]"Tsu-i" heard of it, and "blaming [the house of] Chou hurried off in alarm to report it to the tyrant." [2]"He said: 'Heaven is bringing to an end the destiny of our dynasty of Yin; great men and the ancient tortoise do not venture to foretell good fortune. It is not that the former kings do not aid us men of this later time; but you, O king, by your dissoluteness and oppression are cutting yourself off. Heaven has therefore rejected us; we do not eat our meals in peace, we do not consider our heavenly nature, we do not follow and observe the statutes. Our people are now all longing for the destruction of the dynasty, saying, Why does not Heaven send down its awe-inspiring authority? Why is not its great decree manifested? What remedy is there against the present king?' The tyrant said: 'Is not my life secured by the decree of Heaven?' Tsu-i returned, and said," 'The tyrant cannot be remonstrated with.' Chief of the West having died, King Wu of Chou in his march eastward arrived at the ford of Mêng. The princes revolted, and 800 princes of the house of Chou having assembled declared that the tyrant ought to be attacked. King Wu said, 'You know nothing of Heaven's decree,' and retired. The tyrant abandoned himself all the more to lust and dissipation, and the viscount of Wei[3] remonstrated with him several times, but he would not heed, so having consulted with the senior and junior tutors the viscount

[1] From 30th paragraph of preface to the Shuching.

[2] The tenth book of Shang, called 'The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li,' is here quoted throughout, with the exception of the last sentence.

[3] The eleventh or last book of Shang is referred to. Every book in the first part of the Shuching has now been quoted from or referred to.

of Wei withdrew from court. Pikan said, 'A minister cannot but argue to the death'; he accordingly remonstrated vehemently with the tyrant, who in a rage said, 'I have heard that the heart of a holy man has seven apertures,' and cut Pikan open to look at his heart. The viscount of Chi, in terror, then feigned himself mad, and [1] "became a slave," and the tyrant again imprisoned him. The senior and junior tutors of Yin, accordingly, taking the sacrificial and musical implements, hastened to the Chou State, and King Wu of Chou upon this marched at the head of the princes to attack the tyrant, who also sent out an army to withstand him in the plain of Mu. On the day Chia-tzŭ the tyrant's troops were beaten, and he himself fled to the Stag tower, which he ascended, and, putting on his gorgeous robes and jewels, burnt himself to death. King Wu of Chou then cut off the tyrant's head and exhibited it on a pole; he also slew Tachi, [2] "released the viscount of Chi from prison, raised a tumulus over the grave of Pikan, and made a eulogy to the memory of Shangyung." His sons, Wukêng and Lüfu, were appointed to continue the sacrifices to the Yins. He restored Pankêng's mode of administration, and the people of Yin were greatly rejoiced. Whereupon King Wu of Chou became Son of Heaven (emperor). His descendants abolished the title of Ti (divine emperor), and called themselves kings (Wang); and the descendants of the Yins were made princes subordinate to the house of Chou.

After the death of King Wu of Chou, Wukêng, Kuanshu, and Ts'aishu rebelled. King Ch'êng ordered the duke of Chou to execute them, and the viscount of Wei was established in the Sung State to continue (the ancestral worship as) a descendant of the Yins.[3]

[1] This expression is found in the Analects, 18, i.

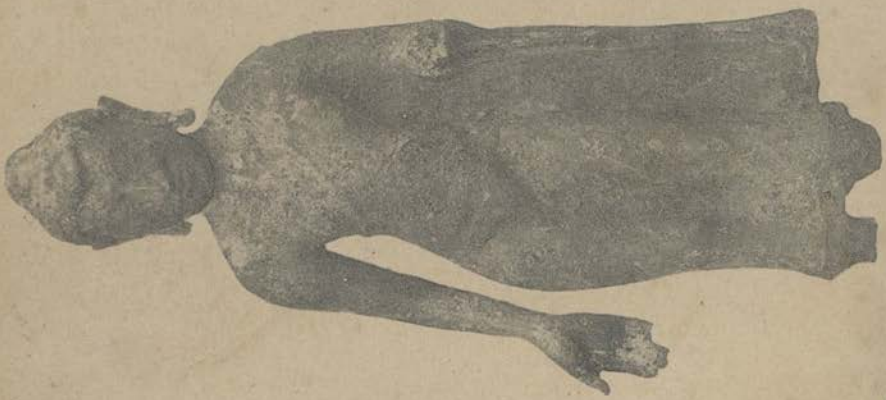
[2] Quotation from the third book of Chou, called 'Successful Completion of the War.'

[3] As the period recorded in this chapter extends from B.C. 2256 to 1122, according to the accepted chronology, it must be admitted that the details are meagre in the extreme. Of the forty-three reigns, including the thirteen prior to T'ang the Completer, we have merely a list of names of the rulers (and this is also the case with eleven out of the seventeen emperors of the Hsia dynasty),

and the chapter is chiefly made up of ridiculous legends and pompous announcements. Again, every one of the thirty emperors of this dynasty has a name compounded of one of the '10 stems'—used for the cycle and for numeration, and which I have, therefore, translated by a letter of the alphabet—and a word such as 'ancestor,' 'great,' 'little,' 'martial,' *etc.* It has been alleged that the real names of these emperors have been tabooed, but those who assert this should be prepared to state where we are to look for the real names, for the histories do not give any others than those I have mentioned, and should give their authority for the statement that the names were actually tabooed. Cyclical characters also form part of the names of five of T'ang the Completer's immediate ancestors, of Wuting's minister, and of the vile consort of the last sovereign of the Yin dynasty. If it were the custom to taboo the names of the emperors of the dynasty (and history does not relate that such was the case), why should the names of these people also be tabooed? It is hard to reconcile so many strange coincidences with actual facts. Surely it is more natural to suppose that the historian, who had reformed the calendar just before he wrote his history, and whose mind was, therefore, running on cyclical characters, should have used them as names for his fictitious emperors.

(*To be continued.*)

1



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1A

1B

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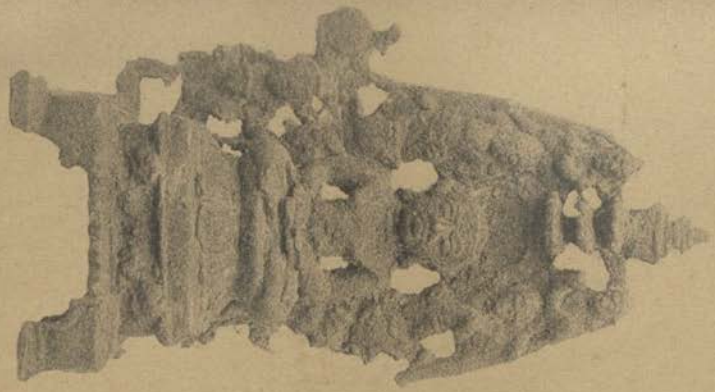
2A



Art. XVIII.—*Some Buddhist Bronzes, and Relics of Buddha.*

By Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S.

[The portion of this Paper relating to the bronzes has been prepared at the request of the Secretary of State for India.—R. S.]

The Buddhapād Bronzes.

The bronze images and fragments figured in the accompanying plates are a few specimens taken from a large collection now lying at Bezwada, all of which were found, some time before the year 1870, by some labourers employed under the Public Works Department of the Madras Presidency while excavating a canal at a place called Buddhapād, or Buddhavāni, about 20 miles westwards from the right bank of the river Kṛishṇā, and 30 miles from the nearest mouth of its delta.

In 1870 the late Mr. J. Boswell, then Collector of the District, who took a deep interest in antiquarian work, sent in to the Madras Government an interesting and valuable report on the remains to be found on the river Kṛishṇā, which was afterwards published *in extenso* in the first volume of the *Indian Antiquary*. In describing the remains at Bezwada (or Bejvāḍā), now a flourishing railway centre on the north bank 50 miles from the sea, he wrote as follows: "There are . . . a number of copper Buddhist images in the Library at Bejwada. These were found buried at Buddhavāni in the Repalle Taluqa, a place which retains traces of its origin in its name. . . . . There are a number of . . . images of the Buddhist saints, varying in size from one to two feet in height. They are beautifully executed . . . . . Each figure formerly stood on a pedestal of its own, but I am informed that, as these pedestals bore

certain characters, probably the names of the saints, they were sent to Madras to be deciphered. They have, however, never been returned. I presume they are in the Government Central Museum. I would recommend bringing the figures and their pedestals together again. . . ."

These pedestals have entirely disappeared with the exception of one (Pl. V, figs. 2*a*, 2*b*) which was found by myself under the circumstances shortly to be related. Enquiries have, I believe, since been made by the officers in charge of the Government Central Museum at Madras though without success, but as that building contains extensive basements it would appear even now possible that they might be discovered. Such a discovery would be of interest, since it would finally settle the date of these bronze images and fragments; and this settlement might prove of historical value if, as I suppose, the images belong to a comparatively late date in Indian Buddhism. The inscribed base found by myself is apparently not Buddhist but later Jain, and it would seem to have belonged to an image different from those now under consideration.

The images noted by Mr. Boswell consisted of entire figures, and I saw none but these when first stationed at Bezwada early in 1875. One day, however (I ca[illegible] exactly remember the date but it was probably in [illegible] year), I was informed that in the workshops of the Public Works Department at that place there were a number of broken pieces of bronze lying about, and on sending for and obtaining some, through the kindness of the officer in charge, I found that they consisted of specimens similar to those already at the little museum or library. This led to a search being made and in the end I succeeded in rescuing several baskets full of images, heads, arms, feet, dagobas, bases, and other fragments, mostly belonging to the Buddhist period, all of which had for some years lain condemned as old and useless metal. It was said that they had formed part of the Buddhapād find, and they were placed by me in the library along with the others. In 1879 I brought to England the pieces forming the present

collection—a small fraction of those which I had rescued —and they remained on exhibition in the Indian Institute at Oxford till handed over to the India Office at Dr. Burgess's instance about the year 1882.

Of the statuettes and fragments now figured, Plate I, No. 1 represents Buddha in the *Varamudrā* position, giving, or bestowing, or granting a boon. This is represented by the open right hand. The left hand holds between the thumb and forefinger some object not easily recognizable as it is completely broken off, but it may well be a sprig of foliage, as shown in the Sopāra image of Maitreya Bodhisattva (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. xv, pl. v, p. 298, Dr. Bhagvanlāl Indrajī's paper), where also the position of the right hand is similar. The head of the Buddha is as usual bare, the hair twisted in crisp curls and always bending to the right; the ears are very long, the lobes being artificially elongated according to the universal fashion of the time. This was accomplished by the insertion of plugs or rings, ever increasing in size as the years went on, into holes bored through the centre of the lobes. The fashion is portrayed in all the ancient sculptures, and is abundantly seen on the Amarāvati marbles.

The Buddha is shewn with his long yellow robe clinging tightly to the figure, hanging down to the ankle, and with the long loose end caught up from the outside of the left forearm;—the Roman toga was similarly worn. It is tightly fastened round the waist. The right breast is as usual bare, the cloth passing over the left shoulder.

Pl. I, No. 2 is the largest of the three full figures. The same description applies to it. In this case the feet are missing, as also is the left hand. The right is in the *Varamudrā* position, as with the first. Behind the figure at the height of the shoulder is a small projection and ring intended evidently to hold the decorated nimbus, which, as with our own pictured saints, is constantly found in representations of Buddha.

Pl. I, No. 3 is very perfect. It has, as have most of the apparently more modern images, a peculiar bunch of

hair on the top of the head, a feature somewhat difficult to understand since it does not appear that Buddha's hair was allowed to grow long, or was worn knotted or twisted on the top of the head. All genuine images of Buddha have short curly hair of a negroid type, and even on the knot here seen the same short twists are observed. I notice that the statue of Buddha figured by Mr. Rea in his last volume (of which I myself made a careful drawing in 1875) has not got this peculiar knot on the top of the head. The right hand in this case is in the *Abhayamudrā*, or blessing position, upheld and with the fingers raised. The left hand of this image is slightly bent, with the fingers closed.

Pl. II, Nos. 1 and 2 are two separate heads. It is always difficult to say whether each is meant to represent Buddha himself or one of the saints, but the bare head is certainly characteristic of the former. It will be noticed that in No. 1 the artist has pierced holes to give a more lifelike appearance to the pupils of the eyes.

Pl. II, No. 3. The small head and shoulders is, I think, part of a seated figure. The head rests against some object which may be assumed to be the usual seven-headed cobra, and if so this certainly means that the Buddha was sitting on its coils, probably in the attitude of meditation, with the hands resting on the folded lower limbs.

Pl. II, No. 4 shews us how some, at least, of these bronze statuettes were made to stand erect. There was a lotus-base below the feet through the top of which passed two pins under the two feet of the figure, the pins being fastened probably by nuts screwed on to them on the lower side of the hollow base. The size of the feet in this case also conveys an idea as to the relative size of the figure for which this base was intended. It will be seen that the figure in question was larger than any of our three, and according to the proportion of size of feet to height of statue in the two we possess the figure should have been 20 inches high. The base has three rings on the outside of the lower rim, which were probably intended

to receive hooks for fastening the image securely in its place.

Pl. III, No. 5 is a Buddhist dagoba. The material is thin, and it was apparently never filled up on the inside, but stood as we see it, a hollow shell. The base, the procession path, the dome, and the tee are shewn as in all similar figures, but degenerated so that the whole is a mere symbolic ornament. Older specimens would show the base with vertical sides, and the procession path with a level flooring. The dome, again, does not rest square on its base, but the sides curve inwards to meet it.

Pl. IV, Nos. 2 and 2*a* are the back and front of a small image of the Buddha seated, with his hands folded, in the *Dhyānamudrā* or meditating attitude. It is also called the *Padmāsana*, or lotus-seated attitude. The bronze shell has been filled with a black substance, but the head rested on a small bronze column running vertically up the centre. At the back of the figure (No. 2) is seen the tail of the *nāga*—generally a seven-headed cobra—whose hoods canopy the seated image. It will be noticed that this figure is only a half-length—from head to waist. The legs, even, are not represented as folded, and yet the attitude cannot be mistaken.

Pl. V, No. 1 was till recently so coated and encrusted with dirt that I mistook it for a modern image, since its shape is precisely that of the innumerable cheap shrines so commonly made by modern workers in brass and copper. But since its cleaning it is plain that we have to deal with a purely Buddhist, though apparently very modern Buddhist, figure. The face is heavy, coarse, and rough, and all the peculiarities are exaggerated. The image is seated in the *Dhyānamudrā* attitude, surrounded by a number of attendant *gaṇas*, on a *makara toraṇa*, or fish-monster canopy; above its head is a nimbus and triple *chattra*, or umbrella of sovereignty. The *gaṇa* is strongly in evidence in all Buddhist sculptures. He is a super-natural being, dwarf-like, often grotesque, often positively humorous, always in attendance on and worshipping the principal figure.

This image is so much injured at the base that the figures below the Buddha's throne cannot be deciphered They take the place occupied in all similar Brahmanical shrines by the deity's *vâhana*, or vehicle. Thus, Śiva has his bull, Vishṇu the *garuḍa*, Gaṇeśa the rat, and so on. It would be interesting to know what the design on this base was intended to represent—possibly two crouching *gaṇas*.

Pl. IV, No. 1 is the gem of the collection. It has been figured in three positions (1, 1*a*, 1*b*) so as to convey some idea to the reader of the artistic beauty of the original. It is hardly too much to say that the modelling of this little right hand is almost perfect, and for grace and delicacy can hardly be surpassed. One fault and one only can be found with it. It may be thought too feminine in character for a man's hand according to European ideas, but it should not be forgotten that the high-class clerkly Brahman or priest is not a man of action. Seldom taking exercise,[1] never playing manly games, occupied solely with pursuits that from youth upwards make no call on the muscles, the priestly or Brahmanical class, especially those of higher rank in life or possessed of more worldly wealth than others, do, as a fact, retain a luxurious softness and flexibility of hand and forearm during their whole lives that a European would characterize as emasculate—unmanly; and therefore to the mind of the artist who framed the statue of which this exquisite hand is a small fragment there may have presented itself the desire so to model the hand of the Buddha as to recall his princely youth, the luxury of his palace life, the thoughtful bent of his mind, rather than the austerity and rigour of his isolation in the forests, or the hardness of the life which must in later years have braced and strengthened the fabric of his body, and toughened and disfigured the original elegance of hand and arm.

[1] These remarks will in a few years be considered obsolete, since the love of manly exercises appears to be growing amongst the youth of India.—R. S.

The right arm in this figure was slightly bent across the body so as to meet the left hand in front of the chest. The forearm was almost at right angles to the upper arm. The position is that of teaching or discoursing, where the fingers mark the sequence of argument. It is called in Sanskrit literature the *Dharmachakra* attitude.

I have referred above to Dr. Bhagvanlāl Indrajī's paper on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopāra and Padaṇa." The position alluded to is seen there in the attitude of Vipaśyi (plate xii, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. A. S.*, xv, p. 300), and in the drawings from the Ajanta Cave (*id.* plates xvii and xviii, Nos. 2 and 8).

Pl. III, No. 1 gives us the whole of a right arm; and the connection with the body whence the fragment was broken off shows that the arm was held dropped to three-quarter length and not held stiffly at full length, so that the forearm was slightly advanced. In the hand is lightly held some object, probably the branch or sprig of a tree or creeper, the thumb and forefinger meeting on the stalk and the rest of it, touched by the finger-tips, passing over the palm to the little finger, where it has been broken off.

Pl. III, No. 2 is a small right hand, advanced so as to be at right angles to the upper arm, or horizontal from the elbow. It is in the *Abhayamudrā*, or blessing attitude, and may be compared with No. 4 in pls. xvii and xviii in the paper referred to above on a figure from the Ajanta Cave.

Pl. III, Nos. 3 and 4 are fragments, a forearm and a foot.

The last is the inscribed fragment (Pl. V, Nos. 2*a*, 2*b*, 2*c*) which apparently formed part of the base of a figure. This was submitted to Dr. Bühler and he has very kindly furnished me with a note regarding it which is printed *in extenso* as an appendix to this paper.

The question now arises as to the age of these relics. It is not difficult to fix a minimum of years, since we know from various contemporary sources that Buddhism in that

Act ceased to exist as the religion of the masses after the conquest of the Buddhist kingdom of Vengi[1] by the Chalukyan conqueror, Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, about the year A.D. 605. I say "about," because the actual year is still a matter of some slight uncertainty; but for present purposes that date will suffice. Additional proof of the decadence of Buddhism about that period is afforded by the interesting narrative written by Hiouen Thsang (or Hwen Thsang), the Buddhist traveller from China, who was on the Kṛishṇā in the year A.D. 639. He declares (*Si-yu-ki by Julien*) that in his day the temples where Buddha was worshipped numbered only twenty, whereas there were 100 temples erected "to the gods" (*i.e.* the Brahmanical gods) in the vicinity. "For a hundred years past no monks (*réligieux*) have resided here. The spirit of the mountain changes his form; he assumes at times the figure of a wolf, at times that of a monkey, startling all travellers, and it is for that reason that the monastery is deserted, and holds no more the worshippers of the true Faith." He is speaking here of a special Vihāra, apparently not many miles from Buddhapād, though the precise spot has been for some years a matter of discussion. The companion volume of Hoëi-li has a similar passage: "The spirits of the mountains have for the last hundred years changed their demeanour, and breathe forth violence and rage without ceasing. Travellers, filled with terror, dare no longer visit the monastery; and to-day it is completely deserted, so that one sees there neither monks nor novices."

It will be observed that Hiouen Thsang traces the decadence of Buddhism from 100 years back. Taken exactly that would apply to the year A.D. 539 and it is possible, though we have no historical record to prove the point, that priestly influence, being on the side of the Vaishṇava conqueror and against the titular sovereign, may have had

[1] If the "Wango" of the Mahāwanso be the same as Vengi, this kingdom though small in extent boasted of high antiquity, since, according to that chronicle, Suppadevi, grandmother of Vijaya, the first sovereign of Ceylon, was a princess of this house. The name of the ruling dynasty was Sālaṅkā

something to do with Vishṇuvardhana's success. The statement would imply that the Brahmanical religion began to regain its hold about sixty years previous to the downfall of the Vengi kingdom. It is, of course, quite possible that these bronzes were cast during the period of decadence, so that we cannot assume for them a date positively earlier than about A.D. 650. That is the latest date. They may belong to the flourishing period, in which case we should have for them an antiquity varying from about B.C. 250—the date of the great proselytizing monarch, King Aśoka—to the date already found, a period of 800 years. We know that during the earlier half of that period Buddhism flourished abundantly on the banks of the Kṛishṇā, stupa after stupa being erected over relics of Buddha and the saints; one—the stupa at Amarāvati—being unparalleled for magnificence.

Relics of Buddha at Bhaṭṭiprōlu.

This leads me to the second portion of my subject, viz. the Buddhist monuments in the vicinity erected over the relics of Buddha, particularly the stupa at Bhaṭṭiprōlu and the relics actually found there by Mr. Rea of the Archæological Survey.

The story of the collection of the ashes and fragmentary remains of the body of Buddha after his cremation forms the subject of the concluding portion of the "*Mahā Parinibbāna Suttānta*," a work of great antiquity which has been translated by Professor Rhys Davids in vol. xi of the "Sacred Books of the East." It is an account of the "Great Decease" of Buddha, and is the Buddhist representative of what among Christians would be called a Gospel. It was probably composed before the account of the first council of Rājagaha given in the concluding part of the *Chulla-ragga*, but after Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna, had become the capital city of Magadha. It probably dates from about 100 years after Buddha's entry [illegible]irvāṇa.

The story as there given is substantially the same as that given in all subsequent Buddhist writings and scriptures.

The cremation of the body of Buddha was carried out with great pomp and ceremony. After all was over the Mallas of Kusinārā guarded the remains. On hearing the lamentable news of the death of their master, the King of Magadha, Ajātasatru; the Lichchavi princes of Vesâli; the Sākyas of Kapilavatthu, Buddha's own kinsfolk; the Bulis of Allakappa; the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma; a Brahman of Vethadīpa; and the Mallas of Pāvā, all begged for portions of the remains, promising to erect stupas over them. The remains were divided into eight portions and distributed to the eight claimants, Dona the Brahman keeping the vessel they had lain in, and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana receiving the embers of the pyre.

About 200 years later King Aśoka—one of the only Hindu sovereigns who really held extensive sway over the whole of India, and who therefore had the actual power to do what he determined to do—collected, after his conversion to Buddhism, the relics of Buddha, and distributed them all over India. He is said to have desired to erect 84,000 stupas over a similar number of genuine portions of the body of the great master.

In proof that he, at least, began to carry out his wishes we have the fact that many stupas were begun in his day, and that they were erected over relic caskets carefully secured and covered under such massive buildings of solid brick as to inspire a hope that they would remain for ever intact, like the pyramids of Egypt. We find also that Aśoka inscribed his edicts on great boulders and cliffs in several places, even so far south as Mysore; so that history and tradition alike support the contention of modern archæologists that several of the stupas of the south are, in their origin, at least as old as Aśoka's time. A large group of them, probably the largest number ever erected in so small an area, is found in the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Kṛishṇā, and along its

North-west of Amarāvati there is the stupa not long since examined by Dr. Burgess and excavated by Mr. Rea, at Jaggayyapēṭa, north of the river. It is 30 miles from Amarāvati, and is situated on the summit of a hill. Dr. Burgess, from the epigraphical evidence afforded by an inscription, considers that at least part of the building may be as old as the second century B.C.

Seventeen miles east of Amarāvati we have Bejvāḍā, or Bezwada, undoubtedly the seat of the secular government. Few Buddhist remains have been found there, but this is easily accounted for by the fact that the *débris* from the lofty hills surrounding the town, coupled with the perpetual increase to the soil of the valley owing to successive inundations from the very muddy river, have long ago buried all relics of this period deep below ground. In 1886, when digging foundations for the modern railway station, the workmen came on the topmost stone of a temple some feet underground, and, deepening their excavation, discovered a small stone shrine of the early Hindu period, the floor of which was about twelve feet below the surface. The ground-level in Buddhist days must have been even lower than that, and we may take it that about fifteen feet of solid silt, on the summit of which stand the crowded houses and streets of a busy town, cover most of the remains of that period. Two marble statues of Buddha were, however, found in the rocky *débris* under the Telegraph Hill some years ago,[1] and a black granite statue of the seated Buddha (which is now, I believe, at the museum at this place) was alleged to have been removed from the top of one of the hills close to the town, on which a modern bungalow was afterwards built.

Twenty-six miles east of Bezwada is Gudivāḍa, the site of a very ancient town. There was a stupa here which was destroyed by our Public Works Department, and the

[1] I was at Bezwada, and on report being made to me that a stone face had been seen by a cooly in a channel worn in the hillside after heavy rains, went to the spot and unearthed the two statues.—R. S.

materials used for road-making. The remains of the great dome were dug into and carted off, and the coolies unearthed the relic-caskets. Mr. Boswell stated that there were four caskets found in the four corners, but I cannot help thinking that this must be a mistake, and that the caskets, like those at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, to which I shall come presently, had been laid one above another in the centre of the basement of the structure. Of one, at least, we have positive information from a contemporary report. Under a slab of black granite, 2 ft. in diameter, was found a white marble receptacle, and in this a second receptacle also of marble. Within this were four small slabs of marble arranged so as to form a square box (such is the description —the shape was probably that of a *svastika* with a hollow centre as at Bhaṭṭiprōlu). Inside this hollow chamber was a small white marble casket, and within the casket was a covered crystal cup, the relic-casket itself, in which lay a number of gold and silver flowers and some pearls and corals. These were all sent in to headquarters, and have since then disappeared.

It is believed that some of the caskets now at the Government Central Museum, Madras, were those found at Gudivāḍa, but owing to carelessness there is nothing to show to what stupas these caskets belonged, and it is impossible now to classify and identify them.

There is a very fine black granite statue of Buddha at Gudivāḍa, with its *nāga* canopy and triple umbrella complete; and as the locality is high, gravelly, dry, and situated above the inundated alluvial area, everywhere Buddhist remains—beads, coins, pottery, and the like—are found strewn about on the surface of the ground.

Fifty miles north-east of Bezwada, at Guntupalle (or Nāgalapalle, for either name will do), is the very interesting series of rock-cut monastic dwellings, chaitya cave vihāra, stupas, and other extensive remains, regarding which I sent a paper to this Society early in 1887 (*J.R.A.S* 1887, Vol. XIX, pp. 508 to 511, and plates). It is much to be regretted that these have not yet been fully exp[illegible]

Mr. Rea has only as yet been able to make a preliminary investigation.

Buddhapāḍ, the site of the discovery of the bronzes which form the subject of the first part of this paper, is situated twenty-nine miles south of Bezwada, and about fifteen west of Bhaṭṭiprōlu.

A few miles east of Bhaṭṭiprōlu is Ghaṇṭaśālā, where the remains of a fine stupa were excavated and examined by Mr. Rea. Forty miles further, in a south-westerly direction, we come to a group of Buddhist sites clustered about a coast that must at one time have been the site of a busy trade and the residence of a large population. It was there, at Motupalle, that Marco Polo disembarked in the end of the thirteenth century A.D., there being, if not a harbour, at least fine anchorage close to shore. At the present time the whole coast is ruined by accretions of Kṛishṇā alluvium, but we may be sure that in Buddhist days Motupalle was a thriving port. The Āndhra rulers of this tract adopted as one of their devices, for purposes of coinage, a two-masted sailing ship. Buddhist remains have been found in ten or a dozen places in its immediate neighbourhood. (*See Mr. Rea's two Reports to the Madras Government, published in orders in July*, 1888, *and April*, 1889.)

At Chezarla, fifty miles west-south-west of Bezwada, is a Buddhist chaitya hall converted into a Brahmanical temple; and a little to the west is Garikepāḍ, where Mr. Rea found a stupa.

Of all these stupas, that at Bhaṭṭiprōlu appears to have been the largest and one of the oldest, besides being constructed of superior materials and made of solid brick throughout its great extent, while some of the others were partly filled up with earth-packing. It was faced all over with marble casing, it was surrounded with marble rails, and it had sculptured projections of marble at the cardinal points. While Dr. Burgess fixes the limits of the Amarāvatī tope as between B.C. 200 and A.D. 200, Dr. Bühler places the inscriptions found at Bhaṭṭiprōlu to be not later than B.C. 200; it may be earlier. From the centre

of this Bhaṭṭiprōlu stupa,[1] which had been so sadly ruined and disfigured that excavation had become a necessity in order to save the entombed relics, Mr. Rea in 1892 extracted three caskets (there had been four as will presently be narrated), and amongst the inscriptions found on the caskets themselves, in characters dating not later than about 250 years after the Nirvāṇa, was found one which explicitly states that the relics were relics of Buddha. It runs thus:—

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura *(himself)* and Śiva, the preparation of a casket and a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Buddha. By Kura the son of Bânava, associated with his father, *(has been given)* the casket."[2]

This inscription was found on the rim of the stone casket first discovered, the uppermost of the three found by Mr. Rea. Inside this casket was a globular black stone casket, and inside this a crystal casket containing a small fragment of bone. The crystal casket lay on a number of small flowers in gold leaf, and coins arranged in the form of a *svastika*, with some jewels.

Amongst the jewels and other articles found in the outer stone casket, but outside the globular casket, was a large hexagonal head of crystal with an inscription in characters similar to the first, stating that it had been a gift from the women of a certain village and from a number of religious mendicants.

Below this first casket was found a second, somewhat similar. There was a large black stone casket outside with inscriptions on it, one of which mentions relics of the body of Buddha[3] *(Budhasha sarirāni)*; and another that the casket, a box of stone, and a crystal casket, had

[1] See Mr. Rea's "South Indian Buddhist Antiquities," vol. xv of the Imperial series of the Archæological Survey of India (*Southern India*, vol. The book is admirably prepared, and is a model of what such reports ought

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 327—Dr. Bühler's article.

[3] It is mutilated, and Dr. Bühler writes: "Nothing can be said re the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of B (*Epigraphia Indica*, ii, p. 328.)

been given by certain persons, chief amongst whom was King "Khubiraka" *(Kuberaka)*. In this instance, however, it is curious that no relics were found. The cavity of the outer casket was nearly filled with earth. There was no inner casket or box as described, and the crystal phial inside, the lid of which was shaped like a dagoba, was lying open with its two portions separated. There was no sign of a relic inside it, but in the outer stone casket were found a large number of gold flowers and other objects, 177 in all, a number of jewels, and a *sāsanam* or inscription on a twisted silver leaf.

Beneath this again was a third heavy stone casket also bearing inscriptions, on one of which is made further mention of King Kuberaka. The cavity was nearly filled with earth, but in it was found a crystal phial about three inches high, the two portions of which lay apart, and close to it appeared a tiny casket consisting of a single beryl bored in the centre and shaped like a relic-casket, having within it three small pieces of bone. As usual there were found surrounding it a number of small jewels, and flowers made of gold leaf.

Naturally the question arises as to what likelihood there is of these sacred pieces of bone being really portions of the body of Buddha collected after his cremation, and before the idea is rejected as a simple absurdity it will be well to bear in mind certain points which must vitally affect all conclusions formed on the subject.

The tradition of the collection of relics from the funeral pyre is, as I have stated, one of very high antiquity, and that it was earnestly believed in we have ample proof in the very existence of the relic stupas.

Apart from this, it is only natural to suppose that the relics would have been very carefully collected. We must remember that during his lifetime (and he preached for many years) the Buddha had collected about his person an immense body of devoted adherents. His noble birth, his sacrifice of all his worldly prospects for the sake of saving the inhabitants of the world from lives of misery, his long

years of example and teaching, his gentle character and overflowing love for his fellow-men, would all combine together to attract round him crowds of adoring followers; so that, apart altogether from any ancient records or traditions, it would be in the highest degree surprising if relics of his body after the cremation had not been carefully collected, and reverently preserved.

As to their preservation for about 250 years and their appearance so far south as the banks of the Kṛishṇā all arguments must, of course, be based on pure conjecture. Granting that, in the natural order of things, the relics would be carefully preserved after division, there can be no real reason why the large group of stupas erected at such vast labour in the neighbourhood of which we are speaking should not have been erected over genuine fragments—possibly at the instance, or under the orders, of King Aśoka. It is, at least, quite as likely that some of the fragments were genuine as that they were all spurious. It is hardly likely that such huge structures would in all cases be erected, at prolonged cost and with infinite labour, over forged relics. It is possible, of course, and we must be careful not to be too credulous; all I contend is, that the genuineness of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu relics was passionately believed in by the people as far back as B.C. 200 at latest, and that it seems just as likely that they may have been actual portions of Buddha's body, as that they may have been fragments of someone else's body substituted for the originals during the 250 years between Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the construction of the stupa. But it may be argued—Granting that the stupa may have been erected over genuine relics, how can we assume that those found by Mr. Rea are the same as those originally placed there?

The answer is that everything points to their never having been disturbed.

A stupa is nothing more or less than a gigantic relic-casket, deliberately constructed with a view to lasting durability, and for the perpetual maintenance and preservation of the relics deposited therein.

The Bhaṭṭiprōlu stupa was built in the following manner. First, foundations were dug deep in the soil, and a great circular base built of solid brick, 148 ft. in diameter, or 10 ft. larger than that of the Amarāvati stupa which measured 138 ft. in diameter. Above ground this great circular mass was continued in the shape of a huge brick drum, 5 ft. high, all of solid brick, the bricks used being of great size. In the exact centre of this was left a small cylindrical hollow. The relic-caskets were placed, one above the other, in the centre of the base, but Mr. Rea found that they had been firmly built into the brickwork, the hollow alluded to being only 9 ins. in diameter,[1] while the outer caskets measured, respectively, 2 ft. 11 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins., 2 ft. 10 ins. by 2 ft. 3 ins., and 2 ft. 5 ins. by 2 ft. 3 ins., so that it is abundantly clear that they could not have been lifted out of the hollow at any period. Above this great drum was constructed a dome, also of solid brick, having a base of 132 ft. diameter, thus leaving a procession path round the exterior of 8 ft. in breadth. The whole of this outside surface was then encased in marble slabs, so that it presented a pure white glittering surface, visible from a great distance. Eight feet beyond the base all round was a marble rail with gateways, the total diameter of the rail measuring 164 ft.

It is thus abundantly evident that the relics were securely interned from the beginning. Now although in process of centuries, during twelve of which the religion of this tract was Brahmanical and not Buddhist, this great edifice had been sorely injured, the marble being partially pulled down and a quantity of the enclosed brickwork being pulled to pieces by the villagers, probably for house-building, it remained till a few years ago in a confused t generally circular mass 30 or 40 feet high, ruined at top. At that period a zealous officer of the Public ks Department utilized a large quantity of the bricks

r. Rea thinks that the hollow may have been left "as a receptacle for sweep during the progress of building to guide the correct laying of the rings of brickwork."

for road-making, and a large quantity of the marble, almost all in fact that remained above ground, for the floor and walls of a small sluice in the canal close by. He dug down so far that the topmost relic-casket was found (there were originally four, one above another). There was a large outer stone casket of slabs dovetailed into one another, inside this a clay-pot, inside the pot a "soap-stone"[1] casket, and inside this a crystal phial. In this phial was a pearl, a few bits of gold leaf, and some ashes. Wishing to remove his discoveries, the stone casket was accidentally broken and the remains left at Bhaṭṭiprōlu. The earthenware pot was broken. The inner stone casket was smashed during a voyage to England, and the fragments thrown away. And the crystal phial was presented to Dr. Burnell, and has never been seen since.

In spite of all this the height of the remains was, when I saw it first, about 14 or 15 feet, and it remained in this condition till Mr. Rea's excavation.

Mr. Rea found the circular courses of the portion that remained entirely untouched, the small central 9-inch well remaining as it had been originally constructed, with eight large bricks radiating from it, and "another ring of sixteen wedge-shaped bricks each placed with the apex pointing to the centre." The little well "went down with its sides straight for a depth of 5 ft. 9 ins. from the (then) surface." "Below that the courses were stepped, leaving alternate diameters of 9½ ins. and 1 ft. 3 ins." Below all this were the caskets, one above the other, the outer ones in each case being so large that they could never have been disturbed.[2]

If any additional proof be demanded that the caskets had never been disturbed during the 2092 years from B.C. 200 to A.D. 1892, it may be noted that had such been the case the disturbers would have rifled the caskets

[1] Perhaps really marble.

[2] Dr. Burgess conjectures (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, Preface) that the disturbance of the inner caskets had probably been caused by the accidental upsetting of the whole by the workmen who originally placed them in position. This seems the most reasonable supposition.

arried off all the gold flowers, coins, and precious tones that were found therein. The presence of these a the caskets is by itself almost conclusive proof that the askets had been left untouched during that long period. should add that the relics are now lying carefully reserved in a glass case in the Government Central Iuseum at Madras.

APPENDIX.

The Inscription on the Pedestal from Bezwādā.

By Dr. Bühler, Ph.D., C.I.E.

The three fragments of the copper pedestal from Bezwādā bear an inscription, mutilated at both ends, in a single line of southern characters, which runs as follows :—

A, right side,[1] — — — क्रान्तिर्ज्ज-

B, centre piece,[2] यमती परामर्च्चामचीकरत्तस्या: जिनसे-

C, left side,[3] न — — — —

The first syllable of A is slightly mutilated on the left, but enough remains to make the reading certain. In B the ninth syllable is divided into two halves by the break. f the two fragments are joined *cī* is distinctly visible. he twelfth and the sixteenth syllables of B are damaged y verdigris, but not doubtful.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The spelling ws the common doubling of the consonants immediately eded by *r*, and an unusual retention of the visarga

[1] eight, 2·9 ins.; length below, 2 ins.; above, 1 in.
[2] ength above, 9·6 ins.; below, 10·6 ins.; height at both ends, 2·9 ins.; middle, 1·7 ins.
[3] gth below, 1·2 ins.; above, ½ in.

before the *media ja*. The rhythm in the extant syllables suggests that the document was metrical, and consisted of an anuṣṭubh śloka :—

– – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ क्रान्तिर्ज्जयमती पराम् [।*]

अर्चामचीकरत्तस्याः जिनसेन ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ [॥*]

And with this supposition the visarga would be admissible, as it would stand at the end of a pāda where the sandhi may be neglected. According to their sense the preserved words belong to two mutilated sentences . . . . . *krāntir Jayamatī* and *parām arcām acīkarat tasyāḥ Jinasena* . . . . The last five words mean—"Jinasena caused to be made a most excellent image of her." Though *Jinasena*, a well-known Buddhist and Jaina proper name, has not the sign of the nominative, which probably formed part of the next lost syllable, it is no doubt the subject of the verb *acīkarat*, the third person singular of the aorist of *kārayati*, "he causes to be made." The object of the verb is *arcām*, the singular accusative of *arcā*, literally "an object of worship," and conventionally "a statue of a deity." The genitive *tasyāḥ* "of her," which *arcām* governs, shows that a separate sentence preceded that beginning with *parām arcām*, and that this contained the name of a goddess. The name has in all probability to be looked for in *Jayamatī*, literally "the victorious one." *Jayamatī* is known from the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a female proper name. This will not do here, as *arcā* can refer only to the statue of a deity. Now according to the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa the Buddhists called their great goddess *Tārā*, also *Jayā* "Victoria," and considering that the Hindu very frequently, especially in poetry, substitute synonyms for the names of their gods, e.g. *girisutā*, *adrijā*, and so forth, for *Pārvatī*, *Jayamatī* may be used legitimately for Jayā or Tārā. It agrees with this explanation, that the dedicator, Jinasena, must have been, according to the etymological meaning of his name, either a Buddhist or a Jaina, and that Bezwādā actually was the site of a Buddhist establishment.

The remaining word of the first sentence *krāntir* (*krāntiḥ*), the singular nominative of *krānti*, "gait, walking, onslaught, the ecliptic," gives by itself no appropriate sense. But, if it is taken as the remnant of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, it may have belonged to an adjective describing Jayamatī or Tārā. As Tārā is the great protectress of mankind (*Wassilief, Der Buddhismus*, p. 125), the compound probably expressed the idea that the goddess saves from the onslaught (*krānti*) of misfortune. The metre would require a phrase like [*jitānartha*]*krāntir* or possibly [*vihatānartha*]°, "who conquers the onslaught of misfortune." The verb belonging to the two nouns of the first sentence can only have been *vijayati* or *jayati*, "is victorious." I would, therefore, propose to fill up the two breaks as follows:—

[जयत्यसौ जितानर्थ] क्रान्तिर्ज्जयमती पराम् ।
अर्च्चामचीकरत्तस्याः जिनसेन [स्तदानतः ॥]

"[Victorious is that] Jayamatī [who conquers] the onslaught [of misfortune]. Jinasena, [who bows to her], caused to be made a most excellent image of that (deity)."

I claim, of course, no more than a certain measure of probability for this restoration, but I believe the interpretation of the general import of the fragment, viz. that it records the dedication of a statue of Jayamatī-Tārā by one Jinasena, to be more than a mere conjecture.

The date of the inscription probably lies between 900 and 1000 A.D. The letters agree very closely with those of the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II incised in Śakasaṁvat 822 and 831 (*Ind. Ant.* xi, p. 126, and xii, p. 220 ff.), and of the Eastern Calukya grant, issued about Śakasaṁvat 817 (*Ind. Ant.* vii, p. 16). But it may also fall a little earlier.

Art. XIX.—*Sinhalese Copper-plate Grants in the British Museum.* By Don Martinu de Zilva Wickremasinghe.

There are three Sinhalese *sannas* (grants of land) on copper-plate amongst the Sinhalese MSS. of the British Museum, catalogued under the press-marks Add. 11,555 *a*, *b*, and *c*. The *sannas* were presented to the British Museum by a Mr. J. Barlow Hoy as long ago as the 30th of March, 1839. But who Mr. Hoy was and how he got them I have not been able to find out. The two marked *b* and *c* are neatly engraved on smooth rectangular copper-plates, measuring $10\frac{6}{8}''$ by $2\frac{1}{8}''$ and $12\frac{3}{8}''$ by $2''$ respectively, leaving in each case a margin on the obverse side to the left, in which the royal symbol Çrī, signifying prosperity, is cut in large type. The other *sannasa*[1] (*a*) is ornamented with a plain silver border running round the rectangular plate of copper, $16\frac{3}{8}''$ by $3''$ in size. The letters are well cut, with *kuṇḍali* flourishes at the beginning and end of each line. On the left of the obverse is the usual margin, which is here separated from the text by a thin silver band right across the plate, so as to receive a large-sized Çrī engraved boldly.

The first *sannasa* (Add. 11,555 *c*) has ten lines, five on each side, with *kuṇḍali* to mark important words and clauses. It is dated "Wednesday, the 11th day of the waxing moon of the month of *Duruṭu*,[2] in the year [cycle], named *Prajāpati*, Çaka 1673" (A.D. 1751). The second (11,555 *b*) also has ten lines, five on each side, also with *kuṇḍali* both at the beginning and end of each line, and

[1] *Sannasa* (plur. *sannas*), a grant of land on copper-plate or palmyra leaf.
[2] Parts of January and February.

in the body of the text indicating important words and clauses. It bears the date "Saturday, the 13th day of the waning moon of the month of *Durutu*, in the year, named *Tāruṇā*, Çaka 1686" (A.D. 1764). There seems to be no doubt as to the genuineness of these two *sannas*, granted, as they are, by the then ruling monarch, Kīrti Çrī Rājasiṁha (1747–1778 A.D.), and agreeing in their phraseology with another grant of this king, viz. the *Gæṭaberiya*[1] *Sannasa* of 1760 A.D., published in Mr. Bell's Archæological Report on the Kegalla District (Colombo, 1892), p. 99, and not improbably with the *sannas* of Lenagala (1754 A.D.), Heṭṭimulla (1757), Vekoladeṇiya (1757), and Duldeṇiya (1761), attributed to the same king (*l.c.* p. 105).

The third *sannasa* under consideration, marked Add. 11,555 *a*, is dated "Friday, the 11th day of the waning moon of the month of *Mædindina*,[2] in the year, named *Rudhirodgāri*, Çaka 1725" (A.D. 1803), and contains fourteen lines, seven on each side. It is one of those granted by the last Kandyan king, Çrī-vikrama Rājasiṁha, who reigned at Kandy from 1798 to 1815. The inscriptions, royal grants, and other public documents of this and of the latter part of the previous century are easily to be recognized by the language in which they are written.[3] The redundant style, the loose construction, and the mass of Sanskrit words used in preference to their more suitable Sinhalese equivalents, are indeed distasteful, and contrary to the real spirit and original simplicity of the language.

[1] I may be permitted to point out that the Siṁhalese අ and its lengthened form ආ which have the sounds of *a* in "cat," "bad," or "man," as well as some of the sounds in the Tamil language, such as ஐ, ஒள, etc., are not represented in the scheme of transliteration adopted by the Society. I think the Siṁhalese අ is better transcribed with a dot under *a* (*ạ*) than with *æ*, as is customary in Ceylon, considering that it is but a kind of "umlaut" of *a*.

[2] Parts of March and April.

[3] *Cf.* the fine Molligoḍa *sannasa* in Mr. Bell's report, p. 101.

The following are transcripts and translations of the three *sannas* :—

Sannasa. Add. 11,555 *c*.

Transcript.

Obverse—

Çrī.

1. Çrī laṁkēçvaravū[1] utum apagē devisvāmiduruvāṇ[2]an-vahansēgē asadrisa[3] atigambhīravū çrī mahākaruṇā-divas eliyē
2. mahimatāvayen vadāḷāvū paṇata nam arāvē vijaya sundara mudiya nnæhē mahāvāsalaṭa ēkānta pakṣa piramānatvayen væḍa pa-
3. yiḍa karakiyā oppu karamin soṅda sitin duggæṇa[4] siṭinā niçā[5] hēvāhæṭē megoḍatiha bada talmukē vaḍuvāva biju amuna[6]yi idda-
4. pāya biju amun[6]ayi dūlmurumulla biju amun[6]ayi asvædduma biju paspǣlayi tuttirikuṁbura biju pǣlayi toṭanuṭalin biju pǣlayi
5. bōlǣpeṅ biju pǣlayi siduruvānā yaṭinuvara kaṅdupalāta bada goḍagama vælikuṁbura biju depǣlayi kuruḷu kuṁbura biju.

Reverse—

1. depǣlayi dælivala biju yelamun[6]ayi aṁbakuṁbura biju amun[6]ayi bōgaha kuṁbura biju pǣlayi uḍatismaddare biju amun[6]ayi pallē
2. tismaddare biju amun[6]ayi ætuḷuva mulbiju daha amun[6]u tum pǣlē vapa sariyat mīṭa aḍuttu goḍa maḍa gevatu gaha kola ætuḷuva me-

[1] laṇkeçvaravū.
[2] n.
[3] asadṛça.
[4] duggeṇa.
[5] nisā.
[6] ṇ.

3. ma gam baḍavæḍili deka meyin matu niravulva pravēni sælæsmaṭa bhukti viṅdinā sæṭiyaṭa çaka varṣa ekvādahassasiya hætyā [1]
4. tunaṭa pæmiṇi prajāpatī [2] namvū mema varṣayehi durutu masa pura ekolosvak nam tithiya lat badādā me davasa mē sanhasa
5. devā vadāḷa paṇatat ē paṇatat mesēma pan[3]ivuḍa paṇatayi.

Translation.

Hail! Our noble [and] divine lord of lords, who is the illustrious chief of Laṇkā, by the majesty of his very profound, incomparable, exalted, and most beneficent divine knowledge, delivered [the following] order:—

Whereas Vijayasundara Mudiyannæhe, of Arāva, takes pains and performs services in carrying out orders with good will and sincere loyalty to the royal house, he was granted one *amuṇa* [4] in sowing extent of Talmukē-vaḍuvāva, one *amuṇa* of Iddapāya, one *amuṇa* of Dūlmurumulla, five *pāl* [5] of Asvædduma, one *pāla* of Tuttirikuṁbura, one *pāla* of Toṭanuṭala, one *pāla* of Bolæpa, situate at Megoḍatiha in Hewāhæṭa; two *pāl* in sowing extent of Vælikuṁbura, two *pāl* of Kuruḷukuṁbura, one and a half *amuṇu* of Delivala, one *amuṇa* of Aṁbakuṁbura, one *pāla* of Bogahakuṁbura, one *amuṇa* of (upper or) Uḍa-Tismaddara, and one *amuṇa* of (lower or) Palle-Tismaddara, situate at Goḍagama in Kaṅdupalāta of Siduruvānā-Yaṭinuvara—in all ten *amuṇu* and three *pāl* in sowing extent of land, together with high and low lands, houses and gardens, trees and plants, appertaining thereto. These [forming the] two

[1] hættæ.
[2] prajāpati.
[3] ṇ.
[4] A measure of capacity amounting to about five bushels. In superficial measure it contains as much ground as is covered by it in sowing paddy, varying from 2 to 2½ acres. Plural *amuṇu*.
[5] Singular *pāla*, plur. *pāl* = ¼ of an *amuṇa* or ⅝ bushel (= 10 *kuruṇi*).

village-*baḍavæḍili*[1] [are thus granted,] that he may, without dispute, possess them in future as *praveṇi*[2] land.

In the year, named Prajāpati, of Çaka 1673 [A.D. 1751], on Wednesday, the 11th day of the waxing moon of the month of Durutu; on this day the order delivered when granting this *sannasa*—this [very] order is thus the proclaimed decree.

Sannasa. Add. 11,555 *b*.

Transcript.

Obverse—

Çrī.

1. Çrī laṁkēçvaravū[3] utum apagē devisvāmiduruvāṇ[4]an-vahansēgē asadrisa[5] ati-
2. gambhīravū çrī mahākaruṇā divas eliyē mahima-tāvayen vadāḷāvū paṇata nam
3. doḍaṁvala vikramasiṁha candrasēkara karuṇātilaka seneviratna paṇḍita mudaliyā
4. utum-vū mahāvāsalaṭa soṁdasitin dukgæṇa[6] siṭinā nisā siduruvānā bada uḍu-
5. nuvara mædapaḷātē dælivela kiyana gama mul biju doḷohomun[7]ē vapasariyat e.

Reverse—

1. hi bada goḍa maḍa arak gevatu gasa-kola etuḷuva mekungē daru munubu-
2. ru vargga[8] paramparāva pavatināturu niravulva bhukti viṁdinā raṁgaṭa Çaka varṣa e-

[1] *Baḍavæḍilla* (plur. *baḍavæḍili*). Land granted by Government to certain individuals in consideration of offices held or services rendered by them (Bell's Kegalla Report, p. 132).
[2] Inherited land.
[3] laṇkeçvaravū.
[4] n.
[5] asadṛça.
[6] duggeṇa.
[7] ṇ.
[8] varga.

3. kvā-dahas-sasiya asūhayaṭa pæminṭi tāruṇā namvū mē varṣayehi durutu maça[1] ava te-
4. ḷesvak nam tithiya lat seṇasurādā me davasa mē sanhasa devā vadāla paṇatat
5. ē paṇatat mesēma paṇivuḍa paṇatayi.

Translation.

Hail! Our noble [and] divine lord of lords, who is the illustrious chief of Laṇkā, by the majesty of his very profound, incomparable, exalted, and most beneficent divine knowledge, delivered [the following] order:—

Whereas Vikramsiṁha Candrasekara Karuṇātilaka Seneviratna Paṇḍita Mudaliyā of Doḍanvala is, with good will, rendering services to the noble royal house, twelve *amuṇu* in sowing extent of the village called Dælivela in Uḍunuvara-mædapalāta of Siduruvānā, together with the high and low lands, houses and gardens, and trees and plants, appertaining thereto, were granted to be possessed indisputably by [him], his children and grandchildren and their descendants, so long as the family exists.

In the year, named Ṭāruṇā, of Çaka 1686 [A.D. 1764], on Saturday, the 13th day of the waning moon of the month of Durutu; on this day the order delivered when granting this *sannasa*—this [very] order is thus the proclaimed decree.

Sannasa. Add. 11,555 *a*.

Transcript.

Obverse—

Çrī.

1. Çrīghaṇ[2]a caraṇa sarasīruha matta madhukara sumitra gotra pavitra vicitra cāritra samastà çāstra prataraṇa[3] karuṇākara nai-

[1] masa.
[2] n.
[3] pratīrṇa.

2. ka digantara vyāpta yaso kīrtti[1] teja pratāpa viçuddha çuddha sūryya[2] vaṁçābhijāta para çastru[3] kuñjara ṇ[4]ikara ṇ[4]irākaraṇa
3. pravīṇ[5]a kesarī vikramānvita trisiṁhalādhīs[6]vara uttama pravara çreṣṭha jagadesvara[7]vū utum apagē.
4. devisvāmiduruvāṇ[8]anvahansē sakala naṁgarāṇga[9] çrīn samurddha[10] sampannavū çrīvardhana purapravarayehi svarṇṇa[11] vara siṁhā-
5. sana mastaka prāptava çakra dēvēndra līlāvayen væḍa væsa vadāraṇa prasthāvehi asadrisa[12] atigambhīravū çrī mahākaru-
6. ṇā divaseliyē mahimatāvayen vadāḷāvū paṇata nam doranāgama bannāēka hēratmudaliyā dha-
7. ranīsvaravū[13] utum mahāvāsalaṭa soṁda sitiṇ pakṣa pātava duggat nisāt ayitivāsi æti nisāt

Reverse—

1. hārasiya-pattuva bada kuḷugammana siyapattuvē ratavana praveni[14] vasamaṭa tibunu paṇguvaṭa ætulat vaṭavalatænnē biju pāēlat pāēpolē
2. palkaḍa biju tumpāēlat gamakuṁbura biju paspāēlat kalaldora biju tum-pāēla halahat Gedarakuṁbura biju amun[15]at uḍuvala ladaṁba-
3. lāden[15]iya biju amun[15]at palmulla biju depāēlat yana mekī mul biju pahamun[15]u depāēla halahē vapasariyat mīṭa aḍuttu goḍa maḍa

[1] kīrti.
[2] sūrya.
[3] çatru.
[4] n.
[5] ṇ.
[6] ç.
[7] jagadīçvara.
[8] ñ.
[9] nagarāṇga.
[10] çrī-samṛddha.
[11] svarṇa.
[12] asadṛça.
[13] -raṇīçvaravū.
[14] praveṇi.
[15] ṇ.

4. gevatu gahakola valvil aṅgu-dalupat saha mekungē daru munuburu vargga [1] paramparāva dakvā niravulva bhukti vidi- [2]
5. nā raṅgaṭa Çaka varṣa ekvādahas-satsiya visipahaṭa pæminṭ rudhirōt[3]gārī namvū mē varṣayehi mædindina ava ekole- [4]
6. s vak nam tithiya lat sikurādā me davasa mē sanhasa devā vadāla paṇatat ēpaṇatat.
7. mesēma paṇivuḍa paṇatayi.

Translation.

Hail! Our noble and divine lord of lords, the most exalted [and] eminent lord of the world, the chief of Tri-Siṁhala (Ceylon), endowed with a lion-like might capable of destroying a host of elephant-like foreign enemies, who is born of the exceedingly pure [and] noble solar dynasty, who is possessed of heroic lustre [and] of renown [and] glory that has spread in many a distant region, who is like unto a mine of compassion and is versed in all the *Çāstras*, who is of pure and charming character, being of the lineage of Sumitra, and who is like unto a sportive bee upon the lotus-feet of Buddha. [His majesty], having ascended the exalted lion-throne of gold in the chief city of Çrīvardhanapura (Kandy), which is replete with all the wealth and requisites of cities, [and] being seated with the mien of Çakra, the chief of the gods, [he,] by the majesty of his incomparable, very profound, exalted, and most beneficent divine knowledge, delivered the [following] order:—

Whereas Bannæka Herat Mudaliyā, of the village Doraṇāgama, hath, with good will and loyalty, performed services to the noble royal house, which is supreme on earth; and whereas he has [already] possessions [in the

[1] varga.
[2] viṅḍi-
[3] d.
[4] ḷo.

district], he was granted one *pēla* of seed [paddy, in sowing extent] of Vaṭavalatænna, three *pēl* of seed [paddy in extent] of Palkoḍa in Pāpola, five *pēl* of Gamakumbura, three *pēl* and 6 *lās*[1] of Kalaldora, one *amuṇa* of Gedarakumbura, one *amuṇa* of Ladambalādeṇiya in Uḍuvala, and two *pēl* of Palmulla, which were included in the share that was [reckoned as] the *praveni* land at Ratavana, in Kulugammana Siyapattuva, situate in Hārasiyapattuva. The aforesaid [land, forming] in all five *amuṇu* two *pēl* and 6 *lās* of seed [paddy] in sowing extent, together with the high and low ground, houses and gardens, trees and plants, tanks and ponds, and plantations, appertaining thereto, is to be possessed without dispute by [him], his children, grandchildren, and their descendants.

In the year, named Rudhirodgārī, of Çaka 1725, on Friday, the 11th day of the waning moon of the month of Mædindina ; on this day the order delivered when granting this *sannasa*—this [very] order is thus the proclaimed decree.

[1] A *laha* or *lāha* (plur. *lās*) = a *kuruṇiya* ($\frac{1}{8}$ bushel).

ART. XX.—*Some Notes on Past and Future Archæological Explorations in India.* By G. BÜHLER, Hon. Member Royal Asiatic Society.

JUST thirty-five years ago, in 1860, the Government of India agreed to institute an Archæological Survey of Upper India, and thus to take an active part in the exploration of the numerous and extensive historical remains of the country, which task until then had been left to the desultory efforts (occasionally aided by grants from the public funds) of the learned societies and private individuals. Adverse circumstances, however, very soon counteracted the effects of this official recognition of the claims of antiquarian research to continued Government assistance and guidance. Already in 1866 financial pressure induced Lord Lawrence to stop the work which Sir A. Cunningham had barely begun. The Survey was abolished, and there followed a regrettable time of inaction, which lasted until 1870, when, in consequence of urgent representations from various influential quarters, and especially from eminent members of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Secretary of State and the Supreme Government of India consented to return to the principle laid down in 1860. The next result was the re-opening of the Archæological Survey for the Northern half of India, which was now organized on a larger scale, and the issue of orders by the Secretary of State for the registration and preservation of the historical monuments all over India. Soon afterwards, in 1873, the Government of Bombay was permitted to establish a survey of its own for the Western Presidency, and somewhat later the Government of Madras likewise directed its attention to the

collection of notes regarding the antiquities of Southern India and to their scientific exploration. The movement, begun in 1870, continued in full force for nearly twenty years, and extended during this period even to the more advanced Native States. The Mahārājas of Mysore, Baroda, Bhaunagar; Jepur and Udepur in Rajputana, and others, either availed themselves of the services of the Archæological Surveyors or established small departments of their own, among which the Jepur and Mysore Surveys especially have furnished most valuable contributions. But in 1889, with the abolition of the post of the Director-General of the Survey, a reaction began, which since has become more and more perceptible. The number of the Provincial Surveyors who at first were allowed to continue their work has been reduced almost every year, and the few men still kept on are engaged merely for short terms, some of which are now close on their expiration. These facts look as if the statements, now and then appearing in the newspapers, were not without foundation according to which Government intends, or at least is not disinclined, to sever its connection with antiquarian research in a few years, and perhaps to entirely withdraw its aid.

Even the possibility of such a prospect naturally causes deep concern and regret to all those engaged or interested in Indian research, as the stoppage of Government assistance would most seriously impede, perhaps make impossible, the further reconstruction of the political, religious, and literary history of India, which undoubtedly possesses a great and general interest, not only for the Hindus but for the whole civilized world. The possibility of such a prospect makes it also incumbent on all Orientalists and friends of India to raise their voice and once more to urge on the Indian Government the necessity for the continuation of the enlightened policy adopted in 1870, in spite of the no doubt considerable financial difficulties of the present day. Already the late Congress of Geneva has spoken on the subject, and has passed a resolution addressing a petition to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and to the

Viceroy in favour of the preservation of the Aśoka inscriptions, and of the preparation of impressions to be deposited in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. Something more is, however, required, and with the hope that the Royal Asiatic Society, which is most nearly concerned with the question, and whose action will, no doubt, possess the greatest influence, may be induced to move in the matter, I venture to offer, at the request of a distinguished member of its Council, the subjoined notes on past and present archæological explorations, intended to show the necessity of the continuation of the work and to indicate the direction in which it ought to be carried on.

The operations falling within the province of the Archæological Survey may be classed under three main heads—(1) the registration of the visible architectural and epigraphic monuments, as well as the description and the identification of the ancient ruins; (2) the preparation of exact reproductions of the visible monuments and their publication, with the necessary explanations, viz. scientific discussions of the sculptures and architectural details, as well as transcripts and translations of the inscriptions; and (3) excavations of the more promising and historically important fields of ruins.

Work of all these three classes has been undertaken by the officers of the Archæological Survey, with the assistance of a large number of outsiders, but the amount of attention which each has received and the results actually achieved vary very considerably. With the description of the old sites and the registration of the visible monuments, which naturally must precede the other operations and at the same time presented least difficulties, by far the greatest progress has been made.

The several Series of Survey Reports and Papers contain an enormous mass of information regarding the location of many thousands of architectural monuments, sculptures, and inscriptions, scattered over nearly the whole of India, and, though additions no doubt would be possible for most districts, they yet give the archæologist a very good general

idea where the chief fields for his labours lie. There is only one larger tract, Western Rajputana, which has not yet received its due share of attention. It is also highly desirable that the notes should be arranged for all the Presidencies and minor territorial divisions as systematically and intelligibly as has been done by Mr. Sewell for Madras,[1] and by Dr. Führer for the N.W. Provinces.[2]

With respect to the operations falling under the second head, the preparation of drawings and photographs of architectural monuments and sculptures, and of impressions of inscriptions, as well as their publication, it is only possible to say that a very fair beginning has been made. Something appreciable has no doubt been done, but much more remains to be accomplished.

As regards Indian art, Sir A. Cunningham's volumes on Bharahut and Gayā, Major Cole's photographs, and Colonel Maisey's work on Sanchi give, together with Dr. Fergusson's older publication, a good general idea of its state during the Maurya and Śuṅga periods. But it is a matter of regret that the sculptures of the Sanchi and Bharahut Stupas have not been published all and throughout on such a scale as to be of service to the student of archæology. The art of the Andhra period has been illustrated very fully by Dr. Burgess in several volumes of his Arch. Survey Reports, and has been treated systematically by the same scholar and Dr. Fergusson in the "Cave Temples of India." To Dr. Burgess' Reports we owe also our knowledge of the development of Indian art during the rule of the Chalukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas over the northern Dekhan, and of the Chaulukyas and Jeṭhvās over Gujarat and Kathiawar. Further publications referring to Southern India, and based on Dr. Burgess' own and others' ample collections of photographs and drawings (mostly in the India Office),

[1] Lists of Antiquities of Madras.

[2] Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions of the North-West Provinces. I am glad to see that Dr. Führer's Progress Report for 1893–94, which reached me after the above notes were written, speaks of the preparation of such a compilation for the Panjab.

are in course of preparation. Mr. Griggs' plucky resolution to publish autotypes of the Ajanta Paintings will satisfy another want, long felt by all archæologists.

As regards Upper and Central India, many notices and illustrations of monuments from the times of the Indo-Scythians, the Guptas, the Pālas, Chandellas, Kalachuris, and other dynasties, as well as important discussions on various styles of architecture, are scattered in Sir A. Cunningham's Survey Reports. But not a single period has been treated exhaustively, or with such details as to give a perfectly clear idea of all its characteristics. The Survey Reports are a perfect mine of information and of most valuable suggestions, but difficult to use for any but those few students who possess other extensive collections of materials. The real work, I fear, has still to be done for the districts to which the Survey Reports refer, and it is a task of very considerable magnitude, which will require years, not only of office work but of new researches in the ancient sites—even if merely the most important periods and styles are taken up. To the most pressing wants belong systematically arranged comprehensive works on all the known so-called Indo-Grecian sculptures, of which Major Cole's photographs only give a portion, and on the native Indian art of the Indo-Scythian and Gupta periods.

With respect to Epigraphy, for which, owing to the insufficiency of the earlier facsimiles and estampages, a new beginning had to be made, matters stand, no doubt, even better. But much, very much, has still to be done before the accessible monuments can all be published in critical editions. Thanks to the efforts of Drs. Burgess, Fleet, Führer, and Hultzsch, trustworthy impressions of all the inscriptions of the Maurya period have been prepared, and very good facsimiles of most of them have appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Indian Antiquary*. The only desiderata for this period are complete photolithographs of the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Rock Edicts, of the Bairat Edict to the Saṁgha, the otherwise excellent autotype of

which, published by M. Senart in the Journal Asiatique, is on too small a scale, and of the newly discovered Niglīva Pillar Edicts, as well as perhaps some more specimens of the 450 small votive inscriptions from the Sanchi Stupas. Among the few inscriptions of the next two centuries the large Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela requires a good impression and facsimile. As regards the Śaka and Kushana periods, the inscriptions in Kharoshṭhī must nearly all be re-edited with facsimiles, and the series of those in Brāhma characters has to be completed. The partly contemporaneous and partly somewhat later documents of the Western Kshatrapas, the Andhras, and the Abhīras require, with the exception of a few inscriptions from Kathiawar and a certain number from Kanheri, nothing further than what has been done for them by Dr. Burgess in his Survey Reports of Western India. The epigraphic remains of the dynasties ruling in Western India and the Northern Dekhan during the fifth and later centuries, have been published in great abundance in the *Indian Antiquary*, the Western India Reports, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in the Journal Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.[1] The inscriptions from Southern India are well represented in the volume of the Southern India Reports, the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and Dr. Hultzsch's two volumes of South-Indian inscriptions. But in spite of the great progress made, especially since Dr. Hultzsch's appointment as epigraphist, there is work for many years, as the number of the known, but untouched, inscriptions in the Madras Presidency amounts to many thousands.

Among the inscriptions of the dynasties which held Central and Upper India after the Indo-Scythic period, those of the Guptas alone have been edited fully and on scientific principles—by Dr. Fleet in vol. iii of the *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*. For the documents belonging to all the other

[1] Additional unpublished documents are, however, in existence, especially in the collections of the late Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, mentions, or gives extracts from, various Silahāra and Sendraka inscriptions in his possession.

numerous races a great deal remains to be done. Though the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and the later volumes of the Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal contain, perhaps, a hundred or more inscriptions of the later rulers of Kanauj, of the Pālas, Senas, the kings of Nepal, the Kalachuris, Chandellas, and Paramāras, and of other less notable families, in good editions and with good reproductions, there are several hundreds noticed or given in insufficient facsimiles in the Archæological Survey Reports of India. A number of tours will have to be undertaken in order to collect the fresh materials, and the work will take years.

As regards the operations falling under the third head, the excavations, it is impossible to deny that little has been done beyond what might be called "prospecting." A very considerable number of Stupas have no doubt been opened, rifled of their deposits, and searched for inscriptions. Surface diggings and small clearings have also been made and archæological wells have been sunk, as Sir A. Cunningham's Reports show, in many of the ancient mounds and fields of ruins. But really scientific excavations, as understood at present, which lay bare the whole of the monuments or sites to be explored, have been attempted only in very few places, as at Sanchi, Gayā, Bharahut, Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta, and quite recently at Bhaṭṭiprolu, and in the Kankali Tila at Mathurā. In all these cases only single monuments or small groups have been attacked, which, with a single exception, are not situated in the ancient centres of civilization, but either in isolated positions or in towns, which have sprung up and become famous as places of pilgrimage in consequence of the existence of the monuments. And all the monuments excavated belong (again with one exception) solely to the Buddhists, who were, as recent researches have shown more and more clearly, by no means the oldest nor the only important sect of ancient India.

The reasons which have induced the Indian archæologists to pay less attention to excavations than to the other branches of their work, are clear enough and perfectly

sufficient. It was, no doubt, their first duty to ascertain and register the localities where the historical remains are found, and to make known the monuments still visible on the surface. And the costliness of extensive excavations made it advisable either merely "to prospect" or to attempt a full exploration only in such places where success was an absolute certainty.

The results, which even these restricted operations have yielded, undeniably possess a very high value. They have extended our knowledge of Indian art very considerably. They have brought to light many hundreds of epigraphic documents, some of which, like those on the Jaina sculptures at Mathurā, are of the first importance for the political and religious history of India, while others, like the inscriptions on the Bhaṭṭiprolu relic caskets, and the masons' alphabet at Gayā, are invaluable for palæography. They have even thrown a new light on a portion of the ancient Buddhist literature, as the inscribed medallions at Bharahut permit us now to ascribe with confidence a high antiquity to the important Jātaka texts. This undeniable and great success is certainly a strong argument in favour of further excavations. But I believe that a still stronger case may be made out for their continuation on a definite plan, framed in accordance with the experiences gained, and with the most pressing wants of Indian historical research.

A real progress with the reconstruction of Indian history can only be made if new authentic documents are obtained, such as are older than Aśoka's, as well as such as will fill up the great gaps which occur in the second and first centuries B.C. and in the third and fourth centuries A.D. And such will be only found underground, and partly only at a considerable depth. The expectation that inscriptions of the times of the first two Mauryas, and of the dynasties which preceded them in the fourth and fifth centuries, may and will turn up, is, I think, by no means unfounded. Both the literary and the palæographic evidence shows that the art of writing was known and extensively practised in India for several centuries before Aśoka's times, and

there are even some inscribed coins, which cannot be later than the fourth century. To these belong certainly the Persian Sigloi, with countermarks in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī, discovered by Mr. Rapson, and very probably some of the native Indian coins found by Sir A. Cunningham at Taxila, Eraṇ, and in other ancient sites. Moreover, the probability that writing was used, not only for marking coins but for longer inscriptions, becomes very strong, through certain stories contained in the Buddhist canon. The Jātakas tell us that kings inscribed "the laws of the Kurus," the maxims of good government, and verses of their own composition on gold plates, and that even merchants perpetuated the record of their family history in the same manner; and the Mahāvagga speaks of a proclaimed thief, whose name was put up in the royal palace. Such statements certainly point to the conclusion that the times when they were written were not destitute of epigraphic documents, and the works in which they occur appear to be older than the third century. With respect to the other two periods mentioned, which fall after Aśoka's times, there can be no doubt that they were rich in epigraphic documents, and that remnants will turn up if they are looked for in the right places. At present we possess barely a dozen inscriptions from the second and first centuries B.C., and the period from 200–350 A.D. is for Upper India almost a blank.

The answer to the question where our desiderata may be expected to turn up and should be looked for, can only be that the search for them must be instituted in those fields of ruins which the Archæological Survey has proved to be the remains of the capitals of the ancient empires, or of great centres of the national life. Such sites are chiefly found in Upper India, where their number is so great that their exploration cannot possibly be undertaken at once, even if the Government of India could be induced to sanction as large an expenditure on archæological work as the sums allotted to the Survey in its palmiest days. If a practical result is to be attained, a selection must be

made, and a few of those places be chosen for thorough excavations where the results are likely to be most important. And I believe that it will be amply sufficient if I point out three, one for each of the great territorial divisions of Upper India, and briefly give my opinion about their respective merits.

The most important historical site in the whole of India is, without a question, Patna-Pāṭaliputra, which was the seat of the Government of India in the days of the Nandas and Mauryas (between *ca.* 420–195 B.C.), and probably the capital of an important kingdom even in much later times. It seems most wonderful that the numerous ruins in such a place should have remained unexcavated for so long a time. The reason probably is that the first surveyors believed the ancient buildings to have been swept away by the river. But now both Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. Waddell, the latest authorities on the historical remains of Patna, though differing in details, agree that the ruins of the palaces of the Nandas and of Aśoka, and those of the other buildings described by the Chinese pilgrims, are traceable. Moreover, Dr. Waddell points out a number of workable places, in which ancient sculptures have been found and are still being found. This is sufficient to justify an attempt at thorough excavations, which, if carried on with the necessary care and perseverance, will no doubt place the ancient history of India on a much sounder and more solid basis.[1]

Next in importance would be the continuation of the explorations at Mathurā, and thorough excavations in the ruins of Shah Deri or Taxila. With respect to Mathurā, the important finds of Pandit Bhagvānlāl, the results obtained by Sir A. Cunningham and by Dr. Burgess, and the splendid success of Dr. Führer in 1889–91, which put the history of the Jaina sect into altogether a new light, do not leave the slightest doubt that its numerous untouched

[1] I am glad to see that Dr. Führer's Progress Report for 1893-94, which came into my hands after the above notes were written, holds out the prospect of an excavation of Aśoka's palace during the next season.

or superficially explored mounds will yield a great store of important inscriptions and valuable sculptures. Their persistent and careful exploration will certainly throw light on the dark period between 200–350 A.D., and bring additions to the inscriptions of the second and first centuries B.C. Possibly it may also produce something for the period before Aśoka, as the Greek accounts prove the existence of the worship of Kṛshṇa in the fourth century B.C. Perhaps a search, instituted in the accessible parts of the Katra Mound, under which lies *inter alia* the old temple of Keśava, may lead to discoveries which are of importance for the history of Vaishṇavism.

The selection of Shah Deri or Taxila for operations in the Panjab seems advisable for many reasons. Its ruins, among which Sir A. Cunningham[1] has traced fifty-five Stupas, twenty monasteries, and nine temples, extend over six square miles, and are, according to the same authority, in a better state of preservation than those of any old town in the Panjab. Even with the "prospecting" undertaken hitherto, they have furnished various very important inscriptions, like the Society's famous copper-plate of Patika, as well as numerous highly interesting sculptures, among them, according to Sir A. Cunningham, the only real Greek column ever found in India, and a large number of very valuable coins, some of which are inscribed with legends in the oldest Kharoshṭhī and Brāhma characters, and probably belong to the end of the fourth century. To these points may be added that, according to numerous passages of the Buddhist canon, Taxila was the greatest university of India during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and possibly earlier, to which even the Brahmans and Kshatriyas of Benares and Eastern India flocked in order to study the three Vedas and the eighteen branches of science under world-renowned teachers, and that also the Greek authors bear witness to its wealth and importance. The site of such a city, which besides was for a long time

[1] Arch. Survey Rep., vol. ii, p. 111 ff.

under Greek rule, will, if patiently and carefully explored, in all probability yield results important for the history of various periods.

The circumstances stated furnish, it seems to me, good reasons for making an effort to secure the continuation of the archæological and epigraphic work in India. And if it is decided to make such an effort, the points to which particular prominence ought to be given are, in my opinion—

(1) The maintenance of an Archæological Survey, with at least one duly qualified officer for each of the larger territorial divisions, especially for those of Upper India.

(2) The necessity of employing these Archæological Surveyors both to fill up the gaps left in the work of former years (mentioned above under heads 1–2), and to carry on thorough and scientific excavations, which, in the first instance, should be restricted to the most important site in each province (whether that proposed above or some other found to be more suitable on further consideration), and should be continued until the site is completely cleared.

(3) The continuation of the epigraphic work, particularly in Madras, under a competent Epigraphist, who should also, as under the present arrangements, edit the *Epigraphia Indica*, the future existence of which periodical ought likewise to be assured.

(4) In addition it would be, perhaps, advisable to call attention to the fact that the consultation of experts or of the Asiatic Societies of India and England, with reference to the work of the Archæological Surveyors, would be most beneficial and important for the due progress of their work.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Rajuka or Lajuka.

Netherclay House, Taunton,
April 24th, 1895.

Dear Sir,—In a short article at p. 466, vol. xlvii, of the Zeitschrift d. D.M.G., Dr. Bühler proves that the word Lajuka or Rajuka, used in Asoka's edicts to denote some high official, is a shortened form of Rajjuggahaka (=Skr. -grahaka) "rope-holder," and that the title was derived from the circumstance that the official in question was employed (probably among other things) in measuring fields with a rope for the purpose of assessing them to land revenue, then, as now, one of the most important duties of officials in India. This derivation seems on all grounds unassailable, but I may, perhaps, point out a curious confirmation of it in an official title still existing. As is well known, the chief native official in a collector's office (and in many other offices also) is still known by the title of "Serishtadar," as it is commonly written. This is the Persian phrase, سر رشته دار *sar-i rishta dār*, literally "he who holds the end of a rope." We have been accustomed to regard the word as meaning "one who conducts or rules the sarrishta," and the term "sarrishta" is now commonly used to imply an office or department. But by what far-fetched metaphor it came to have this meaning I never could understand. The matter seems now clear. Dr. Bühler rightly denies to Todar Mal, the great finance

minister of Akbar, the honour of having invented the modern land-revenue system of India. He, of course, merely modified and improved a system which had been in existence for centuries before his time. But he probably found the old Prakrit term rājuka in common use, and naturally enquired into its meaning, which he forthwith translated into Persian *sar-i rishta dār*. It is true that a modern sarishtadar's duties are no longer confined to settlement work, nor does he often condescend to hold the rope himself. But the rope is still used for measuring lands in settlement proceedings, where it has not been superseded by the bamboo *laggi*, or the more scientific Gunter's chain, and Dr. Bühler's explanation is undoubtedly the solution of the puzzle which has exercised so many English officers in India, why the highly respectable and experienced head of a large office should be designated by the simple title of "one who holds the end of a rope."
—Yours truly,

JOHN BEAMES.

2. VIDYĀDHARA PIṬAKA.

In the letter from Mons. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, in our last issue, readers are requested to correct the following misprints:—

p. 435,	lines 13, 23,	*for*	Tapās	*read*	Japās.
p. 436,	line 6,	„	correct	„	collect.
„	line 29	„	Kangika	„	Kauṣika.

3. ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

SIR,—The discussion of Hofrath G. Bühler's proposals as to future Archæological Research in India ended without any definite vote of our meeting on June 11th; and I myself, speaking late and pressed for time, could say little. I have, therefore, the honour to offer the following remarks in black and white:—

The first point in the matter is, that in the present state of Indian finance the Government of India cannot be expected to spend much money on research.

The second is, that any researches carried out by other machinery are likely to be unsystematic in execution, and still more in record, especially in the case of excavations. These, if not most carefully planned and supervised, are apt to obliterate more than they bring to light. And unless their record is kept, at the pit's mouth, by a skilled observer, what is brought to light might often much better have been left under the kindly protection of the earth, until time and funds were available for deliberate and thorough research. It happens that small objects are overlooked or stolen by the coolies; that the exact position of objects found escapes observation, or is even misstated; and that heavy materials, such as sculptures or walls, are left exposed, and destroyed, misappropriated, or injured by mere weather-wear. All these things have happened within my own experience, and in that of many other members of our Society. I need only touch upon the obvious probability of waste of money.

What has chiefly to be considered is how the risk of fruitless or mischievous research is to be, as far as possible, avoided, at reduced expense, until better days come.

In quoting Hofrath Bühler's paper I must, of course, trust to memory; and write subject to correction. But his principal point, as I take it, is that there should be in each province an officer acting as the archæological adviser of Government; without consulting whom

(*a*) No expenditure of public funds on archæological research should be sanctioned.

(*b*) No object of archæological interest in the possession (or under the control) of Government should be disposed of.

(*c*) No excavation, or other research, likely to alter the condition or position of any such object should be encouraged by any public servant, even in regard to places and objects not directly under such control.

(*d*) And through whom all such researches should, as far as possible, be reported to the Provincial Government.

This proposal, in a general way, appeared to have had the approval of the meeting. It is eminently practicable, as might be expected from a scholar distinguished, amongst those who knew him well, for administrative skill and intimate knowledge of district and political business in the mofussil.

In a province where financial exigencies prevent the appointment of a special Archæological Surveyor, it may frequently be found possible to assign the duties of the office to some qualified officer of the Revenue, Educational, or Public Works Department, "in addition to his own duties," with or without addition to his personal salary; but, of course, with a proper establishment and accommodation, which need not be very costly.

Only those who have very lately served in India can know how much the work of the past has increased general interest and individual acquirements, in archæology as in other sciences, amongst Her Majesty's servants in that country. In the departments named the average level of acquirement in such matters is such as would have earned special notice only twenty years ago. I am speaking here especially of Archæology, which comes most home to their officers. Other branches of science are more in the way of those of other departments, though there is no branch of the service without antiquaries, particularly numismatists. There are, indeed, competent scholars outside of the services; but their presence only requires acknowledgment here, as an archæological officer of Government must necessarily be its servant, and under its full control. The business is one which could not, I think, be properly assigned even to the local learned societies.

I need not here discuss the duties of an archæological surveyor, well enough ascertained by experience, nor the methods of research which he should adopt, nor even the fields of operation. Enough about these matters was said at the meeting of the 11th of June by other speakers.

But there is one point of detail too often neglected in India, and that is the necessity of recording possession and proper custody of such objects as sculptures. These are not unfrequently brought into offices, courts, gardens of public buildings, or store-yards, fit enough to hold them, at least for a time. But it commonly happens that they are simply left there, and not entered in the stock-books as Government property; for the custody of which some particular public servant is responsible. In consequence, their provenance and ownership soon become mere matter of tradition amongst underlings; and they are too often mislaid or misappropriated.

It should be a standing order of all departments that such objects should be entered in the stock-books, just as much as office chairs and tables worth a few rupees, and copy of the entry sent to the Archæological Surveyor.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

June 12th, 1895.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

4. THE JAINS.

The Homestead, Barnes.
7th July, 1895.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to the paper recently read before the Society on the subject of the Jain religion, it may be of interest to members to have the following translation of the opening words of the 104th Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya:—

"Thus have I heard. Once on a time the Blessed One was dwelling among the Sakyas in Sāmagāma. Now it was at this time that Niganṭha Nātaputta had just died at Pāvā. By reason of his death the Niganṭhas were broken up, divided into two camps, filled with dissension and contention, and were always wounding one another with

ing words, such as[1]—'You don't understand this Doctrine and Rule; *I* do. How can you understand this Doctrine and Rule? Your conduct is crooked, mine upright. What I say is to the point; what you say is irrelevant. You say last what ought to be said first; and you say first what ought to be said last. I have refuted your theses; your errors are exposed; you are put to shame. Begone and purge yourself of your errors; or defend yourself if you can.' Indeed, the followers of Niganṭha Nātaputta appear to have gone to any lengths short of murder. As for those disciples of Niganṭha Nātaputta who were of the laity and wore the white robe [of the layman], they, too, were sick and disgusted and in revolt against the following of Niganṭha Nātaputta, as with an ill-preached and ill-taught Doctrine and Rule, leading not to salvation, offering no asylum, not proclaimed by a Very Buddha, a broken shrine, in which was no refuge."

Unfortunately the Sutta gives no further details; and Buddhaghosa's commentary is silent on the subject of Niganṭha Nātaputta.—Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CHALMERS.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[1] This is a stock passage (occurring *e.g.* at p. 8 of vol. i of the Dīgha Nikāya in the Pāli Text Society's edition), and cannot be regarded as historical here. In the 77th Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the same words are used by the revolting disciples of Pūraṇa Kassapa against their master, who, like Niganṭha Nātaputta, was a rival of Gotama.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1895.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

9th April, 1895.—Mr. E. L. Brandreth (Hon. Treasurer) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Captain Bower,
Professor P. Sunderam Pillai,
Mr. Walter Lupton, I.C.S.,
The Rev. F. B. Shawe,
Dr. Ed. Müller, and
Syed Muhammed Latif

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. G. Phillips, M.R.A.S., read a paper on "Mahuan's Account of Bengala." The paper appears in the present number.

7th May, 1895, *Annual Meeting.*—Lord Reay (President) in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Maharāja of Travancore,
Mr. Percival Lowell, and
Mr. Horace Peatling

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids (Secretary) read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1894.

The Council regrets to have to report the loss, by death or retirement, during the year 1894, of the following twenty-seven ordinary members :—

There have died—

1. Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson,
2. Mr. Walter Hooper,
3. Mons. Terrien de Lacouperie,
4. Sir Austen Layard,
5. The Rev. Dr. R. Morris,
6. General Maclagan,
7. Mr. G. T. Peppe,
8. Kavi Raja Shymal Das,
9. Prof. Robertson Smith,
10. Sir H. Verney,
11. Colonel Walsh,
12. Lord Wentworth,
13. Colonel Holroyd.

There have resigned—

1. Mr. T. Adkins,
2. The Rev. C. C. Brown,
3. Mr. H. H. Butts,
4. Mr. A. Constable,
5. Mr. W. Davies,
6. Mr. W. J. Dickson,
7. Sir Lepel Griffin,
8. Mr. W. Heinemann,
9. Mr. G. H. Hoffmann,
10. Mons. C. Montet,
11. Mr. Rees Phillips,
12. Mr. W. Richer,
13. Sir R. Temple,
14. Vidyā Bhaskar Pandit Lāl Chandra.

On the other hand, the following thirty new members have been elected :—

1. Mr. G. R. S. Mead,
2. The Rev. A. Kluht,
3. The Rev. T. Witton Davies,
4. Mrs. Plimmer,
5. Mr. N. Elias,
6. Prof. Kalipada Banerji,
7. Mr. J. Beames,
8. Prof. Sanjiban Ganguli,
9. Prof. Serge D'Oldenburg,
10. Mr. A. C. Taylor,
11. Sardar Sir Atār Singh,
12. General G. G. Alexander,
13. Mr. R. Stevenson,
14. Captain P. R. Gurdon,
15. Munshi Debiprasad,
16. Prof. James Gray,
17. Mr. C. H. Wylde,
18. Mr. J. M'Crone Douie,
19. Mr. E. D. Maclagan,
20. Mr. E. Rose,
21. Mr. E. D. Ross,
22. Mr. H. Nelson Wright,
23. Colonel G. A. Jacob,
24. Mr. F. A. Coleridge,
25. Mr. A. J. May,
26. Mr. M. N. Dutt,
27. Mr. C. A. Fox,
28. Mr. E. D. H. Fraser,
29. Mr. Bickford-Smith,
30. Mdme. Ragozin.

One subscribing library, the Philadelphia Mercantile, has resigned; and three others, the Columbia College, New York, the Zürich Town Library, and the Geological Society, have become subscribers.

Since January of this year we have further lost by death the following three members:—

1. Mr. Hyde Clarke,
2. Sir W. Mackinnon,
3. Sir Henry Rawlinson.

On the other hand, there have been elected the following twenty members:—

1. The Rev. W. G. Shellabear,
2. Miss Kennedy,
3. Major Livermore,
4. Mr. C. Otto Blagden,
5. Mr. Kunwar Kushal Pal Sinha,
6. Mr. H. Raynbird,
7. The Rev. J. J. Bambridge,
8. Mr. G. Phillips,
9. Mr. Diwan Tek Chand,
10. Mrs. Bode,
11. Mr. A. Nicholson,
12. Prof. E. Müller,
13. The Rev. F. B. Shawe,
14. Prof. P. Sunderam Pillai,
15. Captain Bower,
16. Mr. W. Lupton,
17. Syed Muhammed Latif,
18. Mr. Percival Lowell,
19. Mr. H. Peatling,
20. H.H. the Maharāja of Travancore.

Four libraries have also become subscribing members, so that the total up to date comes to 514, which is the largest number of members and subscribers that the Society has had since its formation.

It may be well to recall the fact that in the first year of the Society's existence there were 217 paying members. That number gradually dropped, with some spasmodic increases, till in 1874 it had fallen to 153, and in 1876

to its lowest point, namely 143. It then gradually rose, with slight fluctuations, till in the year under review it was 281, or very nearly double the lowest point of eighteen years ago. To ascertain the full number of members and subscribers it is necessary to add the Honorary Members, the Compounding Members, and the Library Members.

The number of Honorary Members remained stationary at between thirty and thirty-five for many years, and has now been permanently fixed at thirty, and oddly enough the number of Compounders on our books in any one year has but very slightly varied. They were 111 in the Society's first year, 93 thirty years afterwards, in 1864, and 106 last year, after another lapse of thirty years.

The permission to become subscribing members was only granted to libraries in 1889. Since then the number of adherents under this head has steadily, if slowly, increased till it stood on the 1st of January at 38, and is now 42. There are also between fifty and sixty other libraries which purchase our Journal through the booksellers without giving us their names. All such sales were, for many years, a perquisite of the publisher, as were also the advertisements. The receipts from these sources appearing this year in the Society's accounts amount to £181 6*s.* 1*d.* The unused copies of the Society's Journal, that is, those not issued to subscribers, were also formerly a perquisite of the publishers. These are now all stored on the Society's premises, and a regular stock-book is kept as a record of the Society's property in this respect.

The accounts also show an amount of £400 placed on deposit, and £200 withdrawn from deposit. The remaining sum of £200 has been invested in the purchase of £177 Midland 3 per cent. Debenture Stocks, and a further £50 has been deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank. This brings the capital account of the Society up to £1170. That account stood in 1887 at £1200, but had been reduced chiefly by the very heavy expenditure on repairs, and especially on the roof, rendered necessary at the expiration of the lease of the Society's rooms by the terms of the

lease. It was very desirable to replace the amount as soon as the Society's finances allowed; and the Council is glad that it has been able to do so, so nearly, during the year 1894. This year the Council have more than made up the full original amount of £1200 by placing another £50 to the credit of the Society's deposit account in the Post Office Savings Bank, so that the total capital account now stands at £1220—and this has been done without withdrawing any sums from the expenditure on the Journal or the Library.

The printing of the Journal and illustrations cost this year £324, as against £318 last year; and the accounts again show a heavy expenditure on the library, not so much, indeed, as last year, but much more than the amounts the Council was able to spend in previous years.

The following table will show the total amounts spent on the library for the years 1855–1894 :—

	Binding.	New Books.	Appliances and Catalogue.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1855 ...	10 0 0 ...	13 0 0 ...	...	23 0 0
1856 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1857 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1858 ...	10 0 0 ...	5 0 0 ...	...	15 0 0
1859 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1860 ...	10 0 0 (about)	None ...	...	10 0 0
1861 ...	28 14 7 ...	None ...	...	28 14 7
1862 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1863 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1864 ...	15 4 6 ...	None ...	...	15 4 6
1865 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1866 ...	9 2 6 ...	None ...	...	9 2 6
1867 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None
1868 ...	6 16 6 ...	None ...	...	6 16 6
1869 ...	9 8 7 ...	None ...	...	9 8 7
1870 ...	1 11 10 ...	None ...	...	1 11 10
1871 ...	15 7 10 ...	None ...	...	15 7 10
1872 ...	22 3 1 ...	None ...	...	22 3 1
1873 ...	11 18 6 ...	None ...	...	11 18 6
1874 ...	None ...	None ...	...	None

	Binding.	New Books.	Appliances and Catalogue.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1875	9 12 2	None		9 12 2
1876	1 0 6	6 8 6		7 9 0
1877	10 2 10	9 5 6		19 8 2
1878	5 9 0	None		5 9 0
1879	12 10 9	3 3 0	7 5 0	22 18 9
1880	20 1 11	15 15 0		35 16 11
1881	67 7 3	35 13 3	36 5 0	139 5 6
1882	51 5 11	46 15 0		98 0 11
1883	28 3 3	53 5 6		81 8 9
1884	28 16 3	90 18 3		119 14 6
1885	8 11 3	31 14 0		40 5 3
1886	23 16 11	32 6 1		56 3 0
1887	23 6 0	16 13 4		39 19 4
1888	22 4 9	10 0 0		32 4 9
1889	38 12 5	8 6 5		46 18 10
1890	36 14 6	19 18 9	10 0 0	66 13 3
1891	20 13 7	None	10 0 0	30 13 7
1892	42 6 6	14 0 6	12 4 3	68 11 3
1893	53 19 9	12 17 8	126 11 1	193 8 6
1894	31 13 0	17 6 1	68 3 0	117 2 1

The Council regrets that the expenditure on this head for this year shows so small an amount for new books. It will be seen that the principal item is on account of the new catalogue. But now that the catalogue has been completely paid for, more funds will be available for new books. The Council hopes to utilize the sum so set free to secure copies of all standard works as they from time to time appear. To fill up the gaps of former years is a more serious task, but part of the money the Council is now able to vote each year can be devoted to this end. The other items of expenditure call for little remark. The Council have thought it expedient to provide new stair carpets, which had not been renewed for many years, and the other items are fixed charges, which vary but little from year to year. The usual statement of accounts is submitted for inspection.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1894.

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance at Bank, January 1st, 1894	... ...	186 6 8
Subscriptions—		
91 Resident Members at £3 3s.	286 13 0	
2 „ „ (arrears)	6 6 0	
131 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s. (less 3d. lost by exchange)	196 9 9	
5 „ „ (in advance)... ...	11 5 0	
13 „ „ (arrears)	31 10 0	618 7 3
38 Non-Resident Members at £1 1s.	39 18 0	
1 Compounder's extra subscription at £1 13s.	1 13 0	
2 Compounders at £15 15s.	31 10 0	
1 Compounder at £13 2s. 6d.	13 2 6	
Donation from the India Office	... ...	210 0 0
Dividends on N.S.W. 4 per cent. Stock	31 2 0	32 5 8
Interest on Deposit	1 3 8	
Journal—		
Subscriptions	130 9 9	
Sale	36 4 0	
Sale of Index	13 6	185 12 9
Sale of Pamphlets	3 13 2	
Advertisements	14 12 4	
Sale of *Catalogue*	10 5 6	10 8 0
„ Chinese Catalogue	2 6	
Miscellaneous	... ...	48 4 10
Rents—		
Hellenic Society	80 0 0	
Numismatic Society	30 0 0	
Folk Lore Society	9 9 0	
Mathematical	19 9 0	174 13 0
Oriental Translation Fund	20 0 0	
Aristotelian Society	15 15 0	
		1465 18 2
Drawn from Deposit Account	...	200 0 0
Balance Petty Cash, Jan. 1st, 1894	...	2 18 3
		£1668 16 5

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House—Rent	345 10 0	
Insurance	4 0 0	
Water	9 10 0	
Gas	11 13 2	391 17 2
Coals	6 11 0	
Income Tax	3 4 2	
Repairs	11 8 10	
Salaries—Secretary and Assistant Secretary ...	... ...	225 0 0
Journal—Printing	297 13 3	324 13 3
Illustrations	27 0 0	
Library—Catalogue	62 10 6	
New Books	17 6 1	111 9 7
Binding	31 13 0	
Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc.	... ...	60 0 0
Stationery, etc.	... ...	20 8 6
Furniture	... ...	41 16 4
Lecture	... ...	5 5 0
Miscellaneous	... ...	3 17 0
Bank Charges	... ...	0 5 0
Placed on Deposit	... ...	400 0 0
Postage, Messengers, etc.	... ...	76 6 3
Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1894	...	6 6 4
do. Petty Cash	...	1 12 0
		£1668 16 5

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, February 1st, 1895.

F. F. ARBUTHNOT.
J. KENNEDY.
H. THOMSON LYON.

The Council has to report that the Oriental Translation Fund, started by Mr. Arbuthnot's generous example, has steadily progressed. Mr. Tawney's translation of the Kathā Kośa, for which Mr. Arbuthnot has himself provided the funds, has now appeared; and Prof. Thibaut's translation of the Pañca-daçī, the costs of which are defrayed by an anonymous friend, and Prof. Cowell's translation of the Harsha Carita, towards which Lord Northbrook contributes £100, and Mr. Boscawen's volume of Assyrian Texts are well in hand.

The Council has to regret the death of four of their Honorary Members—

Prof. Dillmann,
Prof. Whitney,
Brugsch Pasha, and
Prof. Darmesteter.

In their place the Council recommends the election of—

Prof. Naville,
M. Barth,
Prof. Tiele,
Prof. F. H. Müller, and
Prof. Donner.

By the rules of the Society five gentlemen, of whom two are re-eligible, retire from the Council, that is to say:

By seniority—

Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E.,
Mr. Delmar Morgan.

By least attendance—

Col. Plunkett, R.E.
Mr. Chalmers, and
The Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A.

In their place the Council recommends the election of—

Sir Raymond West,
Mr. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. Beveridge,
Mr. Robert Sewell, and
Mr. Henry Morris.

Under Rule 16 Professor Sayce and Professor Legge retire from the Vice-Presidency. The Council recommends their re-election for another term of three years.

The Council recommends the election of Sir W. W. Hunter as Vice-President of the Society.

Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., LL.D., said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of a report at once so satisfactory and so businesslike. It must be gratifying to the members of the Society to find that it is in a better position, financially and otherwise, than it has been for many years, and even than it was when it was started, with so great a flourish of trumpets, many years ago. There is one expression, indeed, to which I would take exception, the one which speaks of a large expenditure on the Library. I do not think that the accounts show what I should call a large expenditure on this head, and I trust that the funds of the Society will enable us in future years to increase very considerably the sums we can devote to the Library.

In looking over our financial position we shall not, I hope, ever overlook the great importance to the Society of a high level of value in the contributions to its Journal. It is only in recent years that the Council have ventured, first to issue a quarterly journal and afterwards to take the whole publishing arrangements into their own hands. Both these steps have been crowned with a large measure of success.

The very substantial Journal of the year 1894 contains twenty-four longer articles, apart from the shorter notes, reviews, and correspondence. These form, I think, a very

interesting and useful portion of our yearly volume, and might even, especially as regards the book notices, be wisely increased. The longer articles are, it is to be hoped, each and all of interest to the students of the particular branch dealt with; but I should wish to direct your attention to some of them that seem to me personally of particular interest. There is the article by Mr. Granville Browne on an old Persian commentary on the Kurān, which is one of the earliest specimens of Persian prose as yet made known to scholars. Then there is Mr. Robert Chalmers's text and translation of a very early document, probably as old as the fourth century B.C., on Indian Caste; and with this may be mentioned Miss Foley's account of a similar Sutta of like age, illustrating the psychological basis of Buddhist Ethics. Then we have Professor Sayce's article on the very ancient inscriptions from Van, in continuation of a series of similar articles, in which he has laid before the Society all that is known on these the earliest historical documents of the region now often called Armenia. My friend Prof. Bühler and Mr. Rapson have given us articles founded on the remains of a great native scholar—I mean Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, an honorary member of this Society—and dealing with archæological and numismatic questions of great importance for the early history of India. Professor Macdonell, of Oxford, has discussed two ancient Indian legends found in an old MS. of Shadguruṣishya; and Mr. Waddell has given us no less than four articles dealing with Tibetan Lamaism and Buddhist Archæology. Finally, Mr. Beveridge, for so many years a distinguished member and for some time President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, whose accession to the number of our working members we are glad to welcome, has given us a full account of a hitherto unpublished work, in Persian, on the history of Muhammadan India, entitled the Khalāṣat-at-Tawārīkh. All these articles are founded on historical material now for the first time made accessible to scholars, and are, therefore, real contributions to existing knowledge, not merely discussions about what is already known. This,

I venture to think, is precisely the sort of work which we desire to see in our Journal, and it is to my mind not a subject for regret, but the reverse, that so much of the work done has relation to India.

General Pearse, C.B., had much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. He felt that the Council had made the best use possible of the very limited means at the disposal of the Society, and begged to express his entire agreement with the words that had fallen from Sir Raymond West with regard to the articles in the Journal.

The President, in putting the resolution to the meeting, said: I am glad to be able to express my own thanks, and the thanks of the Society, to the writers of the interesting papers in the Journal, and to those who have at our meetings put before us valuable evidence of their researches in various fields of learning. We can, indeed, congratulate ourselves on the progress the Society is making. But our feelings should not merely be those of self-complacency. Indeed, we should guard against that, and rather compare our position with that of other countries who have such a smaller stake than our own in Oriental matters, but whose activity is so much greater. In that respect the Government will, I hope, take advantage of one opening which lies before it. A bill for the reconstruction of the University of London will very shortly be introduced in the House of Lords. And I have good reason to expect that the new body will be in every respect an Imperial University with an Oriental School not unworthy of our great Empire in the East, so that those Oriental scholars who have hitherto too often worked without suitable reward could receive due recognition for their labours. It is to be regretted that our Governments, both at home and in India —whilst the doctrine that the State, in higher educational matters, should leave everything to private initiative and support, is so universally being discarded—should still so often adhere to it where Oriental learning is concerned. The new University will, I trust, show that this is no longer to be the case, and that the new Oriental School

attached to it will be a credit to our nation and a centre of original and valuable research. Meanwhile it is a matter of legitimate pride to this Society that it has striven for so many years, and with so great a measure of success, to keep the lamp of Oriental learning alight in England.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Dr. Rost, Chairman of the Library Committee, moved that in Rule 67, instead of the words "The Council may, under special circumstances, suspend the operations of Rules 64 and 65," there should be read "May authorize the Secretary and Librarian to suspend, under special circumstances, the operation of Rules 64 and 65."

Sir Raymond West seconded the adoption of this slight alteration. It had already received the careful attention of the Library Committee of the Council, and would, no doubt, have the effect of making the Library more useful to the members of the Society.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi read a paper on the "History and Religion of the Jains."

He said the old error that the Jains were a sect or offshoot of the Buddhists was now universally abandoned by European scholars. The Nigantha Nataputta mentioned in the Pali Pitakas as a contemporary and opponent of the Buddha, who died a few years before him, has been rightly identified with the Mahāvīra Vardhamāna, the founder of the Jain community. Their own records showed that he was a Kshatriya of the Jñātri clan, and Jñātri would in Pali become Nātha. The word Nigantha, meaning "free from ties," that is, the ties of the world, is an epithet still often applied to the Jain monks. It was true that among the Gacchas, into which the Jain monks were divided, there was one, the Nigantha Gaccha, which ceased to be so called at the ninth in lineal descent from teacher to pupil from Mahāvīra. But the name was only changed from Nigantha to Kotika to celebrate the fact that the chiefs of the Jain community in the ninth Patta (or spiritual generation)

had repeated a Koti, that is, ten million times the Sūrya Mantra, a mystical invocation of the sun called by that name. Thenceforward the Gaccha received the epithet Kotika, but it was none the less also Nigantha. The lecturer then explained the doctrine of non-resistance which has made the Jains so peace-loving and law-abiding a people. He also compared the Jain doctrine of the soul with that of the Vedantists on the one hand and the Buddhists on the other, showing that the Jains, in accordance with their Anekanta Vāda, or method of looking at both sides of the question, had always steered a middle course. In conclusion he touched on some points of Jain ethics, especially emphasizing the tone of mercy which pervades their writings, and which was well exemplified by the formula of the Prati Kamana daily repeated, "I forgive all living things; I ask all living things to forgive me."—The paper was followed by a discussion, in which General Pearse, Mr. H. Baynes, Prof. Bendall, Mr. Raynbird, Dr. Leitner, Mr. Beveridge, and Prof. Rhys Davids took part.

11*th June*, 1895.

It was announced that—

Mr. St. George Lane-Fox-Pitt,
Mr. Percy M. Sykes, and
Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi

had been elected members of the Society.

The Secretary read a paper by Hofrath Bühler, of Vienna, on "Past and Future Archæological Researches in India." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Leitner, Mr. R. Sewell, and Mr. W. F. Sinclair took part.

The paper appears in the present number.

II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band xxix, Heft 1.

Bacher (W.). Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik.
Stickel (Dr.). Zu den morgenländischen Bleisiegeln.

Kaufmann (D.). Ein Responsum des Gaons R. Hāja über Gottes Vorherwissen und die Dauer des menschlichen Lebens.

Fischer (A.). Verbesserungen und Nachträge zu R. Geyer's Aus b. Ḥaǧar.

Schroeder (L. v.). Das Kāṭhaka.

Oldenberg (H.). Zu Mythologie und Cultus des Veda.

Socin (A.). Referat über die Transcriptionsfrage.

2. Journal Asiatique. N.S. Tome v. No. 1.

Goeje (J. de). La fin de l'empire des Carmathes du Bahrain.

Feér (L.). Le Chaddanta-Jātaka.

Huart (Clément). La prière canonique musulmane, poème didactique en langue kurde.

Chabot (J. B.). Éloge du patriarche nestorien Mar Denḥa 1er par le moine Jean.

Bourdais (P.). Dates sur la sphère céleste des Chaldéo-Assyriens.

Vinson (J.). L'écriture arabe appliquée aux langues dravidiennes.

No. 2.

Feér (L.). Le Chaddanta-Jātaka (fin).

Mayer-Lambert (Mons.). L'Élif wesla.

Ferté (Mons.). Notice sur le poète persan Enveri, suivie d'un extrait de ses Odes.

Sauvaire (H.). Description de Damas (suite).

Karppe (S.). Quelques mots d'astrologie talmudique.

III. Obituary Notice.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, Bart.—As it is understood that a Biography of our Late Director and ex-President will be shortly published by a most competent authority, this notice will be restricted to the relations of the deceased with this Society, and his linguistic, and archæological, labours. We have, indeed, lost the most illustrious of our members, who has left an imperishable memory in our Journal.

The Council has decided not to fill up the post of Director, occupied in succession by Colebroke, Hayman Wilson, and Rawlinson, till someone worthy to rank with these heroes appears.

Sir Henry Rawlinson went out to India round the Cape in 1827, in the same ship with Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay. His first period of employment in Persia was from 1833 to 1839. He was at Cabúl, and Candahár in Afghanistan during the first Afghan war, in 1841–1842. He was at Calcutta in the Autumn of 1843, and proceeded thence to his new appointment of Political Agent at Baghdad, in Turkish Arabia. We published his account of the Inscriptions of Behistún in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1846, before he became a member of the Society.

He was elected a Member of this Society in 1847, and Director in 1862, which office he held by annual re-election, up to the date of his death, for 33 years. He was President of the Society from 1878 to May, 1881. He contributed to the Journal eight papers of first-rate importance; but they are but a small portion of his literary achievements, as a year and a half before his death he forwarded to me a copy of a catalogue of his writings prepared by Professor Paul Haupt, and printed in the United States, comprising 131 separate items; and in his letter to my address dated Sept. 6th, 1893, he points out, that two important papers have been omitted from that Catalogue. Few have left such a roll of continuous literary activity.

It must be recollected, that he was not a secluded Student, or the Professor of a University, or one, who closed an active career in learned labour: from the date of his landing in India to the day of his death, a period of sixty-eight years, he was in active service, as a soldier of the Indian Army, an organizer of new armies in Persia, a fighting member of a successful garrison at Candahár in Afghanistan, a Political Agent, Consul-General, and Minister Plenipotentiary, in the Empire of Turkey and Kingdom of Persia, a Member of Parliament, a Member of the Council

of India, President, Councillor, and Member of Learned Societies, Trustee of the British Museum; in the year 1839, while the writer of this Notice was Captain of Eton College, he had obtained the medal of the Geographical Society; he was a constant writer and speaker almost to his last years. He was Interpreter of his Regiment in Bombay at the age of nineteen, and when he was of the age of 83 the writer of this Notice felt honoured in being permitted to listen to his remarks on linguistic subjects, and to look over the pile of Manuscript notebooks, which he had accumulated from year to year, for he had the wisdom to record at once scraps of knowledge, which he gathered orally, to note the references to passages of printed volumes, when he came upon something worth referring to hereafter, and still more to record the points, on which he required more light. It is only by keeping such notebooks for "Notanda, Legenda, Quærenda" that in this busy Epoch an all-round knowledge can be maintained, and our deceased friend was essentially a thoughtful man, one ready to impart from his fulness to others: it must have been a strain to him to keep abreast with the ever-advancing tide of expanding knowledge of his favourite subjects, and it is not to be wondered at, that an octogenarian man did not succeed in achieving a task, to which a man in his prime, betwixt the age of 45 and 65, does not always succeed.

In the Meetings between 1860 and 1880 scarcely one took place without the President asking Sir Henry Rawlinson to make a communication on the subject of Cuneiform Research, or, if Sir Henry were himself President, his undertaking to communicate the last discovery: those were days, when we were contented with the drops of the coming shower; we have the whole subject now at our disposal. It may be confidently asserted, that in the History of the World no greater and more unexpected revelation was made of buried and forgotten literary knowledge, than that of the Inscriptions of Persia and Mesopotamia, and Sir Henry Rawlinson was the leader of that great movement; he set the ball rolling.

Grotefend had indeed been the advance-guard: he died in 1853. Professor Burnouf died in 1852 at the age of only 51: if he had lived longer, the world would have been wiser. Their material was restricted to Persepolis, but Burnouf's knowledge of Asiatic languages enabled him to leave hints, which have been valuable for those, who came after him: he did not live long enough to see the full glories of the Tablets at Behistún, copied by Sir H. Rawlinson, consisting of Inscriptions in three languages, Persian, Assyrian, and Median, unfolded. Professor Lassen died in 1876: he had published at Bonn, in Germany, in 1836, his Essay "Die alt-persischen Keil-Inschriften" one month earlier than his friend Burnouf's "Memoire sur deux Inscriptions Cuneiformes" in Paris. They were both Scholars of the highest eminence, and the Memoir by Sir Henry Rawlinson on the great Inscriptions of Behistún was not received by our Society till 1839, but the whole of it had been drawn up by the Soldier-Political in his isolated residence at Kermanshah, on the frontier of Persia, in ignorance of what had been done in the way of Cuneiform interpretation two years previously in Europe. Sir Henry was not a Scholar of the type of the French and German University Scholars: he was a traveller, explorer, decipherer, and by the aid of his own genius an independent interpreter: he told me once, that it was his familiarity with some of the rural dialects of Persia, that enabled him to grapple with the Old-Persian of the time of Darius.

I find in my Journals of 1843, that on the 26th of September of that year I was invited at Calcutta by Mr. Thomason, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to meet Major Rawlinson on his road to Baghdad to take up his office of Political Agent in Turkish Arabia: I remember his conversation, as he asked me, then studying Sanskrit in the College of Fort William, several intricate questions on Sanskrit Grammar, explaining that he was going to try to interpret some Old-Persian Inscriptions at Behistún. So entirely was he in

advance of his Epoch, that neither I, nor any of the company, understood what he was after, and it was not till several years had passed away, and the troubles of the Sikh and Panjab wars of 1845–46 and 1849 were over, and peace had been restored to my Province, that I understood, what was meant by Major Rawlinson's plan of copying and translating Old-Persian Inscriptions, and the word Cuneiform first became to me an object of interest, which it has never ceased to be for more than forty years. All the romance of these discoveries has become mere History now to the younger generation, but the secret, concealed so many years, was unrolled before the very eyes of the few older survivors of the old generation: the world knows the secret now, which the Greek and Roman never knew.

Artem, quæ latuit Græcos, latuitque Latinos,
Nostrorum sollers extulit ingenium.

Three other honoured names connect themselves with that of Sir Henry Rawlinson; the bearers of those names are all dead, and their obituary notices appear in the Journal of our Society: Edwin Norris, for thirty-five years Assistant-Honorary Secretary and Honorary Librarian of this Society: he carried through the Press the important Memoirs of the absent discoverer and decipherer, and became one of the chief authorities in Cuneiform Philology; he died in 1872, having translated the third, or Median, Tablet of Behistún. Dr. Hincks, an Irish Clergyman, exhibited a wonderful aptitude for decipherment, and materially assisted the progress of the discovery by his contributions to our Journal: he died in 1866. Mr. Henry Talbot, a private gentleman, greatly advanced the study by a series of papers in this Journal, and died in 1877.

It is to a certain extent a misfortune to live too long after having made in early life a great discovery; for knowledge advances, and leaves the original discoverer far

in the rear. At the Meeting of this Society on the 12th of March, our present President, Lord Reay, drew attention to the great loss, which we had suffered: "It was impossible," he said, "to exaggerate the importance for the "history of the development of Oriental ideas and institu- "tions, of the magnificent work of the decipherment of "the tablet at Behistún, and it was a matter of pride to "the Society, that the results of his remarkable discoveries "were given to the world through the medium of the "Society's Journal."

The President of the Royal Geographical Society, at a Meeting of that Society on the previous day, had expressed his regret at the loss of that Society also, mentioning that Sir Henry Rawlinson had received the gold medal fifty-five years before, and had been a Fellow more than fifty years. He had filled the post of President of both Societies: we had no medal to grant him, or we should certainly have given it to him. Sir Frederick Goldsmid has inserted an obituary notice in the April number of the Geographical Journal, detailing the Services, which the deceased had rendered to Geography. In Germany, Sir Henry Rawlinson's claims to be regarded as the first decipherer of the Cuneiform have always been allowed without hesitation, notwithstanding the labours of Lassen and others in the same field. My friend Henri Cordier, Professor of Chinese at Paris, and a Honorary Member of our Society, has forwarded to me a printed copy of the tribute paid by him at a Meeting of La Société de Geographie at Paris, and he quotes the opinion of Professor Jules Oppert, of the College of France, extremely laudatory of the services of Sir Henry, of which I quote the concluding lines: "Les "jeunes allemands, et anglais, feignent de ne pas le con- "naitre: un anglais me disait même, qu'il n'avait jamais "lu une ligne de Sir Henry Rawlinson. Je lui repondis: "'I supposed just so; because if you had read them, your "'papers would be less imperfect than they are.'"

Sir Henry was one of the two colleagues of his brother, the Rev. G. Rawlinson, Canon of Canterbury, in his Edition

of the History of Herodotus, published in 1858: the Author in his Preface says, that "Sir Henry exercised a general "supervision over the Oriental portion of the work, and lent "his aid throughout to all that concerned the Geography, "Ethnology, and History, of the Eastern Nations: without "this assistance the Author would not have undertaken "the work."

Sir Henry Rawlinson was a knight of the Prussian Order of Merit; associate member of the Academy at Paris; member of the Academy at Munich; Hon. D.C.L. Oxford; Hon. LL.D. Cambridge and Edinburgh; D.L. of London; he received the Grand Cross of the Bath about five years, and he was made a Baronet about three years, before his death. He well deserved every honour that he obtained, but his case is but another illustration of the neglect shown by the British Government to literary merits, upon which I commented in the obituary of another great veteran Scholar of the same Epoch, Brian Hodgson. Sir Henry Rawlinson's career in India did not exceed five years as a Regimental Officer: when he left India for Persia in 1832 he never returned to work in that country, though in 1843 he passed through Northern India on his way to take up his new employment in Turkish Arabia: the honours, which he received from the State, were in return for his great political services in Central Asia, and administrative services in Great Britain; had he never unveiled the secret of the Cuneiform Script, he would have received, and deservedly received, the same honours. Brian Hodgson did a work as great for the languages of India, and the Buddhist Religion, and received nothing from his country, though France was not behindhand in conferring honours on him also; and the Asiatic Society can truly say, that it is not likely ever to have on its lists men who are as illustrious, nor could it wish to have men more illustrious, than these two departed worthies: their portraits adorn the walls of the rooms of the Society, and remind a younger generation of what Genius and Industry can achieve.

The following is a list of Sir Henry's contributions to

our Journal: they are no ordinary papers: some oral remarks are added:—

		Vol.	Page.	
1846	o.s.	IX	v	The discoveries of Major Rawlinson are announced to the Society.
,,	,,	X	—	Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions at Behistún deciphered and translated, with a memoir on Cuneiform in general: the whole volume of 370 pages.
1850	,,	XI	—	An appendix to the foregoing, consisting of 192 pages.
,,	,,	XII	401	On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, 82 pages.
1853	,,	XIV	—	Babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions at Behistún: the whole volume 150 pages.
1855	,,	XV	215	Notes on early history of Babylonia, 40 pages.
,,	,,	,,	398	On the orthography of Royal Names of Assyrian and Babylonian history, 4 pages.
1861	,,	XVIII	1	On the Birs Nimrúd Inscription, 34 pages.
,,	,,	,,	150	Comparative translation of Inscription of Tiglath Pileser with three other Scholars, 70 pages.
1865	N.S.	I	187	Bilingual readings, Cuneiform and Phenician: notes on tablets in the British Museum containing bilingual legends, Assyrian and Phenician, 60 pages.
1867	,,	III	296	Note on Paí Kuli.
1873	,,	IX	xlviii	Points out the value of George Smith's recent researches.
1875	,,	XI	21	On the prevalence of the Scythic element in Media.
1876	,,	XII	70	Note on a newly-discovered clay cylinder of Cyrus the Great.
1877	,,	XIII	41	Statement with regard to recent researches of Mr. Rassam.
1879	,,	XV	371	Identification of the term Sapta Sindhu as meaning the seven head streams of the Oxus.

To this enumeration must be added the reports on progress of Cuneiform interpretation made at our Meetings as above described. I think that it is creditable to those

who at that time had the control of our Journal, that they spared no expense to carry out Sir Henry's wishes, and, indeed, sometimes volumes of the Journal fell into arrears from the delay arising in getting the material ready for the Press, or in completing an essay, a portion of which was already in type.

In the year 1873 the Royal Asiatic Society kept its first half-century Jubilee, and in the Calcutta Review of that year I described at length the work, which it had accomplished, and I venture to quote the following lines written twenty-two years ago:

"In the year 1844 Sir H. Rawlinson had made copies of "the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis, and had solved "the great problem, giving new life to the decrees of King "Darius after a slumber of more than 2000 years. The "Asiatic Society lent its countenance and influence, and "opened its purse liberally, to the support of this great "discovery: the Journals of the Society suddenly acquired "a new interest, which was increased a hundredfold, when "Nineveh and Babylon disclosed their long-buried "treasures, the literature, language, and history of a period "separated from the present era by twenty-five centuries: "it was then (1849) that the Society became the centre "of a great literary movement, and their publications "were subsidized by a National grant; it was then that "the greatest and most eminent men, headed by the Prince "Consort, attended at our Meetings, and tourists abroad "found that a copy of the Journal, unfolding the wonderful "Cuneiform discoveries, was the most acceptable present "in the scientific world at foreign Capitals. In heading "this movement the Society acted as if by inspiration, "as there was for a long time a great wave of incredulity "to resist, and Sir Henry Rawlinson has always gratefully "acknowledged the debt, which he owed to his earliest "supporters, and styled himself their *alumnus*."

Another characteristic of our departed friend was that, like M. Waddington of Paris, and Baron Kremer of Vienna, he attracted to the study of Oriental Languages and

Archæology a fashion and popularity: he was at home in the Camp, the Court, the Council Chamber, and the Senate, as well as in the Public Library, the British Museum, and amidst his books and notes in his own study. I have during the last twenty years attended the International Oriental Congresses at all the Capitals of Europe, and have thus made the acquaintance of nearly every Oriental Scholar in Europe: some of them were learned men indeed, but quaint in appearance, and in mode of utterance as narrow-minded and limited in their range of knowledge as specialists only can be: it was difficult for an experienced brain-picker to extract anything out of some, who were mere professorial recluses in spectacles; but in conversation Sir Henry Rawlinson, when he found himself amidst kindred spirits, passed readily, and gaily, and instructively, from a discussion on the policy of the Shah of Persia, or the Amir of Afghanistan, or from some geographical detail regarding the region of the River Oxus, to the intricacy of the translation of a Cuneiform word or sentence, whether Semitic, or Old-Persian, or Akkadian, or the probable date and affinity of a new variety of Alphabetic Script lately discovered in Arabia. This was a great and special gift almost peculiar to himself, which rendered his society so delightful and profitable. In looking round the circle of my daily diminishing contemporaries, or of my senior fellow-labourers, I know of no one like unto him: it is an honour, a profit, and a joy, to have known him: each right-minded student pays a lasting homage to the storehouse, from which, either through the channel of word of mouth, or of printed page, he has derived valuable contributions to his own ever-increasing stock of knowledge.

May 25th, 1895. ROBERT CUST,
Hon. Sec. of Royal Asiatic Society.

IV. Notes and News.

A new Edict of Asoka.—Hofrath Bühler, in *The Academy* for May 28th, 1894, gives an account of the discovery, by Dr. A. Führer, near the Nepalese village of Niglīva (thirty-seven miles north-west of Uska, on the North Bengal Railway), of a new pillar edict of Asoka. The pillar is broken, the inscription is on the lower half, and several lines are buried. These latter can only be read after permission, which has been applied for, has been obtained from the Nepalese Government to excavate. But the lines above ground are sufficient to show how important and interesting this new find is. The readable portion says: "When the god-beloved king Piyadassi had been anointed fourteen years he increased the stūpa of Koṇākamana for the second time, and when he had been anointed . . . . years he himself came and worshipped it."

The earliest mention of Koṇāgamana (as he is called in Pāli) in printed texts is in the Buddha Vansa (one of the latest books included in the Piṭakas), where an account of him as the twenty-third Buddha is given in full. But the seven last Buddhas, of whom he is one, are known to be referred to in inedited portions of the older books, such as the Dīgha and Majjhima. According to the Buddha Vansa, he was born at Sobhavatī and died in the Pabbata Ārāma, that is, in the Mountain Pleasaunce, which suggests to Hofrath Bühler the conjecture that we have to look near the site of the newly discovered pillar for the traditional place of his death.

Yuan Thsang tells us how the relics of Kassapa, the twenty-fourth Buddha, were still preserved in his time near Sāvatthi, under a stūpa said to have been built by Asoka; and also of a vihāra near the Bo Tree, containing Kassapa's image, and a *cankama*, where he was supposed to have walked up and down in meditation. But this edict is probably the earliest archæological confirmation we have of the actual preservation, in early Buddhist times, of the

memory of Koṇāgamana. The only other evidence of a similar kind is the bas-relief of Koṇāgamana's Bo Tree figured at pl. xxix of Cunningham's Bharhut Tope. The name in the legend there is spelt with the *g*, not with the *k*.

Mr. S. Arthur Strong, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has been elected to the Chair of Arabic at University College, London, which was vacated by Prof. Rieu's transfer to Cambridge. This appointment will not interfere with Mr. Strong's performance of the duties of librarian to the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. At the same time the Rev. Dr. Robert Bruce was elected to the Chair of Persian, which was also held by Prof. Rieu.

V. Notices of Books.

Chūlā Kanta Mangala: the Tonsure Ceremony as Performed in Siam. By G. E. Gerini. Large 8vo, pp. 186. Bangkok, 1893.

Though dated in 1893, this book by Captain Gerini, of the Royal Military College, Bangkok, has only appeared in 1895. It gives first a slight and not very reliable account of tonsure ceremonies throughout the world, and more especially in India and in Siam. Then, in seven consecutive sections, we have a very detailed and fully illustrated description of the tonsure ceremony as performed now-a-days in Siam, distinguishing throughout the ceremonies observed in the case of boys and girls, and in the case of ordinary people and children of the royal house. The ceremony as performed for Prince Vajrāvudha, the late Crown Prince of Siam, is detailed at length. There are thirteen full-page illustrations from photographs, and a number of woodcuts. It is curious to observe how the ceremony, which is not a Buddhist one and is not observed in other Buddhist countries, has been adopted and modified in accordance with Buddhist beliefs. The adoption of this

ritual in Siam seems to be of late date, as the author cannot find any mention of it earlier than 1640 A.D. It was very probably borrowed from similar customs in India. Though the historical portions of the book, in which the Indian origin is taken for granted, is very weak, the volume is valuable as a detailed and evidently reliable description of a curious ceremony as now practised in Siam.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST. By RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR. 2nd ed. Bombay Gov. Cent. Press, 1895.

In minor details Dr. Bhandarkar has added to his new edition of the *History of the Dekkan*; but the book is, in the main, little more than a reprint of his earlier work. Since the publication of the latter in 1884, research has, in fact, thrown little new light on the history of the dynasties with which it is concerned, and such fresh evidence as has since appeared seems to have strengthened rather than weakened Dr. Bhandarkar's belief in the conclusions formed by him at an earlier period on various historical and chronological questions.

With regard to the Andhras, he has seen no reason to change his earlier views, which, it may be added, differ materially from those of other scholars. A considerable number of historical and chronological data as to the later princes of the dynasty has lately accumulated; but the rashness of basing conclusions on these, while scholars are so divided in their interpretation of them, is exemplified in the present work. There is scarcely a point in connection with the Andhras upon which Dr. Bhandarkar does not differ from his colleagues, not only as to the interpretation of the data, but with regard to the conclusions to be drawn from them.

For some time past the date of Gotamiputra I. has been considered to be fixed within very narrow limits by the synchronism connecting him with Nahapāna. Two of the

Nāsik inscriptions have been attributed to Gotamīputra, dated in the fourteenth and twenty-fourth years respectively. Scholars have taken these dates to refer to his own reign, and as the inscription of the fourteenth year is dated from the victorious camp at Govardhana, and records a grant of lands previously held by Nahapāna, and as Nahapāna's latest known date is Ś. 46, *i.e.* A.D. 124, the inference has been drawn that Gotamīputra's initial date must fall somewhere about A.D. 113. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, takes an entirely different view of these inscriptions. The year 14 he evidently reads as the year 18, and he refers both it and that of the year 24 to the reign of Puḷumāyi, arguing that Gotamīputra and Puḷumāyi ruled contemporaneously, the first at Dhanakaṭaka, the second at Nāsik. He finds a support for this hypothesis in the inscription at Nāsik, dated in the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi, in which Gotamī, the donor of the cave, is called the mother and grandmother of a great king, and Gotamīputra's exploits are enumerated in a way which suggests his being still alive at the time.

With regard to Chaturapana, Māḍharīputra, and Yajñaśrī, Dr. Bhandarkar likewise holds different views to those of other scholars. Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl supposed Chaturapana, from his bearing the name of Vāsishṭīputra, to be a brother and successor of Puḷumāyi, and he thought to have proved from one of his coins that he was the father of Yajñaśrī Gotamīputra II. Dr. Bhandarkar's reading of the coin in question, however, exactly reverses the Paṇḍit's conclusion, and makes Yajñaśrī the father of Chaturapana.

Māḍharīputra's exact relation to the other Andhras has never been satisfactorily determined, but Dr. Bhagwānlāl claimed to have established his position between Puḷumāyi and Gotamīputra II. on the evidence of the Kolhāpur coins. The grounds on which he based his argument were, first, the workmanship of the coins; and second, the fact that Māḍharīputra re-struck coins of Puḷumāyi, and that coins of his own were in turn re-struck by Gotamīputra. The re-striking by Gotamīputra of Māḍharīputra's coin is denied

by Dr. Bhandarkar, who considers the re-striker to be Māḍharīputra, and the coin in question originally one of Gotamīputra's. At the same time he brings forward a piece of evidence in support of his view of which Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl was unable to make use. The coins of Vāsishṭīputra (Puḷumāyi) and Gotamīputra bear the legend *Viḷivāyakura*, those of Māḍharīputra that of *Sevalakura*, which Dr. Bhagwānlāl was unable to interpret. Some time ago Dr. Bhandarkar broached the theory that these were the names of the viceroys appointed by the Andhras to rule that part of the country, the coins in question being issued in their names, and this supposition was made almost a certainty by the identification of Viḷivāyakura with the Baleokuros, governor of Hippokura, mentioned by Ptolemy as contemporary with Puḷumāyi. This theory the Professor still holds, and it incidentally confirms his view as to Māḍharīputra's position in the list of the Andhra kings; for, as Vāsishṭīputra and Gotamīputra have the same viceroy, the inference is that they succeeded each other; while Māḍharīputra, having a different one, may have preceded or succeeded them, but could not have come between them.

On various other points connected with the Andhras Dr. Bhandarkar maintains his old views. He is inclined to give its full weight, for chronological purposes, to Ptolemy's mention of Chashṭana and Puḷumāyi, and disposes pretty successfully of the objection raised against it by other scholars. With regard to the disputed passage about the Sātakarṇi King in Rudradāman's inscription, Professor Bhandarkar has modified his earlier translation; though it is evident that he still differs from Dr. Bühler as to the exact interpretation to be put upon the words in question, and is not, apparently, inclined to follow that scholar in the deductions he draws from it in connection with the Kanheri Cave inscription of the Queen of Vāsishṭīputra Sātakarṇi (see Ind. Ant., xii. 272 ff.).

It is open to question whether the date for the rise of the Andhra dynasty yielded by manipulation of the Pauraṇic records, is so reliable as Dr. Bhandarkar seems to think.

The Nānāghaṭ inscription of Simuka, who has been identified with the Pauraṇic founder of the dynasty, belongs, according to Dr. Bühler, to the period B.C. 200–150, a date which the resemblance of the Nānāghaṭ characters to those of the Hāthigumptā inscription (Maurya era 165, *i.e.* B.C. 150) goes far to confirm; while the date derived by Dr. Bhandarkar from the Purāṇas is B.C. 73.

It is true that the agreement of the various Purāṇas as to the number of years occupied by the Maurya and Suṅga dynasties gives a certain plausibility to conclusions based on these, but Pauraṇic chronology must always be used cautiously. On the other hand palæographic evidence, if unsupported by any other, can never be more than an approximate guide for chronological purposes, as the development of alphabets is probably not everywhere a uniform process, but liable to be modified by accidental and local influences for which it is not always easy to account. It may be well, before committing ourselves to either date, to await some fresh light on the subject.

With the Chālukyas we touch firmer chronological ground, and, as the main lines of their history are well established, but little addition of new material is to be expected in the present work.

With regard to Maṅgalīśa it is to be noted that the Professor differs from Mr. Fleet in his reading of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, which, according to the latter, is dated in the fifth year of Maṅgalīśa, the Siddhārtha Samvatsara full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha (Ind. Ant., xix. 7), corresponding to the 12th April, 602, thus fixing Maṅgalīśa's initial date in A.D. 597 or 598. Dr. Bhandarkar adheres to his original date of A.D. 591, being that furnished by Indravarman's Goa grant of Ś. 532, issued in the twentieth year of the reign, which reign Dr. Bhandarkar takes to be Maṅgalīśa's, while Mr. Fleet regards it as Indravarman's (see Ind. Ant., xix. 11). The Professor discusses the question in a footnote, and gives his reasons for differing from Mr. Fleet.

Considerable doubt still exists amongst scholars as to the

Chālukya rulers of Gujarāt. Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant., xvii. 199) recognized two Gujarāt branches of the dynasty. Mr. Fleet, whose list in the third volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* is the latest, gives three branches; but the grant of Vijayarāja, from which he derives his first branch, is considered spurious by Dr. Bhandarkar, who, even if he were to admit its genuineness, would be inclined to identify the "Jayasiṁha" mentioned in it with the brother of Vikramāditya I. rather than to regard him as an earlier prince of the same name, as does Mr. Fleet. The date Saṁ. 394 he would refer to the Gupta rather than the Chedi era, as has hitherto been done.

In his account of the Rāshṭrakūṭas the author has incorporated some facts which have come to light since he wrote his earlier work. The date of Ś. 705 furnished by the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa for Govinda II., and already mentioned in the appendix to the earlier edition, is worth noting. Mr. Fleet seems to have overlooked it in his latest list of the Rāshṭrakūṭas (Epig. Ind., iii. 54), or, what is more likely, has referred it to Govinda III. since it exactly corresponds to A.D. 782, the first date given by him to that monarch. Dr. Bhandarkar quotes some interesting notices from Jaina works about the first Amoghavarsha, showing that he patronised the Jaina creed, if he did not actually hold it himself. The Digambara Jainas attribute to him the authorship of the *Praśnottara Ratnamālikā*, and a stanza at the end of their copies of it says he composed it after he had abdicated the throne "in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit within him." This statement throws light on a chronological difficulty hitherto unexplained. A Kanheri inscription of Ś. 799 mentions Amoghavarsha as king, while another at Saundatti of Ś. 797 names his son Kṛishṇa as reigning. If Amoghavarsha really abdicated his throne, this discrepancy may easily be accounted for.

As regards the rest of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, the conclusions already arrived at by the Professor in his first edition of the work, and verified by the evidence of the

Wardha grant (J.B.R.A.S., xviii. 239 ff.), have required no modification. Mr. Fleet, who formerly differed from him as to various points in the genealogy of the dynasty, has, to judge from his latest table of it (Epig. Ind., iii. 54), accepted, in almost every case, Dr. Bhandarkar's views.

In the case of the later Chālukyas, the Kalachuris, and the Śilahāras, there has been no material addition lately to the historical facts already known about them. The Samgamner plate of Bhillama II. and the Kalas Budruk grant of Bhillama III. have enabled the author to throw light on some doubtful points in the earlier chronology and genealogy of the Yādavas of Devagiri, while Jahlan's *Sūktimuktāvali* has yielded some information about the later Yādavas. Dr. Bhandarkar, like Dr. Hultzsch, seeks to establish a synchronism between the Yādava Jaitugi I. and the Kākatīya Gaṇapati of the Ekāmranātha inscription of Ś. 1172; but, as I have pointed out in the Ind. Ant., xxii. 326, these kings can only be made contemporary by the assumption that Gaṇapati reigned forty or fifty years, for which assumption there seems little justification, and still less, if any reliance is placed on the evidence afforded by contemporary literature for the Kākatīya dynasty.

Amongst other points of interest in the new work are the Professor's adherence to his old views regarding the dates of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and his rejection of the theory that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era. As to Patañjali's date probably few scholars now differ from him, but it is doubtful whether his relegation of Pāṇini to the seventh century B.C. will find the same support. With regard to Kanishka, the Professor seems to lay rather too much stress on the difficulties in the way of identifying him with the founder of the Śaka era. The era began, we know, in A.D. 78, and all evidence hitherto available points to Kanishka's having ruled about that period. He is known, not only from coins and inscriptions, but from contemporary notices, as a very powerful ruler with a widely extended dominion. He was, moreover, a Śaka, and, so far as we know, there was no other king of

that period likely to have started the era. Consequently, though direct proof is wanting, probability is strongly in favour of the theory that the era was inaugurated at his coronation.

Indian chronology is like a gigantic and incomplete puzzle, the pieces of which tax all one's ingenuity to put together. A great portion of it is still in almost hopeless confusion, but here and there gaps are gradually being filled up. A book like the present is a striking example of the amount of information which patient research has gleaned from the materials at its disposal, and, coming as it does from the pen of one who has rendered such brilliant services to the cause, it inspires the hope that more of the missing pieces may yet be found to complete the picture which scholars are so laboriously putting together, and that the method which has been so effective in elucidating the early history of the Dekkan may be applied with equal success to other obscure regions of Indian history.

C. M. Duff.

The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's former Births. Vol. I. Translated by Robert Chalmers, B.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1895.

This beautifully printed volume is the first instalment of the promised translation of the Jātaka, under the superintendence of the veteran Professor Cowell, who has contributed an interesting preface. Out of the 550 stories constituting the whole work, the present issue contains 150. This corresponds to the number in the first volume of Fausböll's edition. Forty of these had been already translated by Prof. Rhys Davids, fifteen years ago, who had also rendered the precious introduction, the *Nidāna-kathā*, in which the life-story of Gotama up to the attainment of Buddhahood was related. The plan of the new enterprise has not included this; and it has also dropped the Pāli commentary on the Gāthās which

accompanies Fausböll's text. These omissions are not of any great consequence. English readers can still resort to Prof. Davids's version of the legendary biography; and professed students of the Gāthās cannot dispense with the original.

The interest of these stories is, of course, manifold. The enquirer into social history sees here an unrivalled picture of ancient Indian life. Kings and courtiers, Brahmans and ascetics, merchants, huntsmen, peasants, slaves, pass swiftly across the scene. The robber is never far off, and constant brigandage introduces an element of violence like that of mediæval Europe. Behind the ever-moving human groups are the fairies and ogres haunting forest and pool, and the delightful animals whose wisdom or folly is alternately employed for the instruction of man—the monkeys who, having only a limited quantity of water with which to water some young trees, pull them up by their roots that they may adjust the supply to their various sizes; the crows who try to bale out the sea by their bills to rescue one of their number swept away by a wave. The student of folklore finds here the earliest great collection of the materials of his science, for whatever superior antiquity may be claimed for the novels of the Nile, they cannot rival these stories in abundance or variety. To some of the tales here translated Mr. Chalmers has affixed notes on the traces of their subsequent wanderings; he might have noted in the situation of Prince Five-Weapons caught by the hairy ogre (p. 138) the curious analogy with the Tar-baby of Uncle Remus.

But the stories will probably prove most suggestive to the student of Buddhism. Many of them are, of course, wholly independent, but they illustrate the general atmosphere of thought and feeling in which Buddhism arose. Others are probably the more direct product of the stress which it laid on particular virtues or sins. The story of the Brahman ascetic who provided a water-trough for thirsty animals in a great drought (p. 274), has more than one moral in close harmony with Buddhist ethics. Some

have the air of being little moral apologues designed to counteract the dangers of lust (Professor Cowell has remarked on the low opinion of women, p. x), of greediness, or the surrender of that strenuous moral effort which the Buddhist discipline so continuously demanded. The study of the stories from this point of view may help to throw light on the genesis of the introductions, designed to connect each tale with some incident in the Buddha's life. Prof. Cowell expresses the opinion that these are "the laboured invention of a later age, like the legendary history of the early centuries of ancient Rome." The comparison seems a little far-fetched. In some cases passages are quoted from the older texts, just as the editors of the Psalter placed references to the biography of David before so-called Davidic Psalms. In other cases the parallel incidents of the introductions are no doubt deliberately devised, as in the series of which Devadatta is the arch-villain. But there are some which are so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Buddhism that they may at least represent the creations of a period when its moral impulse was still fresh—such are those in which the Buddha ate a poor man's bran-cake (p. 252); or fed five hundred brethren at once from the slender meal prepared by a rich but avaricious city-treasurer and his wife (p. 197); or gave to a young brother overburdened with the detail of the three moralities the simple rule "do no evil, whether in word or thought or act" (p. 140. Why has Mr. Chalmers altered the Pāli order, which gives a far better sequence—"in act [body], in word, or in thought"?); or that in which the watchfulness of the Buddha over his disciples is so strikingly pourtrayed (p. 314). The sixteen dreams of the king of Kosala (p. 187 ff.) are interesting samples of expectations of the future decay and corruption of society, which probably belong to some sort of Indian eschatology, and may have arisen out of hints of decline analogous to those uttered by the Buddha in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.

Enough has perhaps been said to show the immense and varied interest of this volume. Mr. Chalmers's translation

seems, on the whole, remarkably successful. His command of language is admirable; his perception of humour is quick; and his idiomatic equivalents are often exceedingly felicitous—one can hardly open a page without lighting on them, *e.g.* "A name only serves to mark who's who" (p. 238, *nāmaṃ nāma paṇṇattimattaṃ*). At times the appropriate limits of paraphrase seem to be transgressed in the employment of alien terms of Western theology, as where the phrase "to deny the saving grace of my doctrine" replaces a repetition of the more cumbrous denial "that my doctrine leads to the destruction of sorrow in him who follows it" (p. 229). The devotional idioms of Buddhism and Christianity are quite different, and had better be kept apart. But Mr. Chalmers has set a high standard of accuracy, ease, and grace for his successors in this important enterprise. If the volumes that follow are at once as faithful and as readable, the little band of scholars whom Prof. Cowell has enlisted in the work will have rendered no small service to true culture by thus helping to make the East intelligible and interesting to the West.

J. E. C.

China, Present and Past. By R. S. Gundry, author of "China and her Neighbours." London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1895.

Mr. Gundry's new book on China is very opportune. It brings our information on the attitude of the Middle Kingdom towards her Western uninvited visitors down to the Japanese invasion of 1894. It is in a manner a supplement to the author's "China and her Neighbours," and these two treatises are indispensable to all who would form clear and correct opinions on China in her relations with other countries.

In the introduction to "China, Present and Past" the author tells us how the book was made. Several of the chapters, we learn, are magazine articles amplified and brought up to date, while others are now published for the first time.

The subjects of the book are numerous, and they are grouped under the four categories—Foreign Intercourse, Progress and Resources, Religious and Social, and the Yellow River. Under the first head the author gives an account of the early diplomatic intercourse between China and Western lands, and especially of the missions under Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst. We have next a chapter on the right of audience, in which there is a fair account of the struggle on this point from the making of the Tientsin Treaty to 1894, when the Foreign Ministers were received by the Emperor for the first time in his palace. The author next proceeds to tell of the competitive system as in force for appointments to public office, and of the new departure made in establishing the T'ung-wen Kuan and other government institutions for Western learning. In a chapter headed "Attainments," our author gives a sort of justification or excuse for the Chinese claim that Western science is founded on Chinese astronomy, the author basing his remarks mainly on certain Mèmoires by Remusat.

The next division of the book, which embraces a variety of topics, is entitled "Progress and Resources." In it we have chapters on Signs of Progress, Industries and Resources, Currency, Trade with South-west China, the Imperial Maritime Customs. Among the signs of progress are the large and increasing adoption of steamers by the Chinese to replace, not only the sea-going junks but also the river-boats, and the gradual introduction of railways. The chapter on the trade with South-west China gives the most recent information about the trade routes in this part of the empire. We have here some account of the reports on the West River of Kuangtung, and of the facilities for commerce in the region through which it flows. In the chapter on the Imperial Maritime Customs Service we have a very good summary of the history of that excellent service, of its strength, and of the work it is doing and has done.

From some points of view the most important part of the

book under notice is that occupied with the Religious and Social topics. The author is fair and dispassionate in stating the case of the Chinese antagonism to missionaries and Christianity. The Chinese object to foreign missionaries as teaching immoral doctrines, as disturbing the existing state of affairs generally, as building on improper sites tall houses, or houses with tall spires calculated to offend the unseen powers. Mr. Gundry, however, is not quite correct in stating that the great French cathedral at Canton is "a source of permanent irritation." On the contrary, this cathedral, with its double spire, is supposed by the natives to have had a very good effect on the district, the *feng-shui* of which is said to have improved since the erection of the cathedral. The author refers to some of the anti-missionary disturbances which have broken out in late years, and especially to the riots of 1891. In connection with the latter he quotes the edict issued by the Emperor on the subject in response to the importunate requests of the Foreign Ministers. This edict was extensively circulated among the officials and made generally public, and it had a good effect. In the translation quoted (p. 226) there is an error of the translator which is sufficiently important to require notice. He makes the Emperor write: "The religion of the Western countries simply admonishes people to become virtuous, and the native converts are Chinese subjects under the jurisdiction of the local officials. The religions and peoples ought to exist peaceably side by side." Here the words "The religions and peoples" should be replaced by words like "Our subjects, Christian and non-Christian," or "The native Christians and the rest of the native community."

The chapter on Ancestor Worship is a very interesting one, and quotes good authorities. The attitude of Protestant missionaries towards ancestor worship has helped to make them and their religion disliked by the Chinese. These missionaries look on the services to the dead as worship, while Roman Catholic missionaries have been disposed, at least in some cases, to regard the services as not of the

nature of worship to a supernatural being. Our author is disposed to hold the latter opinion, and he states his reasons. This is a subject upon which, not only among foreigners but also among Chinese, there is a considerable variety of opinion. Nor can the conflicting opinions be easily reconciled, for the faith and practice of the Chinese in the matter of ancestor worship are not alike in all places and at all periods.

In the chapter on the Goddess of Mercy we have an unfortunate mistake. The author identifies Kuan-yin with the Tien Hou, or Queen of Heaven, so largely worshipped along the sea-coast. But the Queen of Heaven is the Ma Tsu (or Ma Tsupu), mentioned afterwards by Mr. Gundry under the name Ma Chu. By foreigners Kuan-yin is commonly called the Goddess of Mercy, but the common Chinese designation is Kuan-yin P'usa.

The last chapter in the Religious and Social division of the book is taken up with "Judicial Torture," including legal punishments. For anyone acquainted with the modes of procedure of Chinese officials and their underlings, it will not be easy to see why "Judicial Torture" is ranged under "Religious and Social." Neither to the torturer nor the sufferer are the cruel tortures and punishments pious exercises or religious functions, and there is nothing social about them. But the whole chapter is interesting, and especially for the very recent instances which the author has recalled to our notice.

The Yellow River, "China's Sorrow," has a chapter to itself, and the information brought together in it about the vagaries of this dreadful river will prove interesting and instructive to all readers. The workings and effects of Chinese officialdom are seen in the treatment of this river better than in any other department of State service. One of the latest of the Directors General, Wu Ta-chêng, who has been in the North to repel the Japanese, proposed, our author relates, to make a change by having a Board trained experts to serve as surveyors. The answer from king was that "no notice be taken of the suggestion."

Mr. Wu's Memorial is one of several interesting official documents given by Mr. Gundry as an Appendix.

The author of "China, Present and Past" is evidently not a man to joke or jest on serious subjects, and his book is eminently and throughout serious and solemn. Still, there is one small joke in it, and one which we must probably ascribe to the printer and not to the author. The joke will be found on p. 215, in the words "Mr. Lecky's history of the rise of Ritualism in Europe."

T. W.

Les Études Chinoises (1891–1894). Par Henri Cordier, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes, Paris. Leide: E. J. Brill, 1895.

This pamphlet is reprinted from the "T'oung-pao," and the merits of its contents entitle it to an independent existence. The author begins by giving obituary notices of the lately deceased sinologists—the Marquis D'Hervey de Saint-Denys, G. von der Gabelentz, and Terrien de Lacouperie. The notices include carefully compiled lists of all the contributions made to sinology by these distinguished men. In the case of M. de Lacouperie the list is a very long one, and many of the contributions recorded are merely short notes or articles contributed to magazines.

These accounts are followed by shorter obituary notices of such men as Mr. C. Rudy, M. A. A. Billequin—"un des Français qui ont fait le plus d'honneur à leur pays dans l'Extrême Orient"—and M. Georgievsky.

M. Cordier next proceeds to give a summary of sinological bibliography for the four years 1891 to 1894, beginning with China and Hongkong. This summary includes the Journals of the Societies, the China Review, the works of the Jesuit Missionaries, and the contributions of other workers chiefly in China. Under Germany we are told of the appointment of Dr. W. Grube to the chair held by the late G. von der Gabelentz. Under Austria the death

the sinologist Dr. A. Pfizmaier is recorded, and we have a list of the contributions to sinology from Dr. Franz Kühnert. In Belgium, we learn, Professor C. de Harlez is continuing to dash off books on Chinese subjects. M. Cordier, who gives the titles of four of the latest, states truly that the Professor "traite avec la même facilité du Tao-kiao ou de Jou-kiao, de la poésie que de la médecine ou de la musique."

Under France we have the announcement of the clever young scholar M. Chavannes to the Chair in the Collège de France, held in succession by Abel Remusat, S. Julien, and the Marquis D'Hervey de Saint-Denys. We have also short notices of contributions to Chinese learning made by old acquaintances, such as M. Fauvel, Dr. E. Martin, and others.

In Great Britain we find Dr. Legge renewing his youth, writing on Chinese romances and poems, and bringing out a new edition of his Chinese Classics. But M. Cordier has to express his surprise at the little interest in Chinese studies which is taken by the people of these islands.

Under Holland we have special notice of the recent contributions to Chinese studies by Dr. G. Schlegel. Under Russia we learn what has been done with the Orkhon inscriptions. We have also a reference to Dr. Bretschneider's Travels in Mongolia, and to the great map of China which M. Waeber has compiled—a work of many years.

This little book of 89 pages is full of useful information, given in a careful, precise manner. Like the author's work generally, it shows conscientious industry and general accuracy. I should like, however, to point out that the note on p. 15—"Miryak=Shĭ-jen" or stone-men—is not correct. Miryek is the Corean pronunciation of the two Chinese characters for Mi-lo, *i.e.* Maitreya.

T. W.

NOTICE SUR LE JAPON. Par HENRI CORDIER. Paris: H. Lamirault et Cie, 1894.

This is a separate reprint of M. Cordier's article "Japon" in the "Grande Encyclopédie," now in course of publication. In compiling the article M. Cordier had, as he acknowledges, the co-operation of MM. Deniker, Dubois, De Milloué, and Pauly. We have in it some of the latest and most precise information about the new First Empire of the East. But as the compiler's space was necessarily very limited we do not expect full details on any department.

We have first a geographical summary giving the situation, boundaries, and natural features and character of the islands which constitute Japan. Next the Fauna and Flora are treated of, but in a very cursory manner. We have also sections dealing with the Religions, the Manners and Customs, the Government, Agriculture, History, Language, Literature, Fine Arts, and Legislation. The accounts of the Army, Navy, and Legislation are particularly interesting at the present moment, as they describe the changes which have been made in recent years down to the rupture with China last year.

The Map and the Bibliography appended to the article will be found very useful by all who wish to study the history and actual condition and prospects of Japan.

T. W.

"THE PAHLAVI TEXT SERIES."—Vol. I. *Nīrangistān*: a Photo-zincographed Facsimile of one MS., with an Introduction and a Collation of another. Edited by DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANJANA. (Bombay: Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet.)

The following is taken from *The Academy* of April 6th, 1895:—

When the late Prof. James Darmesteter was in Bombay, he delivered a lecture to the Parsi community upon their religion and sacred books, on February 2, 1887, in which

he earnestly advised them to raise a fund among themselves for the publication of a few important Pahlavi texts which existed only in rare or unique MSS. He further suggested that a Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund would be a suitable Parsi memorial of the jubilee of the Queen-Empress, which was then rapidly approaching. The fund was raised and a committee was appointed to arrange for the publication of three such texts, one of which, edited by their secretary, a son of their high priest, has now appeared.

So far as is yet known, the Nīrangistān consists of two or more fragments of the Hūspāram Nask, one of the law-books of the Zoroastrian religion in Sasanian times; and it was probably copied in Persia about A.D. 1471, or earlier, from the remains of an old MS. long since lost. The copy of 1471, or an early descendant of it, was taken to India by a Persian priest in 1720, where it was copied by Jāmāsp Āsā, the best Pahlavi scholar of his time, in 1727; and it is his copy, now belonging to Dastūr Hōshang of Poona, that has been photographed for this edition, the copy brought from Persia having disappeared. The editor has also printed the text of some defective and missing folios, with a collation of the remainder, from an independent MS. obtained by Ervad Tahmuras from Persia some twenty years ago. This MS. is certainly older than Jāmāsp Āsā's copy, and is more complete at the beginning; but it has lost about sixteen folios at the end, and a few others are damaged. If these defects had not existed, it would have been the better MS. to have photographed. As it contains the text of three folios missing in the Indian copy, it must be descended from an earlier copy of the old MS. in Persia, written before that MS. had lost those three folios; and its text is generally more intelligible than that of the Indian copy.

Like the Vendidad with Pahlavi, the Nīrangistān contains an Avesta text alternating with its Pahlavi translation, but interspersed with much longer Pahlavi commentaries, so that the proportion of Pahlavi to Avesta text is nine

to one, instead of the Vendidad proportion of rather more than two to one. The Avesta text has been extracted and translated, with the assistance of the Pahlavi, by Darmesteter in his French translation of the Zend-Avesta (vol. iii, pp. 78–148), and he has shown that it forms as connected a treatise as most parts of the Vendidad. An English translation of the same will accompany the second edition of his Vendidad in the "Sacred Books of the East."

Although Haug quoted passages from the Nīrangistān in the *Zend-Pahlavi Glossary* (pp. 76, 77, 126) in 1867, and gave some account of the contents of the Nīrangistān section of the Hūspāram Nask in the *Pahlavi-Pāzand Glossary* (p. 130) in 1870, he did not attempt to identify the two texts. This identity seems to have been first suggested in the second edition of his *Essays on the Parsis* (p. 99), in 1878. But it was not until the epitome of the Nasks, contained in the Dīnkard, was translated in 1892 in the "Sacred Books of the East" (vol. xxxvii) that the identity of the last seven-eighths of the Nīrangistān MS. with the first three-fifths of the Nīrangistān section of the Hūspāram Nask became fully evident; while the beginning of the MS. was found to agree with the beginning of the Aēr patistān section of the same Nask. The Aēr patistān, or priest-code, contained the laws and regulations affecting the rights and duties of the Zoroastrian priesthood, and it preceded the Nīrangistān, or ritual-code, which regulated the details of many religious ceremonies. There can be no doubt that these laws, collected and commented on in Sasanian times, will be of much interest to the Parsi priesthood when fully translated, while such of them as have become obsolete may afford a wide field for polemical dispute. To the laity, however, who are eminently practical, religious commentaries are only entertaining as records of old customs.

The facsimile of 195 octavo folios has been well executed by the Bombay Government Photo-zincographic Department; and the editor's collation of the Iranian MS. seems to have been carefully made. In his new edition of the

Pahlavi Vendidad, which is well advanced, he will have a better opportunity of displaying his abilities as an editor of texts. It should be noticed that the first folio of the facsimile commences with a short Nīrang, or rite, for the preparation of the Vars, or filaments of hair, supposed to symbolize the ancient hair-sieve for filtering the Hōm-juice prepared and tasted during the ceremonies. This Nīrang is followed by a Persian-Pahlavi colophon dated A.Y. 840 (the last of the three ciphers being unfortunately erased from the photograph); and the colophon states that the Nīrang was found by the writer of that date (A.D. 1471) in the position he has copied it. It forms, however, no part of the Nīrangistān.

E. W. West.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Raghunātha Temple Library of H.H. the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmīr. By M. A. Stein, Ph.D. (Bombay: Nirnaya Sāgara Press, 1894. 4to, pp. xlix and 423.)

This catalogue has been prepared for the Kashmīr State Council, and at its expense, by Dr. Stein, the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore. It gives, in 240 pages, a list of titles of nearly 5000 MSS. arranged alphabetically under each of twenty-five heads (Vedas, Grammar, Law, Vedanta, Astronomy, Epics, etc.); with parallel columns giving, whenever ascertainable, the name of the author, state of the MS., character used, number of leaves, and general remarks. These data have been prepared in slips by native pandits on the spot specially selected for the work, and acting throughout under Dr. Stein's direction and supervision. Introductory chapters are devoted to the history of the library, and to special notes on particularly noteworthy MSS. A supplementary division (125 pages) is devoted to extracts from the more important MSS., giving the beginnings, the endings, the colophons, and occasionally other passages. There follow complete indices to authors, to books, and to miscellaneous notices.

The library was established by the present Mahārāja's father to supply the practical wants of the Sanskrit school (Pāṭhaṣālā) founded by him at Raghunātha. The Jammu pandits, through whom the collection was made, "had to keep in view," as is stated in the preface, "the requirements of the school," and could scarcely be expected to appreciate the historical value of works which had long ago ceased to be studied by the indigenous scholar. Nor were they likely to take special pains about the acquisition of MSS. of great age and critical interest, seeing that in practical use such copies would often have been anything but convenient. It is apparent, however, from Dr. Stein's notes that a very considerable number of works in this library have been hitherto almost, if not quite, unknown to Western scholars.

The labour involved in the completion of this catalogue must have been very great, and we congratulate both the Kashmīr Government and Dr. Stein upon the wisely thought-out plan, and the careful carrying out of a most important and useful undertaking.

LIBER MAFĀTĪH AL-OLŪM EXPLICANS VOCABULA TECHNICA SCIENTIARUM TAM ARABUM QUAM PEREGRINARUM AUCTORE ABŪ ABDALLAH MOHAMMED IBN AHMED IBN JŪSOF AL-KĀTIB AL-KHOWAREZMI. Edidit, indices adiecit C. VAN VLOTEN. Lugduni Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1895, pp. 7 and ٢٢٨.

The "Keys of the Sciences" is the name of a small but most comprehensive encyclopædia of technical terms of all branches of knowledge with which the Arab world was acquainted at the end of the tenth century. It gives evidence not only of the rapidity with which Arab students had, in the short space since the awakening of Moslim science, mastered nearly every subject which then offered a field for research, but also of the progress made in methodical work. In this respect the *MO*—as well as the

nearly contemporaneous *Kitāb al-Fihrist*—is greatly superior to later books of similar character, *e.g.* the *Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt*, which, being an alphabetical reference book of technical terms, scarcely extends beyond theology, philosophy, and linguistic. Now, although many of its paragraphs are longer than in the *MO*, the latter not only collects the terms belonging to each subject very systematically into groups, but also comments upon their etymologies. The omission of an alphabetical arrangement has, however, been made good by the editor, who attached a very complete index to the text.

Dr. Van Vloten justly points out, that the author does not name all the sources upon which he drew for his information. It seems to me that he was not always able to do so, because in some cases he evidently did not rely upon written books at all, but upon verbal instruction, which led to some inaccuracies. In a short introduction he states his object to be first of all a linguistic one, viz. to save those who wish to write a book on a special subject from employing incongruous expressions. He gives several instances which tend to show how the same term assumes different meanings in the different departments of science.

The book itself is divided into two parts, of which the first treats of subjects, sacred and profane, peculiar to Arabic-speaking mankind, whilst the second is devoted to foreign (Persian and Greek) branches of knowledge. As a matter of course, the book begins with an enumeration of the terms of the *Fiqh* in all its subdivisions, but, strange to say, omits to give a definition of the term *Qorān*[1] (see *KT.* p. 181). The (second) chapter on the *Kalām* not only offers a list of the Moslim sects, both Sunnite and Shiite, but also of those of the Christian and Jewish churches. In those rather unfamiliar subjects the author evidently derived his information from verbal instruction. His mistakes are, however, of some linguistic interest. He traces back العنانية (the Qaraite followers of Ānān) to

[1] القرآن in the index is a misprint for القران (without *Madda*).

عانى,[1] which name he, according to his own illustration, framed on the analogy of المنانيّة, the followers of مانى. With this vulgar *Nisba* he gives a few pages later on (p. 37) the formation المانوية, which might have been looked for also on p. 34. But evidently influenced by his faulty explanation of العنانية, he adds ولا ادرى لِمَ جعلوا هذه النسبة على غير قياس وكذلك الحرنانية المنسوبة الى حرّان والعنانية الى عانى من اليهود (see Wright, Grammar I, § 254). He then mentions the sect القرعية with the very peculiar explanation اكثر طعامهم البقول والقرع وأكثر أوانيهم القرع. It is possible that the author here followed the account of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub al-Qirqisāni (937),[2] who, however, gives no satisfactory explanation of the name of this sect. Perhaps it is nothing but a misinterpretation of the general name of the *Qaraites*, which is usually spelt القرائية or القَرَئيه.

The chapter treating on the grammatical terms is very full, and also frequently draws attention to the different employments of terms in the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa. The definitions of the single terms are pleasingly terse, and, beside being much more detailed than in the *KT*, furnish a whole grammar *in nuce*.

Of special interest is the chapter on public affairs, comprising the Boards of taxes, finances, mail, army, estates, measures, weights, and distribution of water. As a matter of course there are here many foreign words, especially Persian, of which the author adds the etymologies. The paragraph on rhetoric attached to this chapter forms a very welcome supplement to Mehren's list (*Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Wien, 1853). The chapter on poetry which comes next contains a complete theory of prosody (fifteen metres with their branches and poetic licenses), many example verses, further the rules of the rhyme, the

[1] Aššahrastāni, ed. Cureton, p. 167, gives the right name عانان.
[2] *Kitāb alanwār walmaqārib*, ed. Harkavy, St. Petersburg, 1894, pp. 262 and 308.

etymologies of the technical terms used, collections of rhetorical figures, etc.

The following chapter, being of a historical character, gives a list of Persian kings, and another of Omayyad and Abbasside Khalīfas, with their surnames. The list goes down as far as At-Ṭā'ī, who ascended the throne 974 (*cf.* Editor's preface, p. 4). To this are attached lists of kings of Yaman and Ma'add in the pre-Islamic period. The series of the "Kings of Rūm" begins with the successors of Alexander of Macedonia. In this list the author enumerates ten rulers who had each the name Ptolemy, and among whom he also places the author of the Almagest. To this chapter are joined explanations of (mostly Persian) expressions connected with the record mentioned before. A special chapter treats of the "*(battle-)days of the Arabs.*"

The second part of the book begins with a definition of the term *philosophy*, its divisions and its relation to logic. This is followed by some chapters on *theology*, or rather metaphysics, in which the whole repertory of the Arab scholastic school is displayed. Logic (لوغيا) and propædeutics occupy one chapter, and Aristotle's categories another. Expositions of other writings of Aristotle follow, in which the author also included one on Sophism. The next section treats of diseases and medicaments. Then follows arithmetic, with a table of the numbers till *a thousand*, also a tablet showing the numerical value of the letters of the alphabet. Geometry and stereometry form the contents of the following piece. In the section on astronomy one chapter is devoted to the names of the planets, both Arabic and Persian, to the zodiac, "stations" of the moon and the other constellations, others to spherical geometry and astronomical instruments. Chapters on music, mechanics, and chemistry close the book.

This brief sketch will show how well advised Dr. Van Vloten was to undertake the publication of the book. The nature of the subject and the unusual amount of foreign words rendered the task rather embarrassing, and the

copyists of the MSS. have contributed little to smooth the difficulties. The editor, however, managed to steer with great skill and discrimination through the very numerous *variæ lectiones* and corruptions. On p. 3, l. 3 it is perhaps better to read (with C) المُبْرِز "*who brings out* (*a book*) *on Adab.*" In the index *sub* الشيعة read ٢٨.

On the whole the edition affords a new proof of the thoroughness and efficiency of the Leyden school.

H. Hirschfeld.

The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lāmaism, with its Mystic Cults, Symbolism, and Mythology, and in its Relation to Indian Buddhism. By L. Austine Waddell, M.B., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., etc. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Ltd., 1895.

This book comes to supply a serious want, long felt by all who take an interest in Buddhism and its developments. It is, in fact, the first Western book giving a practical account of Lāmaism derived from or based on original research among Tibetan books and Tibetan monks and people. "The special characteristics of the book," to quote the words of the Preface, "are its detailed accounts of the external facts and curious symbolism of Buddhism, and its analyses of the internal movements leading to Lāmaism and its sects and cults. It provides material culled from hoary Tibetan tradition, and explained to me by Lāmas for elucidating many obscure points in primitive Indian Buddhism and its later symbolism. Thus a clue is supplied to several disputed doctrinal points of fundamental importance, as for example the formula of the Causal Nexus. And it interprets much of the interesting Mahāyāna and Tāntrik developments in the later Indian Buddhism of Magadha."

The author groups the subjects of which he treats in the present book under eight comprehensive headings. The first is entitled "Historical," and under it we have accounts

of the Changes in Primitive Buddhism leading to Lāmaism, of the Rise, Development, and Spread of Lāmaism, and of the Sects of Lāmaism. In the second group, headed "Doctrinal," the subjects treated of are the Metaphysical Sources of the Doctrine, the Doctrine and its Morality, and Scriptures and Literature. Under the third heading, "Monastic," the author gives minute descriptions of the Order of Lāmas, the Daily Life and Routine, and of the Hierarchy and Re-incarnate Lāmas. In the fourth group, entitled "Buildings," we have Temples and Cathedrals, and Shrines and Relics. The fifth group, "Mythology and Gods," includes the Pantheon and Images, and the Sacred Symbols and Charms. In the sixth group, headed "Ritual and Sorcery," we have chapters on Worship and Ritual, Astrology and Divination, and Sorcery and Necromancy. "Festivals and Plays" is the title of the seventh heading, under which we have chapters on Festivals and Holidays, and on Sacred Dramas, Mystic Plays, and Masquerades. The eighth and last group is entitled "Popular Lāmaism," and it has a short chapter on Domestic and Popular Lāmaism.

As Appendices the author has given a very useful Chronological Table and an excellent Bibliography. There is also a good Index, and the treatise is profusely illustrated, the illustrations being "mostly from originals brought from Lhasa and from photographs by the author."

This book is not easy reading. It bristles over with ugly Tibetan words and sentences, and it treats of subjects most of which must be quite new to all readers. It is, however, a most painstaking and thoroughly honest attempt to present to the student all that is known or can be known about the religion of Tibet. The author has evidently made a careful study of Buddhism and its fortunes in other countries before proceeding to treat of the history and peculiar developments of that religion in Tibet, and he shows an extensive acquaintance with the chief contributions of Western writers on Buddhistic subjects. It is impossible to give here even a meagre outline or abstract of the

contents of his book. It is full of useful and curious information, at times overflowing into long notes.

The account of the changes which led to Lāmaism, and of the origin and growth of that sect and of the sub-sects which arose in it, is specially interesting. It is possible, however, that some students of Northern Buddhism may feel disposed to take exception to the author's description and estimate of the great Mahāyāna system. Moreover, in treating of the present distribution of Lāmaism, he puts down the Chinese province of Manchuria as "largely Lāmaist, with a population of about 3,000,000." But Lāmaism certainly does not prevail in Manchuria at present, either among the Chinese or Manchoos. Near the capital, Moukden, there are two small Buddhist monasteries, with Tibetan Lāmas in them, but these and probably the other Lāma temples in Manchuria are merely imperial chapels.

The account which Dr. Waddell gives of the Lāmas themselves also is exceedingly interesting. He describes minutely for us the training of the Tibetan boy devoted to the sacred office, the grades through which he has to pass before he receives ordination as a priest, his material equipment, the various degrees of rank among the priests, and the "Re-incarnate Lāmas." The discipline of the monastic establishments, and the great authority exercised by the higher Lāmas over those of inferior rank, and also allowed to them over the common lay-people, are fully described.

Our author gives also a most interesting account of the numerous religious services performed on various occasions at the request of laymen. Many of these services, he shows, do not belong to any form of Buddhism, but to the old demon-worship of pre-Buddhist times. He shows also how deeply the fear of malignant unseen powers enters into the daily life of the Tibetans, and, connected with that subject, how the Lāmas have obtained a spiritual power over the people which holds all in abject servitude. Then follow chapters which give copious information about the Pantheon and Images of Tibetan worship, about the

Sacred Symbols and Charms, about Worship and Ritual, Astrology and Divination, Sorcery and Necromancy, and the Domestic and Popular Lāmaism. These chapters will afford useful and interesting reading, not only to the students of Buddhism but also to all who are interested in religion and folklore. For, as the author shows, much of the worship and many of the beliefs and practices prevalent among the Tibetans are due to low types of religion and knowledge not connected with Buddhism. "Both Lāmas and people," he writes, "are so steeped in pagan superstition and idolatry that their un-Buddhist features and practices are most conspicuous. As the Tibetans see nature in its ultimate stronghold, in all its pitiless force and fury, terrorizing the brave as well as the timid, their child-like character impels them to worship the more proximate agents which seem to visibly wreck their fields and flocks, and vex them as with disease and disaster.

Their inveterate craving for material protection against those malignant gods and demons has caused them to pin their faith on charms and amulets, which are to be seen everywhere dangling from the dress of every man, woman, and child" (p. 570).

T. W.

Notes on African Philology.

The most notable feature is the appearance of the "Zeitschrift fur africanische und oceanische Sprachen," edited by Herr A. Seidel, Secretary of the German Colonial Society. It is published at Berlin (D. Reimer), and appears quarterly in parts, and quarto-sized paper, in the German language, but Roman characters. Part I and II for January and April, 1895, are before me; these are most important contributions on African languages by the Editor, and Dr. Christaller, and Grube, and Meinhof, and Krause. The contributors are chiefly German, and the languages are chiefly within the sphere of German influence, but the enterprise is a most important one, and deserves every

support. It is much to be regretted that there is not a similar publication for the scores of languages spoken in the African Colonies, Protectorates, and spheres of influence of Great Britain. One paper on the languages of Oceania is contributed by an accomplished young English Board-School Master, Mr. Sidney Ray.

North Africa.

I. Major-General F. T. Haig has published in London, in 1895, a tentative Grammar of the Beidawi language, spoken by the tribes in the North-Eastern Sudan, with short vocabulary and sentences. It consists of only seventy-nine small pages: the author spent some months at Suakin, while engaged in assisting the distribution of relief in the famine-stricken tribes, who had crowded down to that Fort. On his return to England he supplemented his original collection by reference to the celebrated work by Professor Almkvist, of Upsala, in Sweden.

West Africa.

II. Major Leonard Darwin, M.P., has published in the *National Review* a paper on the Niger Territories and Hausa Association, which has for its object to gather information with regard to the Hausa language, the important lingua franca of that part of Africa.

III. A new accession to our knowledge of the languages of the Guinea coast has come to us under the title of Manuel Dahoméen, by M. Delafosse, comprising an introduction, grammar, reader, and dictionary. The inhabitants of the Kingdom of Dahómey speak a dialect of the far-spread Ewé language.

South Africa.

IV. Dr. Laws has published at Edinburgh an important English-Nyanja Dictionary. This is an important language spoken in the neighbourhood of the Nyása lake in British Central Africa. It is primarily for the use of the Missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland, but it is a great addition to knowledge.

V. I mention the remaining small works of the Bantu Family of languages collectively: In Swahíli we have to record a new edition of St. Matthew's Gospel in the Arabic character; in Kagúru portions of the Book of Common Prayer; the same, as well as hymns, in the language of Tavéta, a mountainous district about 120 miles W.N.W. of Mombása, to which language Mr. J. A. Wray has also written an excellent grammatical introduction. The language, treated of in this little manual, is called Sagalla. We further mention a Catechism and a Primer in Ganda, and a First Reading Book in Nyanja. The Universities' Mission Press at Magíla, in the Bondei district, has issued a volume of Bondei Exercises, on the plan of Steere's Swahíli Exercises, by the Rev. G. Dale, a very accurate and trustworthy book. There is also a book of Stories, Enigmas, and Proverbs, in the same language, edited by the Rev. H. W. Woodward, and a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew. From South Africa we have received a useful English-Mashóna Dictionary, with conversations, by the Rev. A. M. Hartmann, and a Dictionary of Suto by the late Rev. A. Mabille. Approaching now the great Angóla Region in Portuguese Africa, we first note an essay by Heli Chatelain, on the geographic names in the province. This paper and the three following have appeared in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society. They are entitled "Bantu Notes and Vocabularies," and treat of Shilange and Luba, with comparative lists of words in Bundu, Bangála, Kióko, Lunda, Songe, Kuba, Benéki, Teke, and a few other languages. We owe to the same Bantu scholar also a volume of "Folk-tales of Angóla," in the original Bundu, with English translation, an introduction, and notes.

Notes on Oceanic Philology.

I. Graf von der Schulenburg has published, at Leipzig, a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Sentences, of the language

of Murray Island, adjacent to New Guinea: it is in the German language, and comprises 133 pages.

II. I mention the publications of that industrious and promising scholar, Mr. Sidney Ray, collectively:

(1) Note on a Vocabulary of Ulia, in the Caroline Islands. 1890.

(2) Sketch of Aulua Grammar, with Vocabulary of Aulua, Lamangkan, Malekula, New Hebrides, in Melanesia. 1893.

(3) Language of British New Guinea: Journal of Anthropological Society. 1894.

Parts I. and II.

(4) Languages of the New Hebrides: Royal Society of New South Wales. 1895.

(5) Oceanic Ethnology. 1895.

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XXI. — *Southern Chin Vocabulary (Minbu District).* By BERNARD HOUGHTON, M.R.A.S.

THE accompanying words and phrases of Southern Chin, as spoken at the foot of the Arakan Yoma Mountains in the Minbu district, were taken down a few years since by Major B. A. N. Parrott, I.S.C., who later on presented to me the book in which they were written, along with others on Oriental subjects. They are interesting as representing the most Northern dialect of this language, which reaches its most Southern point in the Sandoway district. (I pass by the dialect spoken in Bassein and the South of Henzada as being much corrupted by the extended intercourse which has there taken place between the Chins and the Burmans.) In publishing now this Vocabulary of Minbu Chin it has seemed advisable to compare it word by word with that of the Sandoway district, not merely in order to show more clearly the dialectic variations which exist, but also as an assistance towards the elucidation of the still obscure philological laws which obtain in this family of languages. In a speech which has suffered so

extraordinarily from phonetic corruption and decay as this latter, all evidence which will in any way tend to join together the scattered links of verbal stems and endings must be considered as scientifically useful.

As regards the accuracy of the list of Minbu Chin words, it will suffice to say that even if they had not the *imprimatur* of so able an officer as Major Parrott, the internal evidence is all in favour of their being a careful and painstaking representation of the spoken words of the people themselves. I have ventured, however, to bring the spelling into line with that now usually adopted in reference to the languages of the Far East, the method of transliteration authorized by the Burmese Government hardly answering all the requirements of a true scientific system. It should be added that the modified *u* (*ü*), which probably exists, is not distinguished from *u* simple, nor are any tones represented.

Most of the verbs are given in the present tense, or rather aorist, and in these, as well as in the few forms given separately from the vocabulary, there will be noticed a curious variation in the affix—a variation which seems partly, but not altogether, due to a law of phonetic sequence. Thus, we have *he*-it 'he asks,' but *su*-ot 'he assembles,' and *tauk*-öt 'it is born.' Occasionally the *t* changes to *k*, as *hön*-ök or *hön*-ot 'it is dark.' This change, as well as intercalated *w*, (*o*-w*ot* 'it burns'), is common enough in languages of this family, but the same cannot be said of the *h*, which is sometimes prefixed to *ot*, as in 'lå-ko-*hot*. *H* generally represents a softened *k*, or k^{ϵ}, and is never used merely euphonically. The termination *ot*, *it*, or *ök* is, I apprehend, merely the verb *ot* 'to be,' 'to remain,' (Burm. *nē*), but whether this verb has dropped an initial *h* or whether the *h* in the termination represents another root compounded with *ot* is doubtful, though the latter seems the more plausible explanation. In the centre of the Sandoway district *ü* is the termination of the aorist, and *ni-ü* of the past, as compared with *hü* and *ni-hü* in the more Northern parts.

The *a* inserted in some cases before *hot* would seem to be merely euphonical. *Palön* or *pön* in the past tense appears to be the same as *p'in* in the Sandoway Chin perfect, and indeed, judging from the form of the verb, it is not improbable that it is really a perfect and not a past tense.

The termination *nē* or *'në* for the imperative, if correct, is certainly curious, as in the Sandoway district this is the termination for the *negative* imperative, (do *not* go). *'Ni* for 'may' is possibly a corruption of the Burmese colloquial *'nain*, as the regular S. Chin verb *k'o* is also used.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.		Minbu.	Sandoway.
I bring	ka lwë	ka lö.	I go	ka sai-it	ka sit-ü.
I brought	ka lu [1] palök	ka lö niü.	I went	ka sai-palön-höt	ka sit-niü.
I will bring	ka lwë-i	ka lö-waih.	I will go	ka sai-i	ka sī-yaih.
Bring (thou)	lu-ʿnë	lö-wē.	Go (thou)	sit-ʿnë	sit-wē.
I may bring	ka lw-i ʿni	ka lö kʿo-wo.	I may go	ka sai-i-ʿni	ka sit kʿo-wo.
Will you bring?	[2] lw-i må	m' lö-waih må.	Will you go?	m' sai-i ʿni må	m' sī-yaih må.
I come		ka lo-wo.	I sell	ka ye-yi [3]	ka yī-ü.
I came	ka lē palön höt	ka lo-niü.	I sold	ka ye-pön höt	ka yī-niü. [4]
I will come	ka lw'i	ka lo-waīh.	I will sell	ka-ye-yi	ka yī-aih.
Come (thou)	le-të, le-ʿnë	lo-wē.	Sell (thou)	ye ʿnë	yī-wē.
I may come	ka-lu-i ʿni	ka lo kʿo-wo.	I may sell		ka yī-kʿo-wo.
Will you come?	[2] lu-i må	m' lo-waih må.	Will you sell?	m' ye-yi-må	m' yī-aih må.

[1] Observe the alteration in the verbal stem.
[2] *m'* appears to have been accidentally omitted.
[3] Probably the future.
[4] Cf. *ka yī-pʿei-ni-ü* = I had come.

Sentences.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
Can you get?	n' la kʿo-a-må	na lö kʿo-wa-må.
How large will it be?	pati len-i-må	pahyo ʿlën-aih-må.
How far is it?	pusö ʿlo-a-må	pazå ʿlo-wa-må.
I will go to-day	toda, *or* taʿnöt, ka sai-i	tüʿnūt ka sī-yaih.
He is bald	alu-ā shon më-la	alu-ā sån moi-lá.
I am unable to go myself	kyē kodin[1] sit-kʿo lań[2]	kyē kodün ka sit-kʿo la.
Who will go?	ani sīti-må	ani sī-yaih må.
I cannot come	kyē ʿla kot la-hań	kyē ka lo-kʿo lá.
Try to ask	hē-sauń-nē	hī-san-wē.
I live in the city	kyē mlu-ā ka ot-wā	kyē mlū-ā ka ån-ü.
Beat the dog	ū-i shau-wē[3]	ū-i shö-wē
It doesn't matter	kaisa më la	kesa moi-lá.
I don't know	ka ʿma lań	ka ʿmak-lá, *or* ka ʿma-lá.
Under the house	in-kå-ā	in-gō-wā.

Miscellaneous.

Numeral auxiliaries. *Lu* is used for animals.

One dog	ū-i-lu-hot	ū-i zün-hå.
One horse	shi lu-hot	she zün-hå.
Lâ for flat things.		
One mat	pʿauk lå-hot	ʿsapauk lo-hå.

The only masculine and feminine of a noun given (*ū-i-hāń* 'a dog,' *ū-i-nu* 'a bitch') are the same as in Sandoway.

This morning	ta-won-wa	ango-bå-ā.
This evening	ta-mū-wa	ni-amü-ā.
On that side	tå-pada	sü-bå-ā.
By day	ahauta	aʿnūt-ā.

[1] *ka* apparently omitted here.
[2] *la, lat, lań, la-hań* are different forms of the negative.
[3] The imperative given here is identical with the Sandoway Chin. See *supra*.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
By night	ayana	ayan-ā.
Daily	ʿnu-tadi	ʿnūt-titi.
All day	ʿnu-hot-shit	ʿnūt-hå-ʿset-ʿset.
Able (be)	kʿō	kʿō.
Above	honā	bü.
Adhere	lai-lu-*ot*	kå-ē.
All	pa-pök	saih-saih.
Angry (be)	lön pu-*s*[1]*ot*	amlüṅ tö.
Arise	tu	tʿö.
Ashes (wood)	atak	tʿan-mūt.
Ask	hē-*it*	hī.
Assemble	su-*ot*	sü-ē.
Aunt	pŏt	apŏ.[2]
Axe	hai	ahē.
Back	ʿlūn-shö	aʿliṅ.
Bad (be)	pwoi-*lat*	boi-nü, boi-lá=not good.
Bamboo	yu	yō.
Beat (with hand)	shö-*öt*	shö.
Be, remain	ot	ån.
Beckon	ködö-un awai-*it*	akūt-don-hoi.
Behind	ʿnu-pada, ʿnö-pada	ʿnü-klån.
Below	tit-kʿå	gŏ, dauṅ.
Bitch	ū-i-nu	ū-i-nü.
Bitter (be)	wo-*hot*	kʿo.
Blood	tʿi	atʿi.
Born (be)	tauk-*öt*	tau-ē.
Break	kyi-*it*[3]	mun.
Breasts	se-ū-i	aʿsō-i.
Bridge	ʿlauk-ʿlwi	ʿlauk-ʿlē.
Bring	lwë	lö.

[1] *s* seems rather doubtful.
[2] *i.e.* mother's brother's wife.
[3] *Cf.* Lushai, *kā*.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
Buffalo	nō	nōn.
Burman	wō	wǭ.
Burn (as fire)	më ō-*wot*	mē ō.
Care (take)	sadi to	ʿsadi to, pĕk.
Cheek	pēṅ-hē	bēhē.
Chest	kan-san	kan-zan.
Chin	mon-kʿa	kʿå-dö.
City	mlū	mlü.
Cold (be)	yon-*it*	yōn-ē.
Come	le	lō.
Cool (be)	yē	yå-ē.
Cough	kʿu-*öt*	n'kʿü.
Crooked (be)	kök-*öt*	kōk-lök.
Croton	kyet-shu-yon	nyauṅ-blī.
Curry	on	ån.
Dark (be)	höṅ-*ök*, hön-*ot*	shün.
Datura	pwon-kwon	yōn.
Daughter-in-law	no.	
Deep (be)	tök-*a-khot*	tʿük.
Destroyed (be)	ot-so	plak.
Devise	shi-*öt*	kyiṅ.
Die	tu-öt	dü.
Difficult (be)	kʿau-kut	kyī.
Difficulty	ta-kʿaut-da-ni.	
Dig	taik-a så-*wot*	sö.
Disobedient (be)	kyet-kyet tʿun-lat	nyē.
Do	sai	saih.
Dog	ū-i-hān	ū-i-hān.
Doorway	tauṅ-kʿu	dauṅ-kʿō.
Drink	å	ōk.
Ear-plug	ʿnō	aʿnō.
Easy (be)	tʿun-ho lwi-*it*	lo-i.
Exist, be	më	moi.
Eye	myek	amĭ.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
Father	po	apō.
Fell, cut down	shot-*it*	ʿsåk (= cutting generally).
Fever (have)	kå-*wot*	kå.
Fire	më	mē.
Fish	ṅō	ṅō.
Flea (dog)	ū-i ʿlī	ū-i-ʿlī.
Foot	ko-shauṅ, kʿa-shauṅ	kʿō.
Fort	twot.	
Fruit	tʿai	tʿē.
Ginger	tʿēṅ	atʿēn.
Glad (be)	an-*ek*	pyau-pyā.
Grandfather	pakto	apŏ.
Grandmother	panu	apŏ-ʿsan-nü.
Great (be)	ʿlin-*a-hot*	ʿlën.
Grind	tu-wot	kluk.
Hair (of head)	son	aʿsån.
Hand	köt	kūt.
Hard (be)	san-(*a*)-*hot*	kāṅ.
Head	lu	alü.
Hear	yåk-*oo*	yauk.
Heavy (be)	yi-*a-hot*	yī.
Horse	shē	shē, sī.
Hot (be)	ʿlåko-*hot*, ö ōt-*et*	lōk, ök.
How	pati, pusö	pazå.
Husband	pado	pʿowā, (patʿō = man).
I	kyē	kyē.
Immediately	twā-ba	tü-ā=now.
Indian corn	yan-bu	shan-bōn.
Itch	tʿauk-*et*	tʿauk.
Jacket	auṅ-gyī	auṅ-gyī.
Kernel	ahauṅ	azauṅ.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
Kick	kʿu-shauṅ hon ali-*ök*	kʿō-nü kyōk
Know	ʿmad-*ek*	ʿmak.
Ladder	aʿlauk	aʿlauk.
Lake	twi-öng	tū-i-auṅ.
Last	aʿnu-la	aʿnü-ʿsün.
Lazily	ta-kyo-dani.	
Lazy (be)	tʿon-ot	dån.
Leaf	aʿnu[1]	lå.
Leg	ko-shauṅ	dån.
Light (be)	tanu-*a-hot*, waṅ-*ök*	tʿåṅ, wā.
Lip	mon-ha	amōn.
Look	ʿlaiṅ-*ōt*	ʿsåk.
Lost (be)	kyip-*ut*	klük.
Louse	hait	hëk.
Man	kʿlauṅ	kʿlauṅ
Mat	pʿauk	sa-pauk.
Meet	kʿon	kʿån.
Millet	kyauṅ.	
Mix	ya-*wot*	tʿåk.
Mother	nu	anü.
Mouth	mon-ʿma	wå-kʿō.
Much (how)	pa-kyēt, pu-sö	pazå.
Neck	hauk-pön	la-bōn.
Necklace	ö-yon	ån-yån.
Nest	pu-ho-bu	abü.
Nose	not-tʿo	ʿnut-tō.
Now	twā	tü-ā.
Obtain	la	bun-ē.
One	hot	hå.
Onion (see 'leek')	kwet-shon	kå-ʿsün.
Open	ho-*wot*	hü.

[1] *Cf.* Lushai, *'nā*.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
Papaya	shan-på-tʿai.	
Path	lon	lån.
Peepul tree	yon-lok-tʿen	yōṅ-ban.
Plantain	han-but *or* bu	ṅa-bōk.
Play	kywi-*it*	dalē
Press down	pu-ṅo la tauk-kʿo	dūt.
Push	shun-et	būk.
Quickly	pʿa-tun, myan-myan, pu-dun	myan-myan.
Reap	tanö	yan.
Remember	sadi la-*ök*	n'zun-mi.
Return	bå-*hot*	bån.
Rice	sauṅ	asauṅ.
Salt	zī	zī.
Salt (be)	zī-kʿu	
Scream	bo-ot	hī.
Seek	shwi-yë	ʿsü-ē.
Shell	kye-kyait	kā-kō.
Shoot	lapot kʿu-*wot*	kåk.
Shoulder	pā	apā.
Shut (down)	kut-*it*	kʿa.
Side (of body)	sen-kyē	adiṅ-byiṅ.
,, (generally)	böta, pöda	bå, pat.
Silently	pipi, titi	dīdī.
Slave	ta	myā.
Smock-frock	pʿaṅ	apʿyan.
Snake	pʿå	pʿå.
Son-in-law	tu	atü.
Sour (be)	tu-*wot*	tʿō.
Split	pʿå-*hot*, koko-*ök*	pʿē.
Steal	yu-*wo-it*	myō-ē.
Stocks (confine in)	krid-*it*	kʿlō-wā tauk.
Stone	alun	alün.
Sweet (be)	tu-*yit*	tü-i.

	Minbu.	Sandoway.
Taungya	len	alö.
That	ta-ni	t'ō.
Thick (be)	sŏ-*a-höt*	a'sō (=thickness).
Thigh	p'ai	ap'ē.
This	ni	nī.
Those	nauṅ	nauṅ.
Thus	ni-k'a	ni-k'ā.
Tick	pē-u-yi.	
Tickle	lo-*wo-it*	myån.
Together	tu-tu	atü.
Tomato	nauṅ-t'i-tu	'san-kalaṅ.
Tongue	lē-på	amlē-bå.
Tooth	ho	ahō.
Tree	yōn	t'ēn, (yōn=stalk).
Turban	tom-bok	tauṅ-pauk.
Turmeri	oi	a-oi.
Under	kå	go.
Wait (for)	yānai	yēṅ.
Wash	shå-tē	shau.
Water	twī	tū-i.
When	patā	pak'wā.
Where?	pipöt	bāṅ-ā.
Which, what?	piha-må	bauṅ.
Whither?	api-ā	baṅ-ā.
Who?	ani-må	anī.
Why?	api-ya-lu-må	pak'ātinü.
Wide (be)	lu-wo-*hot*	yauh.
Wife	p'a	p'ayā.
Yawn	han-*ot*	hān.
Yesterday	yan-tā	andā.
night	yan-tā-mū-ā	andā-mü-ā.

ART. XXII.—*On the Mediæval Castle and Sanctuary of Abrīḳ, the modern Arabkir; with some further Notes on Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion.* By GUY LE STRANGE.

FROM two of my friends, Professor De Goeje and Mr. Hogarth, I have had the good fortune to receive many corrections for my recent paper on Ibn Serapion,[1] and these I now hasten to publish, as throwing much new light on the subject of the geography of Mesopotamia in the time of the Caliphs.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth has recently returned from a voyage in Asia Minor. The critical remarks which he has sent me refer especially to the proper identification of the streams described by Ibn Serapion, and these are of the highest value, as being the testimony of one who has himself travelled over the whole of this country; for it must always be remembered that the Kiepert map (the best we possess for this region) is here far from accurate, besides being very deficient in detail.

With what Mr. Hogarth writes I have intercalated the more important of the series of corrections and remarks, extending over the whole of my paper, which Professor De Goeje, of Leyden, was good enough to forward to me a short time after the receipt of my paper. No words of mine are needed to emphasize the value of emendations by the scholar who has edited the text of Tabari and the series of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*.

The corrections for the Arabic text (chiefly grammatical) I must keep for future publication, but I may take this

[1] See J.R.A.S. for January and April of this year.

opportunity gratefully to acknowledge how much I feel indebted, both to Professor De Goeje and to Mr. Hogarth, for the kindness they have done me in thus minutely examining my work, and for the liberality with which they have placed the results of their criticism at my disposal.

Before, however, communicating the notes which have been sent me, I must in the first place plead guilty to a notable blunder made in identifying the Castle of Abrīḳ (see pp. 58, 63, and 65) with the Byzantine Tephrikē, which is the modern Divrigi, situated on the Tchalta Irmak. As it has been rightly marked on my map, the Castle of Abrīḳ, which stood on the Nahr Abrīḳ, is undoubtedly to be identified with the present Arabkir lying on the Saritchit-chek Su; for this latter stream is the Nahr Abrīḳ described by Ibn Serapion. My blunder was caused by a note in the recent edition of Mas'ūdi's "Tanbih," where it is stated (note *d* to p. 183) that by Ḳal'a Abrīḳ "intelligitur urbs Tephrikē." The rivers as given by Ibn Serapion, however (see pp. 54 and 63), prove beyond question that the Abrīḳ fortress is to be identified with the modern Arabkir; while Divrigi, which lies a short three-days journey to the north of Arabkir, is doubtless the "Single Fortress" which Ibn Serapion (p. 54) refers to as standing on the Nahr Lūḳīya.

While on the subject of Abrīḳ, I may take the opportunity of giving a translation of the curious account which Yāḳūt quotes in his "Geographical Dictionary" (i, p. 87), having copied it from the work of his contemporary 'Ali of Herat, who wrote about the year 1215 A.D.[1]

Yāḳūt, who spells the name Al-Abrūḳ, says that the place lies in the Greek country, and that it is a sanctuary venerated alike by both Christians and Moslems, who come thither from afar in pilgrimage. He then quotes the description given by 'Ali of Herat, as follows:—

"The account that I heard caused me to visit the place, which I found to lie on the flank of a mountain. You enter

[1] For an account of 'Ali of Herat see "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 8.

by a gate in a tower, and walk some distance underground, until you come to a wide space where the mountains open out so that the sky is seen. In the centre of this space is a lake, and round its border are houses belonging to the Greek husbandmen, their arable fields lying at the back thereof. There is seen here a beautiful church as well as a mosque; hence, if the visitor be a Moslem he is conducted to the mosque, while if he be a Christian he is taken to the church. Further there is an upper-house, where on entering you may see the bodies of certain men who have been slain, for they bear the marks of lance-thrusts and sword-blows, and some of them have lost their limbs. They are clothed in cotton raiment, and this has not rotted. In another place are four bodies standing upright, being supported with their backs against the wall of the cavern. Among them is a youth who has placed his hand on the head of one of the men, the tallest of them all, who is brown-skinned, and he wears a cotton vest. His hand is outstretched as though he would grasp something, and the head of the youth is near his wrist. Next to him is a man whose face has received a cut that has divided his upper lip so that the teeth show. All these men wear turbans. Close beside them stands a woman carrying a child in her arms,[1] whom she suckles at the breast. Further there are to be seen five other men, all standing upright and with their backs to the wall of the place. Here also, in a high upper-chamber, is a throne, on which sit twelve men, and among them a youth whose hands and feet are dyed (red) with *henna*. The Greeks assert that these men were of their nation, while the Moslems say they were certain warriors of Islām who went forth in the days of the Caliph 'Omar—may Allah accept him!—and who were put to death here in cold blood. The people stated also, in regard to them, that their nails grow and that their heads need to be shaved. But there is no surety in all this: the only fact being that

[1] Is it possible that this may refer to some statue of the Virgin and Child, while the "youth" and his companions represented Christ with his Apostles?

the skin is now quite dry on their bones, and hence the bodies do not suffer decay."

Thus far from 'Ali of Herat, who, though a pious pilgrim, is evidently animated by a certain spirit of criticism. The only other detail that may help to fix the identification of this place, is the statement found in Mas'ūdi ("Tanbih," p. 183, and "Meadows of Gold," viii, p. 74) that Abrīḳ was the capital city of the Bailaḳī people; but who these were, I have been unable to determine.

The following paragraphs contain the substance of the notes which Professor De Goeje and Mr. Hogarth have sent me:—

Of the places lying on the Tigris, Professor De Goeje, correcting my note on p. 35, line 6, writes that the ancient Persian name of Mosul was Būdh Ardashīr (see Ibn Khurdadbih, p. 17), not Nawardashīr or Bawardashīr as given in Yāḳūt. Turning to page 41, Dayr Ḳunnā, situated on the Tigris below Baghdād, is named, on the authority of Yāḳūt, the Convent of Marmārī *As-Salīkh*, "the Impotent." This last epithet should be changed to As-Salīḥ, meaning Marmārī "the Apostle," as appears from the more correct text of the "Tanbih," p. 149.

In the description of the Euphrates (p. 47), the town of Al-Mubārik (line 6) should be written Al-Mubārak "the Blessed" (the passive not the active participle), and the same correction applies to the other Al-Mubārak mentioned on pages 307 and 308. In the next place, line 13 of page 47 demands an important correction, for it involves an emendation of the text. Turning back to page 10, line 12, it will be seen that the MS. gave the reading *bi-l-'arbi wa*, which, to make sense, I had emended by the addition of a diacritical point to read *bi-l-gharbi* (omitting the *wa* "and"), and translating (see p. 47) "to the westward of" Al-Anbār. The true reading, as Professor De Goeje writes, is without a doubt *bi-r-Rabb wa*, and the translation (on p. 47, line 13) should read: The Euphrates comes "next to the city of Hīt, from whence it flows by

Ar-Rabb and Al-Anbār." Ar-Rabb is the halting-place on the road from Hīt to Al-Anbār, being twelve leagues or two marches from the former and seven leagues or one march from the latter city (*cf.* Ibn Khurdādbih, p. 72; Kudāma, p. 217; and Muḳaddasi, p. 134). From this point, as I shall have cause to show later on, the *old* Dujayl canal branched off from the Euphrates.

Coming now to the affluents of the Euphrates and their tributaries, Professor De Goeje has the following: The name of the tributary of the Arsanās (p. 63, line 6 and note 1) is better written Salḳiṭ, *without* the Arabic article, it being a foreign proper name. In the paragraph relating to the river Ḳarāḳīs, an emendation of the Arabic text is needed (p. 13, line 7 from below) where, the diacritical point being wanting in the MS., I have printed *min baḥri Bilādi-r-Rūm*. *Baḥr*, literally "sea," I had supposed to be a slip for *Buḥayra* "lake," and so translated it. But for *Baḥr* read *Naḥr*, and translate (p. 63, line 19): The source of the Ḳarāḳīs "is in *the confines* of the Greek Country." In the next paragraph Professor De Goeje holds that Az-Zarnūḳ (not Az-Zarbūḳ) is the true reading. The word *Zarnūḳ*, in Lane's dictionary, has among other significations the meaning of "rivulet"; and the Arabic article shows that the name is not one of foreign origin.

Concerning the other tributary of the Ḳubāḳib river, which Ibn Serapion calls Jūrīth, but which Yāḳūt writes Ḥūrīth (see p. 63, antepenultimate paragraph, and note 5, p. 67), Professor De Goeje would hold to the spelling *Jūrīth*; unless there were better evidence against it than Yāḳūt, a late authority, and who certainly knew nothing about the stream from personal knowledge. Besides the good authority of our MS., it must be remembered that the guttural *ḥ* being a purely Arabic (Semitic) letter, the *j* is more likely to occur in a foreign name, as the one in question undoubtedly is. In the matter of Al-Ḥadath, which lies near this stream, my note (p. 67) has a mistranslation of the passage quoted from Bilādhurī (Balādhūrī, by the way, is the more correct pronunciation). What this

authority really says is that the place was originally called Darb-al-Ḥadath, "the Road of (bad) News or Luck." This, for a better augury, was changed to Darb-as-Salāma, "the Road of Safety or Good Luck."

In regard to the tributary of the Abrīḳ river which Ibn Serapion refers to as the Nahr Zamra (see p. 65), Mr. Hogarth would identify this stream with the modern Kiztek Tchai, whose waters join the Saritchitchek (the Abrīḳ river) two hours below Arabkir. Contrary to what is shown on the Kiepert map, Mr. Hogarth writes that the Miram Tchai (with which I had identified the Zamra) does *not* flow into the Saritchitchek Su, but falls directly into the Euphrates, below Ankhiti.

The next affluent of the Euphrates below the Abrīḳ river is the Nahr Anjā. This, instead of being the stream at the mouth of which lies the village of Tchermik (see p. 58), is more likely to be the stream now called the Soyut Tchai, a broad river flowing into the Euphrates about two hours march to the north-east of Tchermik. On its bank (Mr. Hogarth states) is the favourite halting-place for travellers going from Arabkir to Malaṭya, or from Hakīm Khān (Sivas road) to the ferry across the Euphrates at Keban Ma'den.

We now come to the Ḳubāḳib river, which, after the Arsanās, is the chief affluent of the Upper Euphrates. This river in ancient times was called the Melas, while at present it is known as the Tokhma Su (see p. 58). One of its main tributaries is the Ḳarāḳīs, which I had identified (p. 65) with the present Sultān Su, coming down from the mountains to the south-west of Malaṭya. Now, as Mr. Hogarth points out, the whole region of Malaṭya and the country lying westward towards Mar'ash had by the time of Ibn Serapion (900 A.D.) been permanently conquered and settled by the Moslems. Hence this could not then be known as "the Greek country" (p. 63) where the Ḳarāḳīs is stated to take its rise. It seems probable, therefore, in the first place, that the Zarnūḳ river, which rises "in a mountain between Malaṭya and Ḥiṣn Manṣūr," and its

branch-stream, the River of Malaṭya, should together be identified with the Sultān Su aforesaid. In the second place it is more likely that the Ḳarāḳīs is a *north*-bank affluent of the Tokhma Su, probably the present Aivali Dereh, which flows out of the mountains of Cappadocia, *i.e.* "the Greek country." Mr. Hogarth describes the Aivali Dereh as being so important an affluent of the Tokhma Su, that Ibn Serapion would hardly have omitted all mention of it. Its waters join the latter river on its left bank near the great fortress of Derendeh. If this identification of the Aivali Dereh with the River Ḳarāḳīs be correct, Derendeh would then represent the ancient Zibaṭra, unless indeed a place called Hauz (on the upper waters of the Aivali Dereh, and where remains are reported to exist) be the site of this celebrated fortress. It must be admitted, however, that neither Derendeh nor Hauz correspond very exactly, as regards position, with the indication given by Abu-l-Fidā (quoted on p. 66), who writes that Zibaṭra lies "two marches *southward* of Malaṭya." No Arab author, however, can be relied on for anything like exact orientation of the points of the compass, and in the present case there are besides, very possibly, clerical errors of the MSS. which would account for the difficulty.

In regard to the identification of Al-Ḥadath with the present Gurun, I find my suggestion confirmed by what Mr. Hogarth reports of the stream which at present flows past that place. This stream is now called the Angon Tchai, and, exactly as was the case with the River Jūrīth (see pp. 63 and 67) of Ibn Serapion, the Angon Tchai flows through a small lake which is situated just above Gurun, and the stream has a long course before reaching this lake, for it rises near 'Azīzieh, in the Uzun Yaila country. The River Al-'Arjān, as described by Ibn Serapion, would then correspond very exactly with the affluent which now enters the Angon Tchai on its right bank about two miles below the said lake, and whose waters are even at the present day used to irrigate the gardens of Gurun. From what Mr. Hogarth writes it appears that this stream rises in

the foot-hills of the Anti-Taurus, now called the Bimboa Dagh, and these presumably are the Jabal-ar-Rīsh of Ibn Serapion.

Before quitting the subject of the Ḳubāḳib river, it may be pointed out that the city of Malaṭya of the date of Ibn Serapion, which he speaks of as standing "two miles distant from the Euphrates" (p. 47), does not occupy the position of the modern town of the same name; for this last lies fully eleven miles from the ancient bridge, called Kirkgöz, crossing the Tokhma Su, immediately above its junction with the Euphrates. Old Malaṭya is the place now called Eski-sheher "old town," and this stands but four miles from the Kirkgöz Bridge, and some three miles from the nearest point of the Euphrates.

In regard to the Jabal Misfīnā (see pp. 46 and 48), round whose spur the upper (western) Euphrates cuts its way, Mr. Hogarth considers that Ibn Serapion here refers to the great range lying along the south and left bank of the stream, to wit, the Darsim group—not the mountains on the north bank near Arzinjān, as I have suggested. Of the Darsim group Mr. Hogarth writes: "This is the most striking mountain on the river's course by far; and it is round its spur—Hoste Beli Dagh—that the Euphrates makes its great bend from a westerly course to a southerly. No one who had seen the upper stream could have failed to mention this chain of snow-peaks, which hang right over the river for five days' journey." The fortress called Ḥiṣn-al-Minshār (see p. 48) I had marked near this point on my map with a query, for I was unable to find any place on the Kiepert map with which it could be identified. Mr. Hogarth, however, writes that there is a remarkable ruined fortress, which he describes as situated about fifteen hours' journey west of Kamkh, and one hour north of Pingān, the town on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite the point where the Divrigi river flows in. This fortress stands about one mile from the right (northern) bank of the Euphrates; and though no positive evidence of date could be found, Mr. Hogarth judged from the character

of the building that it must have been of Roman or Byzantine construction, and, further, it appears to be the only fortress of ancient date in all this region. In concluding his notes, Mr. Hogarth remarks that the fortress of Kharshana, which Ibn Serapion places "in the Greek country" (see pp. 54 and 58), is possibly the present Alaja Khān. This is mentioned as a remarkable ruin by both Von Moltke and Tozer, and it lies on the upper waters of the Kuru Tchai, which is the river Jarjārīya of Ibn Serapion.

For the remaining notes I am indebted to Professor De Goeje; those, however, which he has sent me as corrections for the topography of Baghdād (Ibn Serapion, Sections X to XII) I for the moment shall keep back, in order not unduly to lengthen the present article, also because I hope to make Baghdād the subject of a paper in a future number of the J.R.A.S.

In my translation of the text, I have constantly supplied the proper name, in the English, for what in the Arabic is a pronoun. Thus, throughout Section V every paragraph in the Arabic begins with the words "From *it* is taken," etc., while I have translated "From the Euphrates," or "From the Tigris," as I imagined the case demanded.

This has led me into a grievous error; for, though without doubt the Dujayl was only a loop canal of the west bank of the Tigris above Baghdād *after* the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra (A.D. 950), *before* this date (that is, as described by Ibn Khurdādbih and Ibn Serapion) the Dujayl was a transverse canal running from the Euphrates to the Tigris, like the Nahr 'Īsā and the canals below. Thus, Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 7), writing in A.D. 864 (A.H. 250), describes "the lands watered by the Dujayl and the *Euphrates*"; and in my translation of Ibn Serapion (p. 68, line 10 from below) I should have written: "From the *Euphrates* is taken the canal called the Dujayl," and this, of course, changes note 2 on page 70. Ar-Rabb, on the Euphrates, is a well-known post-station lying, as already stated (*vide ante*, p. 743), seven leagues above

Al-Anbār and twelve below Hīt. Starting from "a league or more" above this point, as should be marked on my map, the Dujayl canal flows eastward and falls into the Tigris "between 'Ukbarā and Baghdād." Hence on my map Ar-Rabb, on the *Tigris*, is to be taken out and marked instead on the Euphrates at the place just indicated. Lastly, page 70 of my paper, lines 4 and 5 from below, the words from "The village" down to "geographer" are to be erased.

From the data here given it follows that between the years 900 and 950 A.D. (Ibn Serapion to Iṣṭakhrī) the western part of the Dujayl must have fallen out of use and become silted up; for Iṣṭakhrī (p. 77), writing in the middle of the tenth century A.D., says that the Dujayl starts from the *Tigris* immediately below Takrīt: in other words, he transfers the name Dujayl to the canal which Ibn Serapion calls the Isḥāḳī (see p. 265, Section VIII, first paragraph).

Turning to the last paragraph of Section VII, on p. 262, it may be noted that the MS. gives the pronunciation Ḥiṣn Kīfā (not Kayfa), and this is nearer the old Greek name Kiphas; further (Professor De Goeje writes), Sātīdamā, without the final *d*, is the true reading for the name of this affluent. Some distance lower down the Tigris, the three Ḳāṭūl Canals branched off near the village called Barkuwārā (see p. 272). On this name, of which the variants *Balkuwārā* and *Bazkuwār* occur, Professor De Goeje makes the remark: "It is strange, but certain, that often an original *r* passed into *z*. We find very often *Azdashīr* for Ardashīr, etc. The first *r* in this word [Barkuwārā] is confirmed by the *l* [in Balkuwārā], which could not come from a *z* [*i.e.* Balkuwārā could only come from Barkuwārā, never from Bazkuwārā]. The same interchanging of *r* and *l* is found in Hawl and Hawr": see page 298, note 2; also *cf.* Tabari, iii, 1921, line 9.

In regard to the "Blind Tigris" (see note 1 to p. 300), Professor De Goeje gives in his glossary to the "Tanbih" another meaning for the word *'Awrā*, generally translated

"blind of one eye," which when applied to a river has, he says, the signification of "dried up" or "become arid." Dijla-al-'Awrā would therefore be understood as the "Arid Tigris": taking this name from that given to the upper reach above Al-Madhār, which, since the shifting of the channel, had become waterless. The first westward canal on the Tigris estuary, called the Nahr-al-Marāh, has (on the same authority) nothing to do with the Canal of Murra, which last was derived from that of Ubulla. Hence my note 2 to p. 305 is in error; and lines 8 to 11, from the word "appears" down to "Abu Bakr," have to be cancelled.

In the heading of Section XVI (p. 307), the word West should be East. Further, in line 2 of the same, I had substituted Al-Madhār for *Al-Minār* in the name of the first canal on this eastern side of the Tigris Estuary; but Professor De Goeje (and I have no doubt rightly) corrects my correction to Al-Mubārak. In the second line of the second paragraph, therefore, of this section Al-Mubārak is to be restored for [Al-Madhār]; while on the next page note 1 will have its first two lines cancelled, and in the Arabic text (p. 30, line 2) Al-Madhār has to be altered to Al-Mubārak, and note 4 to the same cancelled.

The last remark which I shall quote from Professor De Goeje relates to the place on the Ahwāz estuary called Fam Dahastān, about which I was in considerable doubt (see p. 310). This place, he writes, is probably to be identified with the locality mentioned by Muḳaddasi (p. 12) under the name Fam-as-Sab', and which is marked on the (native) map in the MS. of Iṣtakhrī as Fam-al-Asad, both names signifying "the mouth of the lion." The true reading for the text of Ibn Serapion is perhaps "Dahān-i-Shīr," which, in Persian, has the same meaning as Fam-as-Sab', and doubtless the place stood at the point of origin ("mouth" in Persian and Arabic) of the water-way called the Lion Canal.

ART. XXIII.—*The Nativity of the Buddha.* By ROBERT CHALMERS.

IN fulfilment of the undertaking given by me on p. 387 of the J.R.A.S. for 1894, I submit the text of an unpublished Sutta from the Majjhima Nikāya dealing with the 'marvels and mysteries' of the Buddha's nativity. Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Sutta is also given, though the absence of MSS. for collation leaves the readings in many instances far from satisfactory to me. I hope in an early number of the Journal to have an opportunity of discussing the subject-matter in the light of the Lalita Vistara and the Nidāna-kathā of the Jātaka.

ACCHARIYABBHUTA-SUTTAṂ.

(*Majjhima Nikāya*, No. 123.)

Evam me sutaṁ. Ekam samayaṁ Bhagavā Sāvatthiyaṁ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Atha kho sambahulānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ pacchābhattaṁ piṇḍapātapaṭikkantānaṁ upaṭṭhānasālāyaṁ sannisinnānaṁ sannipatitānaṁ ayam antarākathā udapādi:—"Acchariyaṁ, āvuso, abbhutaṁ, āvuso, Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvatā, yatra hi nāma Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinnapapañce chinnavaṭume pariyādinnavaṭṭe sabbadukkhavītivatte jānissati 'Evaṁ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṁ iti pi, evaṁ-nāmā te Bhagavanto ahesuṁ iti pi, evaṁ-gottā te Bhagavanto ahesuṁ iti pi, evaṁ-sīlā . . . evaṁ-dhammā . . . evaṁ-paññā . . . evaṁ-vihārī . . . evaṁ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṁ iti pīti.'"

Evaṁ vutte, āyāsmā Ānando te bhikkhū etad avoca:—"Acchariyā c'eva, āvuso, Tathāgatā acchariyadhammasamannāgatā ca; abbhutā c'eva, āvuso, Tathāgatā abbhutadhammasamannāgatā cāti." Ayañ ca h'idan tesaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ antarākathā vippakatā hoti. Atha Bhagavā sāyaṇhasamayaṁ paṭisallānā vuṭṭhito yen' upaṭṭhānasālā ten' upasaṁkami upasaṁkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:—"Kāya nu'ttha, bhikkhave, etarahi kathāya sannisinnā? Kā ca pana vo antarākathā vippakatā ti?" "Idha, bhante, amhākaṁ pacchābhattaṁ piṇḍapātapaṭikkantānaṁ upaṭṭhānasālāyaṁ sannisinnānaṁ sannipatitānaṁ ayam antarākathā udapādi: 'Acchariyaṁ, āvuso, . . . (etc. as above, down to) . . . abbhutadhammasamannāgatā cāti.' Ayaṁ kho, bhante, antarākathā vippakatā. Atha Bhagavā anuppatto ti." Atha kho Bhagavā ayasmantaṁ Ānandaṁ āmantesi:—"Tasmātiha taṁ, Ānanda, bhiyyosomattāya paṭibhantu taṁ Tathāgatassa acchariyā abbhutā dhammā ti."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Sato sampajāno uppajjamāno, Ānanda, Bodhisatto Tusitaṁ kāyaṁ uppajjatīti;' yam pi, bhante, sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusitaṁ kāyaṁ uppajji, idam ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yāvatāyukaṁ, Ānanda, Bodhisatto Tusite kāye aṭṭhāsīti;' yam pi, bhante, yāvatāyukaṁ Bodhisatto Tusite kāye aṭṭhāsi, idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Sato sampajāno, Ānanda, Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṁ okkamīti;' yam pi, bhante, sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṁ okkami, idam p' ahaṁ Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṁ okkamati, atha sadevake loke samārake

sabrahmake samaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya appamāṇo uḷaro obhāso pātubhoti atikkamma devānaṁ devānubhāvaṁ, yā pi tā lokantarikā aghā asaṁvutā andhakāraṁ andhakāratimisā, yattha p' ime candimasuriyā evaṁmahiddhikā evaṁ-mahānubhāvā ābhāya nānuhonti tattha pi appamāṇo uḷāro obhāso pātubhavati atikamm' eva devānaṁ devānubhāvaṁ, ye pi tattha sattā uppannā te pi ten' obhāsena aññamaññaṁ sampajānanti: Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā idh' uppannā, ayañ ca dasasahassī lokadhātu saṅkampati sampakampati sampavedhati, appamāṇo uḷāro obhāso loke pātubhavati atikkamm'eva devānaṁ devānubhāvan ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā ma taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchiṁ okkanto hoti, cattāro nan devaputtā catuddisā rakkhāya upagacchanti: Mā naṁ kho Bodhisattaṁ vā Bodhisattamātaraṁ vā manusso vā amanusso vā koci mā vihetṭhessīti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchiṁ okkanto hoti, pakatiyā sīlavatī Bodhisattamātā hoti viratā pāṇātipātā viratā adinnādānā viratā kāmesu micchācārā viratā musāvādā viratā surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchiṁ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisattamātu purisesu mānasaṁ uppajjati kāmaguṇūpasaṁhitaṁ anatikkamanīyā ca Bodhisattamātā hoti kenaci purisena rattacittenāti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchiṁ okkanto hoti, lābhinī Bodhisattamātā hoti pañcannaṁ kāmaguṇānaṁ sā pañcahi kāmaguṇehi samappitā samaṅgibhūtā

parivāretīti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchiṁ okkanto koti, Bodhisattamātu kocid eva ābādho n' uppajjati, sukhīnī Bodhisattamātā hoti akilantakāyā Bodhisattañ ca Bodhisattamātā tirokucchigataṁ passati sabbaṅgapaccaṅgaṁ abhinindriyaṁ. Seyyathāpi, Ānanda, maṇiveḷuriyo subho jātimā aṭṭhaṁso suparikammakato, tatr' assa suttaṁ āvutaṁ nīlaṁ vā pītaṁ vā lohitaṁ vā odātaṁ vā paṇḍusuttaṁ vā, tam enaṁ cakkhumā puriso hatthe karitvā paccavekkheyya: Ayaṁ kho maṇiveḷuriyo subho jātimā aṭṭhaṁso suparikammakato, tatr' idaṁ suttaṁ āvutaṁ nīlaṁ vā pītaṁ vā lohitaṁ vā odātaṁ vā pandusuttaṁ vā ti; evaṁ eva kho, Ānanda, yadā Bodhisatto mātukucchiṁ okkanto hoti, na kho Bodhisattamātu kocid eva ābādho uppajjati, sukhīnī Bodhisattamātā hoti akilantakāyā, Bodhisattañ ca Bodhisattamātā tirokucchigataṁ passati sabbaṅgapaccaṅgiṁ abhinindriyaṁ.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Sattāhajāte, Ānanda, Bodhisatte Bodhisattamātā kālaṁ karoti, Tusitaṁ kāyaṁ uppajjatīti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yathā kho pan', Ānanda, aññā itthikā nava vā dasa vā māse gabbhaṁ kucchinā parihatvā vijāyanti, na h' eva Bodhisattaṁ Bodhisattamātā; das' eva māsāni Bodhisattaṁ Bodhisattamātā kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyatīti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yathā kho pan', Ānanda, aññā itthikā nisinnā vā nipannā vā vijāyanti, na h' eva Bodhisattaṁ Bodhisattamātā vijāyati; ṭhitā va kho Bodhisattaṁ Bodhisattamātā vijāyatīti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchismā nikkhamati devā paṭhamaṁ paṭiganhanti pacchā manussā ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchismā nikkhamati, appatto va Bodhisatto paṭhaviṁ hoti, cattāro nan devaputtā paṭiggahetvā mātu purato ṭhapenti: Attamanā devī hohi, mahesakkho te putto uppanno ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchismā nikkhamati, visado va nikkhamati amakkhito uddena amakkhito semhena amakkhito ruhirena amakkhito kenaci asucinā suddho visado. Seyyathāpi, Ānanda, maṇiratanaṁ kāsike vatthe nikkhittaṁ n' eva maṇiratanaṁ kāsitaṁ vatthaṁ makkheti na pi kāsikaṁ vatthaṁ maṇiratanaṁ makkheti;—taṁ kissa hetu? ubhinnaṁ suddhattā;—evaṁ eva kho, Ānanda, yadā Bodhisatto mātukucchismā nikkhamati, visado va nikkhamati amakkhito uddena amakkhito semhena amakkhito ruhirena amakkhito kenaci asucinā suddho visado ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchismā nikkhamati dve udakassa dhārā antalikkhā pātubhavanti ekā sītassa ekā uṇhassa yena Bodhisattassa udakakiccaṁ karonti mātu cāti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Sampati-jāto, Ānanda, Bodhisatto, samehi pādehi paṭiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukhā sattapadavītihāre gacchati setamhi chatte anubhīramāne sabbā ca disā viloketi āsabhiṁ ca vācaṁ bhāsati: Aggo 'ham asmi lokassa, seṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā jāti, na 'tthi dāni punabbhavo ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . .

idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremi."

"Sammukhā me taṁ, bhante, Bhagavato sutaṁ sammukhā paṭiggahītaṁ: 'Yadā, Ānanda, Bodhisatto mātukucchismā nikkhamati, atha sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya appamāṇo uḷāro obhāso pātubhavati atikamm' eva devānaṁ devānubhāvaṁ, yā pi tā lokantarikā aghā asaṁvutā andhakārā andhakāratimisā, yattha pi ime candimasuriyā evammahiddhikā evammahānubhāvā ābhāya nānubhonti, tattha pi appamāṇo uḷāro obhāso pātubhavati atikamm 'eva devānaṁ devānubhāvaṁ, ye pi tattha sattā uppannā te pi ten' obhāsena aññamaññaṁ sañjānanti: Aññe pi kira, bho, santi sattā idhūpapannā ti ayam pi ca dasasahassīlokadhātu saṁkampati sampakampati sampavedhati appamāṇo ca uḷāro obhāso loke pātubhavati atikamm' eva devānaṁ devānubhāvan ti.' Yam pi, bhante, . . . idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremīti."

"Tasmātiha tvaṁ, Ānanda, idam pi Tathāgatassa acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhārehi. Idh', Ānanda, Tathāgatassa viditā vedanā uppajjanti viditā upaṭṭhahanti viditā abbhattaṁ gacchanti viditā saññā uppajjanti viditā vitakkā uppajjanti viditā abbhattaṁ gacchanti. Idam pi kho tvaṁ, Ānanda, Tathāgatassa acchariyaṁ dhammaṁ dhārehīti."

"Yam pi, bhante, Bhagavato viditā vedanā uppajjanti viditā upaṭṭhahanti viditā abbhattaṁ gacchanti viditā saññā uppajjanti viditā vitakkā uppajjanti viditā upaṭṭhahanti viditā abbhatthaṁ gacchanti, idam p' ahaṁ, bhante, Bhagavato acchariyaṁ abbhutaṁ dhammaṁ dhāremīti."

Idam avoca āyasmā Ānando. Samanuñño Satthā ahosi. Attamanā te bhikkhū āyasmato Ānandassa bhāsitaṁ abhinandun ti.

Acchariyabbhuta-suttaṁ tatiyaṁ.

Extract from the "Papañca-Sūdanī."

Being Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the foregoing Sutta.

Evaṁ me sutan ti Acchariyadhamma-suttaṁ.

Tattha *yatra hi nāmāti* acchariyatthe nipāto. Yo nāma Tathāgato ti attho.

Chinnapapañce ti ettha papañcā nāma taṇhā māno diṭṭhīti ime tayo kilesā.

Chinnavaṭume ti ettha vaṭuman ti kusalakammavaṭṭaṁ vuccati.

Pariyādiṇṇavaṭṭe ti tass' eva vevacanaṁ.

Sabbadukkhavītivatte ti sabbaṁ vipākavaṭṭasaṅkhātaṁ dukkhaṁ vītivatte *jānissatīti*. Idaṁ yatrā hi nipātavasena anāgatavacanaṁ attho pan' ettha atītavasena veditabbo. Bhagavā hi te Buddhe anussarissati :—

Evaṁ-jaccā ti Vipassiādayo khattiyajaccā, Kakusandhādayo brāhmaṇajaccā ti.

Evaṁ-gottā ti Vipassiādayo Koṇḍaññagottā, Kakusandhādayo Kassapagottāti.

Evaṁ-sīlā ti lokiyalokuttarasīlena evaṁ-sīlā.

Evaṁ-dhammā ti tattha samādhipakkhā dhammā adhippetā, lokiyalokuttarena samādhinā evaṁ-samādhino ti attho.

Evaṁ-paññā ti lokiyalokuttarapaññāya evaṁ-paññā.

Evaṁ-vihārī ti ettha pana heṭṭhā samādhipakkhānaṁ dhammānaṁ gahitattā vihāro gahito va, puna kasmā gahitam eva gaṇhātīti me na idaṁ gahitam eva idha hi nirodhasamāpattidīpanatthaṁ, tasmā evaṁ-nirodhasamāpattivihārī ti ayam ettha attho.

Evaṁ-vimuttā ti ettha vikkhambhanavimutti tadaṅgavimutti samucchedavimutti paṭippassaddhivimutti nissaraṇavimuttīti pañcavidhā vimutti. Tattha aṭṭhasamāpattiyo sayaṁ vikkhambhitehi nīvaraṇādīhi vimuttattā vikkhambhanavimuttīti saṅkhaṁ gacchanti, aniccānupassanādikā satta anupassanā sayaṁ tassa tassa paccanīkaṅgavasena pariccattāhi niccasaññādīhi vimuttattā tadaṅgavimuttīti saṅkhaṁ gacchanti, cattāro ariyamaggā sayaṁ samucchinnehi kilesehi vimuttattā samucchedavimuttīti saṅkhaṁ gacchanti,

cattāro sāmaññaphalāni maggānubhāvena kilesānaṁ paṭipassaddhante uppannattā paṭippassaddhivimuttīti saṅkhaṁ gacchanti, nibbānaṁ sabbakilesehi nissaṭattā apagatattā nissaraṇavimuttīti saṅkhaṁ gataṁ iti imāsaṁ pañcannaṁ vimuttīnaṁ vasena *evaṁ-vimuttā* ti. Evaṁ ettha attho daṭṭhabbo.

Tasmātihāti yasmā taṁ Tathāgatā acchariyā ti vadasi tasmā taṁ bhiyyosomattāya paṭibhantu Tathāgatassa acchariya-abbhuta-dhammāti.

Sato sampajāno ti ettha dve sampajaññā ti manussaloke devaloke ca. Tattha Vessantarajātake brāhmaṇassa dve putte datvā punadivase Sakkassa deviṁ datvā Sakkena pasīditvā dinne aṭṭhavare gaṇhanto: Ito vimuccamāno 'haṁ saggagāmi visesagū anibbattitato asse aṭṭhame taṁ varaṁ vareti, evaṁ Tusitabhavane me paṭisandhi hotūti varaṁ aggahesi. Tato paṭṭhāya Tusitabhavane uppajjissāmī ti jānāti, idaṁ manussaloke sampajaññaṁ. Vessantarabhāvato pana cuto Tusitabhavane nibbattitvā nibbatto 'smīti aññāsi, idaṁ devaloke sampajaññaṁ. Kiṁ pana sesadevatā na jānantīti? No na jānanti. Tāpana-uyyānavimānakapparukkhe oloketvā devanāṭakehi turiyasaddena pabodhitā mārisa ayaṁ devaloko tumhe idha nibbattā ti sāritā jānanti. Bodhisatto paṭhamajavanavārena jānāti dutiyajavanato paṭṭhāya jānāti. Iccassa aññehi asādhāraṇaṁ jānanaṁ hoti.

Aṭṭhāsīti ettha kiñcāpi aññe pi devā tattha ṭhitā ṭhit' amhāti jānanti; te pana chasu dvāresu balavatā iṭṭhārammaṇena abhibhuyyamānā satiṁ vissajjetvā attano bhuttapītabhāvam pi ajānantā āhārūpacchedena kālaṁ karonti. Bodhisattassa kiṁ tathārūpaṁ ārammaṇaṁ na 'tthīti? No na 'tthi. So hi sesadeve dasahi ṭhānehi adhigaṇhāti ārammaṇena pana attānam madditum na deti taṁ ārammaṇaṁ abhibhavitvā tiṭṭhati. Tena vuttaṁ tato sampajāno, Ānanda, *Bodhisatto Tusite kāye aṭṭhāsīti.*

Yāvatāyukan ti sesattabhāvesu kiṁ yāvatāyukaṁ na tiṭṭhati? Āma na tiṭṭhati. Aññadā hi dīghāyukadevaloke nibbatto tattha pāramiyo na sakkā pūretun ti akkhīni nimmīletvā adhimuttikālakiriyaṁ nāma katvā manussaloke nibbattati. Ayaṁ kālakiriyā aññesaṁ na hoti. Tadā pana

adinnaṁ dānaṁ nāma na 'tthi arakkhitaṁ sīlaṁ nāma na 'tthīti sabbapāramīnaṁ pūritattā yāvatāyukaṁ aṭṭhāsi.

Sato sampajāno Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṁ okkamīti; evaṁ tāva sabbapāramiyo pūretvā tadā Bodhisatto yāvatāyukaṁ aṭṭhāsi. Devatānaṁ pana manussagaṇanavasena idāni sattahi divasehi cuti bhavissatīti pañca pubbanimittāni uppajjanti,—mālā milāyanti vatthāni kilissanti kacchehi sedā muccanti kāye dubbaṇṇiyaṁ okkamati devo devāsanena saṇṭhāti. Tattha mālā ti paṭisandhigahaṇadivase pilandhanamālā; tā kira saṭṭhisatasahassādhakā sattapaṇṇāsakoṭiyo amilāyitvā tadā milāyanti. Vatthā pi es' eva nayo. Ettakaṁ pana kālaṁ devānaṁ n' eva sītaṁ na uṇhaṁ hoti tasmiṁ kāle sarīrato bindubinduvasena sedā muccanti, ettakañ ca kālaṁ tesaṁ sarīre khaṇḍiccapāliccādivasena vivaṇṇatā na paññāyati devadhītā soḷasavassuddesikā viya devaputtā vīsativassuddesikā viya khāyanti maraṇakāle pana nesaṁ kilantarūpo attabhāvo hoti, ettakañ ca nesaṁ kālaṁ devaloke ukkaṇṭhitā nāma na 'tthi maraṇakāle pan' assa nissasanti vijambhanti sake āsane nābhiramanti. Imāni pana pubbanimittāni yathā loke mahāpuññānaṁ rājarājamahāmattādīnaṁ yeva ukkāpātabhūmicālacandaggāhādīni nimittāni paññāyanti na sabbesaṁ, evaṁ evaṁ mahesakkhānaṁ devatānaṁ yeva paññāyanti na sabbesaṁ; yathā ca manussesu pubbanimittāni nakkhattapāṭakādayo va jānanti sabbe, evaṁ tāni pi sabbadevatā na passanti paṇḍitā eva pana jānanti. Tattha ye mandena kusalakammena nibbattā devaputtā te tesu uppannesu idāni ko jānāti kuhiṁ pi nibbattissāmāti bhāyanti. Ye mahāpuññā amhehi dinnadānaṁ rakkhitaṁ sīlaṁ bhāvitaṁ bhāvanaṁ āgamma upari devalokesu sampattiṁ anubhavissāmāti na bhāyanti. Bodhisatto pi tāni pubbanimittāni disvā idāni anantare attabhāve Buddho bhavissāmāti na bhāyi. Ath' assa tesu nimittesu pātubhūtesu dasasahassacakkavāḷe devatā sannipatitvā: Mārisa tumhehi dasa pāramiyo pūrentehi na sakkā sampattiṁ na Māra-Brahma-cakkavatti-sampattipatthentehi pūritā lokanittharaṇatthāya pana buddhattaṁ patthayamānehi pūritā so vā idāni kālo mārisa buddhattāya samayo mārisa buddhattāyāti yācanti. Atha Mahā-satto devatānaṁ paṭiññaṁ

adatvā va kāladīpadesakulajanettiāyupariccheda vasena pañca-mahā-vilokanaṁ nāma vilokesi. Tattha Kālo nu kho na kālo ti paṭhamaṁ kālaṁ vilokesi. Tattha vassasatasahassato uddhaṁ vaḍḍhita-āyukālo Kālo nāma na hoti. Kasmā? Tadā hi sattānaṁ jāti-jarā-maraṇāni na paññāyanti Buddhānañ ca dhammadesanā nāma ti-lakkhaṇamuttā na 'tthi, nesaṁ aniccaṁ dukkham anattaṁ ti kathentānaṁ 'kiṁ nām' etaṁ kathentīti' n'eva sotuṁ na saddhātuṁ maññanti. Tato abhisamayo na hoti, tasmiṁ asati aniyyānikaṁ sāsanam hoti; tasmā so akālo. Vassa-satato ūna-āyukālo na hoti. Kasmā? Tadā sattā ussannakilesā honti, ussannakilesānañ ca dinno ovādo ovādaṭṭhāne na tiṭṭhati, udake daṇḍarāji viya khippaṁ vigacchati; tasmā so pi akālo. Satasahassato pana paṭṭhāya heṭṭhā vassasatato paṭṭhāya uddhaṁ āyukālo kālo nāma, tadā ca vassasatakālo hoti. Atha Mahāsatto 'nibbattitabbakālo ti' passi. Tato dīpaṁ vilokento saparivāre cattāro dīpe oloketvā: Tīsu dīpesu Buddhā na nibbattanti Jambudīpe yeva nibbattantīti dīpaṁ passi. Tato Jambudīpo nāma mahā dasayojana-sahassa-parimāṇo. Katarasmiṁ nu kho padese Buddhā nibbattantīti, desaṁ vilokento Majjhimapadesaṁ passi. Majjhimapadeso nāma puratthimāya disāya Kajaṅgalan nāma nigamo ti ādinā nayena Vinaye vutto va; so āyāmato tīṇi yojanasatāni vitthārato aḍḍhatiyāni [yojanasatāni] parikkhepato navayojanasatānīti. Etasmiṁ hi padese Buddhā pacceka-buddhā aggasāvakā asīti mahāsāvakā cakkavattirājā aññe ca mahesakkhā khattiyabrāhmaṇagahapatimahāsālā uppajjanti; idaṁ e'ettha Kapilavatthu nāma naṅgaraṁ. 'Tattha mayā nibbattitabban ti' niṭṭhaṁ agamāsi.

Tato kulaṁ vilokento 'Buddhā nāma lokasammate kule nibbattanti, idāni ca khattiyakulaṁ lokasammataṁ, tattha nibbattissāmi Suddhodano nāma me rājā pitā bhavissatī ti' kulaṁ passi. Tato mātaraṁ vilokento 'Buddhamātā nāma lolā surādhuttā na hoti kappasatasahassaṁ pūritapāramī jātito paṭṭhāya akhaṇḍapañcasīlā hoti; ayañ ca Mahāmāyā nāma devī edisā; ayaṁ me mātā bhavissati; kittakaṁ pan' assā āyun ti?' dasannaṁ māsānaṁ upari sattadivasāni passi. Iti imaṁ pañca-vilokanaṁ viloketvā 'kālo me mārisā Buddha-

bhāvāyāti' devatānaṁ saṁgahaṁ karonto paṭiññaṁ datvā 'gacchatha tumhe ti' Tāvatiṁsa-devatā uyyojetvā Tusita-devatāhi parivuto Tusitapure Nandanavanaṁ pāvisi. Sabba-devalokesu hi Nandanavanaṁ atthi yeva. Tatra naṁ devatā 'ito cuto sugatiṁ gaccha, ito cuto sugatiṁ gacchāti' pubbe-katakusalakammokāsaṁ sārayamānā vicaranti. So evaṁ devatāhi kusalaṁ sārayamānāhi parivuto tattha vicaranto va cavi; evaṁ cuto vā cavāmīti jānāti cuti-cittaṁ na jānāti, paṭisandhiṁ gahetvā paṭisandhi-cittam eva na jānāti; imasmiṁ me ṭhāne paṭisandhi gahitā ti evaṁ pana jānāti.

Keci pana therā 'Āvajjanapariyāyo nāma laddhuṁ vaṭṭati dutiya-tatiya-cittavāre yeva janissatīti' vadanti. Tipeṭaka-Mahāsīvathero pana: 'Mahāsattānaṁ paṭisandhiṁ na aññesaṁ paṭisandhisadisā, koṭippattaṁ tesaṁ sati-sampajaññaṁ; yasmā pana ten' eva cittena taṁ cittaṁ ñātuṁ na sakkā tasmā cuti-cittaṁ na jānāti, cuti-khaṇe pi cavāmīti jānāti, paṭi-sandhicittaṁ na jānāti, asukasmiṁ me ṭhāne paṭisandhi gahitā ti jānāti, tasmiṁ kāle dasasahassī kampatīti.'

Evaṁ mātukucchiṁ okkamanto pana ekūnavīsatiyā paṭi-sandhicittesu mettapubbabhāgassa somanassasahagataññāṇa-sampayuttaasaṅkhārikakusalacittassa sadisaṁ mahāvipāka-cittena paṭisandhiṁ gaṇhi. Mahāsīvathero pana upekhāsaha-gatenāti āha. Paṭisandhiṁ gaṇhanto pana āsāḷhipuṇṇamāya uttarāsāḷhanakkhattena aggahesi.

Tadā kira Mahāmāyā pure puṇṇamāya sattamadivasato paṭṭhāya vigatasurāpānaṁ mālāgandhavibhūtisampannaṁ nakkhattakīḷaṁ anubhavamānā sattame divase pāto va uṭṭhāya gandhodakena nahāyitvā sabbālaṅkāravibhūsitā varabhojanaṁ bhuñjitvā uposathaṅgāni adhiṭṭhāsi. Siri-gabbhaṁ pavisitvā sirisayane nipannā niddaṁ okka-mamānā imaṁ supinaṁ addasa: Cattāro kira naṁ Māhārājāno sayanen' eva saddhiṁ ukkhipitvā Ano-tattadahaṁ netvā ekamantaṁ aṭṭhaṁsu; atha nesaṁ deviyo āgantva mānusamalaharaṇatthaṁ nahāpetvā dibba-vatthaṁ nivāsetvā gandhehi vilimpitvā dibbapupphāni pilandhitvā tato avidūre Rajatapabbato tassa anto kanaka-vimānaṁ atthi tasmiṁ pācīnato sīsaṁ katvā nipajjāpesuṁ. Atha Bodhisatto setavaravāraṇo hutvā, tato avidūre eko

suvaṇṇapabbato, tattha caritvā tato orūyha rajatapabbataṁ abhirūhitvā uttaradisato āgamma kanakavimānaṁ pavisitvā mātaraṁ padakkhiṇaṁ katvā dakkhiṇapassaṁ tāḷetvā kucchiṁ paviṭṭhasadiso ahosi. Atha pabuddhā devī naṁ supinaṁ rañño ārocesi.

Rājā vibhātāya rattiyā catusaṭṭhimatte brāhmaṇa-pāmokkhe pakkosāpetvā haritupattāya lājādīhi katamaṅgalasakkārāya bhūmiyā mahārahāni āsanāni paññāpetvā tattha nisinnānaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ sappimadhusakkārābhisaṅkhārassa varapāyāsassa suvaṇṇarajatapātiyo pūretvā suvaṇṇarajatapātīhi yeva paṭikujjitvā adāsi aññehi ca ahatavatthakapilagāvidānādīhi te santappesi. Atha nesaṁ sabbakāmasantappitānaṁ supinaṁ ārocetvā "kiṁ bhavissatīti" pucchi. Brāhmaṇā āhaṁsu: "Mā cintayi, mahārāja; deviyā te kucchimhi gabbho patiṭṭhito; so ca kho purisagabbho na itthigabbho putto te bhavissati; so sace agāraṁ ajjhāvasissati rājā bhavissati cakkavattī; sace āgārā nikkhamma pabbajissati Buddho bhavissati loke vivattacchaddo ti."

Evaṁ sato sampajāno Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṁ okkamati. Tattha *sato sampajāno ti* iminā catutthā gabbhāvakkantiyā okkamatīti dasseti. Catasso hi gabbhāvakkantiyo. Katamā imā, bhante, gabbhāvakkantiyo? Idha bhante ekacco asampajāno c'eva mātukucchiṁ okkamati asampajāno mātukucchismiṁ yāti asampajāno mātukucchismā nikkhamati; ayaṁ paṭhamā gabbhāvakkanti. Puna ca paraṁ, bhante, idh' ekacco sampajāno hi kho mātukucchismiṁ okkamati asampajāno mātukucchismiṁ yāti asampajāno mātukucchismā nikkhamati; ayaṁ dutiyā gabbhāvakkanti. Puna ca paraṁ, bhante, idh' ekacco sampajāno mātukucchiṁ okkamati sampajāno mātukucchismiṁ yāti asampajāno mātukucchismā nikkhamati; ayaṁ tatiyā gabbhāvakkhanti. Puna ca paraṁ, bhante, idh' ekacco sampajāno hi c'eva mātukucchiṁ okkamati sampajāno mātukucchismiṁ yāti sampajāno mātukucchismā nikkhamati; ayaṁ catutthā gabbhāvakkantīti. Etāsu paṭhamā lokiyamanussānaṁ hoti dutiyā asītimahāsāvakānaṁ tatiyā dvinnaṁ aggasāvakānaṁ pacceka-bodhisattānañ ca. Ete kira kammajehi vātehi uddhapādā adhosirā nekasataporise papāte viya

yonimukhe (?) khittā tāḷachiggaḷena hatthi viya sambādhena yonimukhe na nikkhamamānā anattaṁ dukkhaṁ pāpuṇanti. Tena nesaṁ mayaṁ nikkhamanāmāti sampajānatā na hoti. Catutthā sabbaññu-Bodhisattānaṁ. Te hi mātukucchismiṁ paṭisandhiṁ gaṇhantā pi jānanti, tattha vasantā pi jānanti, nikkhamanakāle pi ca nekkhammajavātā uddhapāde adhosire katvā khipituṁ na sakkonti; dve hatthe pasāretvā akkhīni ummīletvā ṭhitakā va nikkhamantīti.

Kucchiṁ okkamatīti ettha kucchiṁ okkamanto hotīti attho. Okkamante hi tasmiṁ evaṁ hoti na okkamamāne.

Appamāṇo ti buddhappamāṇo vipulo ti attho.

Uḷāro ti tass' eva vevacanaṁ.

Devānaṁ devānubhāvan ti ettha devānaṁ ayaṁ ānubhāvo: nivatthavatthassa pabhā dvādasa yojanāni pharati, tathā sarīrassa, tathā alaṅkārassa, tathā vimānassa; taṁ atikkamitvā ti attho.

Lokantarikā ti tiṇṇatiṇṇaṁ cakkavāḷānaṁ antarā ekā lokantarikā hoti,—tiṇṇaṁ sakaṭacakkānaṁ pattānaṁ vā aññamaññaṁ āhacca ṭhapitānaṁ majjhe okāso viya. So pana lokantarikanirayo pamāṇato aṭṭhayojanasahasso hoti.

Aghā ti niccavivaṭā.

Asaṁvutā ti heṭṭhā pi appatiṭṭhā.

Andhakārā ti tamabhūtā.

Andhakāratimisā ti cakkhuviññāṇuppatti-nivāraṇato andhabhāvakaraṇā timisena samannāgatā; tattha kira cakkhuviññāṇaṁ na jāyati.

Evaṁ-mahiddhikā ti candimasuriyā kira ekappahāren' eva tīsu dīpesu paññāyanti, evaṁ mahiddhikā, ekekāya disāya navanavayojana-satasahassāni andhakāraṁ vidhamitvā ālokaṁ dassenti.

Evaṁ-mahānubhāvā [ābhāya] nānubhontīti attano ābhāya nappahonti; te kira cakkavāḷapabbatassa vemajjhena caranti, cakkavāḷapabbataṁ ca atikkamma lokantanirayā, tasmā te tattha ābhāya nappahonti.

Ye pi tattha sattā ti ye pi tasmiṁ lokantara-mahāniraye sattā uppannā. Kiṁ pana kammaṁ katvā tattha uppajjantīti? —Bhāriyaṁ dāruṇamātāpitunnaṁ dhammikasamaṇabrāhmaṇānaṁ ca upari aparādhaṁ aññañ ca divase divase

pāṇavadhādisāhasikakammaṁ katvā uppajjanti, tambapaṇṇidīpe Abhayacora-Nāṅgacorādayo viya.

Tesaṁ attabhāvo ti-gāvutiko hoti, vaggūlīnaṁ viya dighā nakhā honti; te rukkhe vagguliyo viya nakhehi cakkavāḷapāde lagganti; yadā saṁsatā aññamaññassa hatthapāsagatā honti atha bhakkho no laddho ti maññamānā, tattha vāvaṭā viparivattitvā lokasandhāraka-udake patanti, vāte paharante pi madhukaphalāni viya chijjitvā udake patanti, patantā va accantakāre udake piṭṭhipiṇḍi viya vilīyanti.

Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā ti bho yathā mayaṁ mahādukkhaṁ anubhavāma, evaṁ aññe pi kira sattā imaṁ dukkham anubhavanatthā idhūppannā [ti], taṁ divasaṁ passanti. Ayaṁ pana obhāso ekayāgupānamattam pi na tiṭṭhati, yāva tāni ñāyitvā pabuddho ārammaṇaṁ vibhāveti tattakaṁ kālaṁ hoti.

Dīghabhāṇakā pana accharāsaṁsātamattam eva vijjubhāso niccharitvā kiṁ idan ti bhaṇantānaṁ yeva antaradhāyatīti vadanti.

Saṁkampatīti samantato kampati; itaradvayaṁ purimapadassa vevacanaṁ.

Puna *appamāṇo cāti* ādīni gamanatthaṁ vuttaṁ.

Cattāro nan devaputtā catuddisā rakkhāya upagacchantīti. Ettha *cattāro* ti catunnaṁ Mahārājānaṁ vasena vuttaṁ; dasasahassa-cakkavāḷe pana cattāro cattāro katvā cattāḷīsasahassāni honti. Tattha imasmiṁ cakkavāḷe mahārājāno khaggahatthā Bodhisattassa ārakkhattāya upagantvā sirigabbhaṁ pavitṭhā itare gabbhadvārato paṭṭhāya aviruddhakapaṁsupisācakādiyakkhagaṇe paṭikkhamāpetvā yāva cakkavāḷā ārakkhaṁ gaṇhiṁsu. Kimatthā panāyaṁ rakkhā? Nanu paṭisandhikkhaṇe kalalakālato paṭṭhāya? Sace pi koṭisatasahassaṁ Sineru ukkhipitvā Bodhisattassa vā Bodhisattamātuyā vā antarāyakaraṇatthaṁ āgaccheyyuṁ sabbe antarā va antaradhāpeyyuṁ. Vuttam pi c'etaṁ Bhagavatā Arūḷhiruppādavatthusmiṁ[1]: 'aṭṭhānam etaṁ bhikkhave anavakāso yaṁ parūpakkamena Tathāgataṁ jīvitā voropeyya; anupakkamena bhikkhave Tathā-

[1] Vinaya II, 194.

gato parinibbāyati; gacchatha tumhe bhikkhave yathā vihāraṁ; arakkhiyā bhikkhave Tathāgatā ti.' Evaṁ etaṁ na parūpakkamena tesaṁ jīvitantarāyo atthi. Santi kho pana amanussā virūpā duddasikā bheravarūtā pakkhino yesaṁ rūpaṁ disvā saddaṁ vā sutvā Bodhisattamātu bhayaṁ vā santāso vā uppajjeyya; tesaṁ nivāraṇatthāya rakkhaṁ aggahesuṁ. Api ca Bodhisattassa puññatejena saṁjātagāravā attano gāravacoditā pi te evam akaṁsu.

Kiṁ pana te antogabbhaṁ pavisitvā ṭhitā cattāro mahārājāno Bodhisattamātu attāno dassenti na dassentīti? Nahānamaṇḍana-bhojanādi-sarīrakiccakāle na dassenti, sirigabbhaṁ pavisitvā varasayane nipannakāle pana dassenti. Tattha kiñcāpi amanussadassanaṁ nāma manussānaṁ sappaṭibhayaṁ hoti, Bodhisattamātā pana attano c'eva puttassa ca puññānubhāvena te disvā na bhāyati. Pakati-antepurapālakesu viy' assā tesu cittaṁ uppajjati.

Pakatiyā sīlavatī ti sabhāven' eva sīlasampannā. Anuppanne kira Buddhe manussā tāpasaparibbājakānaṁ santike vanditvā ukkuṭikaṁ nisīditvā sīlaṁ gaṇhanti, Bodhisattamātā pi Kāḷadevalassa isino santike gaṇhāti; Bodhisatte pana kucchigate aññassa pādamūle nisīdituṁ nāma na sakkā; samāsane nisīditvā gahita-sīlam pi avaññākāraṇamattaṁ hoti; tasmā sayam eva sīlaṁ gahesīti vuttaṁ hoti.

Purisesūti Bodhisattapitaraṁ ādiṁ katvā tesu manussesu purisādhippāya-cittaṁ n' uppajjati, taṁ ca kho Bodhisatte gāravena na pahīnakilesatāya. Bodhisattamātu rūpaṁ pana sukusalasippikā potthakammādisu pi kātuṁ na sakkonti. Taṁ disvā purisassa rāgo n' uppajjatīti na sakkā vattuṁ. Sace pana taṁ rattacitto upasaṁkamitukāmo hoti pādā na vahanti dibbasaṁkhalikāya bajjhati. Tasmā *anatikkamanīyā ti* ādi vuttaṁ.

Pañcannaṁ kāmaguṇānan ti Pubbe *kāmaguṇūpasaṁhitan* ti purisādhippāyavasena vatthupaṭikkhepo kathito, idha ārammaṇapaṭilābho dassito. Tadā kira deviyā evarūpo putto kucchismiṁ uppanno ti hutvā samantato rājāno mahagghābharaṇaturiyādivasena pañcadvārārammaṇavatthubhūtaṁ paṇṇākāraṁ pesenti. Bodhisattassa ca Bodhisattamātu ca

katakammassa ussannattālābhasakkārassa pamāṇapariccheḍo nāma na 'tthi.

Akilantakāyā ti yathā itthiyo gabbhabhārena kilamanti hatthapādāuddhumākatādīni pāpuṇanti, na evaṁ tassā koci kilamattho ahosi.

Tirokucchigatan ti antokucchigataṁ. Kalalādikālaṁ atikkamitvā sañjāta-aṅgapaccaṅgaṁ abhinindriyabhāvaupagataṁ yeva passati. Kimatthaṁ passati?-sukhavāsatthaṁ. Yath'eva hi mātā puttena saddhiṁ nisinnā vā nipannā vā hatthaṁ vā pādaṁ vā olambantaṁ ukkhipitvā saṇṭhāpessāmīti sukhavāsatthaṁ puttaṁ oloketi, evaṁ Bodhisattamātā pi; yan taṁ mātu uṭṭhānagamanaparivattananisajjādisu uṇhasītaloṇikatittakaṭukāhāre ajjhoharaṇakālesu ca gabbhassa dukkhaṁ uppajjati: Atthi nu kho me taṁ puttassāti? sukhavāsatthaṁ Bodhisattaṁ olokayamānā pallaṅkaṁ ābhujitvā nisinnaṁ Bodhisattaṁ passati. Yathā hi aññe antokucchigatā pakkā sayaṁ ajjhotaritvā āmā sayaṁ ukkhipitvā udarapaṭale piṭṭhito katvā piṭṭhikaṇṭakaṁ nissāya ukkuṭikādīsu muṭṭhisu hanukaṁ ṭhapetvā—deve vassante rukkhasusire makkaṭā viya — nisīdanti, na evaṁ Bodhisatto pana; piṭṭhikaṇṭakaṁ piṭṭhito katvā dhammāsane dhammakathiko viya pallaṅkaṁ ābhujitvā puratthābhimukho nisīdati. Pubbekatakammaṁ pan' assa vatthuṁ sodheti, suddhe vatthumhi sukhumacchavilakkhaṇaṁ nibbattati. Atha naṁ kucchi paṭicchādetuṁ na sakkoti; olokentiyā ca bahi ṭhito viya paññāyati; tam atthaṁ upamāya vibhāvento *seyyathāpīti* ādim āha. Bodhisatto pana antokucchigato mātaraṁ na passati; na hi antokucchiyaṁ cakkhuviññāṇaṁ uppajjati.

Kālaṁ karotīti vijātabhāvapaccayā āyuparikkhayen' eva. Bodhisattena vasitaṭṭhānaṁ hi cetiyakuṭisadisaṁ hoti aññesaṁ aparibhogaṁ; na ca sakkā Bodhisattamātaraṁ apanetvā aññaṁ aggamahesiṭṭhāne ṭhapitun ti; tattakaṁ yeva Bodhisattamātu āyuppamāṇaṁ hoti; tasmā tadā kālaṁ karoti.

Katarasmiṁ pana vaye kālaṁ karotīti? Majjhimavaye. Paṭhamavayasmiṁ hi sattānaṁ attabhāve chandarāgo balavā hoti, tadā sañjātagabbhā itthi gabbhaṁ anurakkhituṁ na sakkoti, gabbho bavhābādho hoti. Majjhimavayassa pana

dve koṭṭhāse atikkamma tatiyakoṭṭhāse vatthuṁ visadaṁ hoti, visade vatthumhi nibbattā dārakā arogā honti. Tasmā Bodhisattamātā pi paṭhamavaye sampattiṁ anubhavitvā majjhimavayassa tatiyakoṭṭhāse vijāyitvā *kālaṁ karotīti.*

Nava vā dasa vā ti. Ettha vā-saddo vikappavasena; satta vā aṭṭha vā ekādasa vā ti evaṁ-ādīnam pi saṁgaho veditabbo.

Tattha sattamāsajāto jīvati, situṇhakkhamo pana na hoti, aṭṭhamāsajāto na jīvati, sesā jīvanti.

Ṭhitā vā ti. Ṭhitā va hutvā. Mahāmāyā pi devī upavijaññā kulagharaṁ gamissāmīti rañño ārocāpesi. Rājā Kapilavatthuto Devadahanaṅgaragāmimaggaṁ alaṅkārāpetvā deviṁ suvaṇṇasivikāya nisīdāpesi. Naṅgaravāsino Sakkā parivāretvā gandhamālādīhi pūjayamānā deviṁ gahetvā ayiṁsu. Devadahanaṅgarassa avidūre Lumbinīsālavanuyyānaṁ disvā uyyānaparicaraṇatthāya cittaṁ uppādetvā rañño saññaṁ adāsi. Rājā uyyānaṁ paṭijaggāpetvā ārakkhaṁ saṁvidahāpesi. Deviyā uyyānaṁ paviṭṭhamattāya kāyadukkhaṁ ahosi. Ath' assā maṅgalasālamūle sirisayanaṁ paññāpetvā sāṇiyā parikkhipiṁsu. Sā antosāṇiṁ pavisitvā sālasākhā hatthena gahetvā aṭṭhāsi. Ath' assā tāvad eva gabbhavuṭṭhānaṁ ahosi.

Devā paṭhamaṁ paṭigaṇhantīti khīṇāsavā suddhāvāsabrahmāno paṭigaṇhanti. Kathaṁ? Sūtivesaṁ gaṇhitvā ekekaṁ pana paṭikkhipitvā. Idaṁ vuttaṁ: tadā Bodhisattamātā suvaṇṇakhathitaṁ vatthaṁ nivāsetvā makkhisadisaṁ dukūlapaṭṭaṁ yāva pādantā va pārupitvā aṭṭhāsi; ath' assā sallahukaṁ gabbhavuṭṭhānaṁ ahosi; dhammakarato udakanikkhamanasadisaṁ; atha te pakatibrahmavasen' eva upasaṅkamitvā paṭhamaṁ suvaṇṇajālena paṭiggahesuṁ; tesaṁ hatthato manussā dukūlacumbaṭakena paṭiggahesuṁ. Tena vuttaṁ: *devā paṭhamaṁ paṭigaṇhanti pacchā manussā ti.*

Cattāro naṁ devaputtā ti cattāro mahārājāno.

Paṭiggahetvā ti ajiṇappaveṇiyā paṭigaṇhitvā.

Mahesakkho ti mahātejo mahā so lakkhaṇasampanno.

Visado va nikkhamatīti. Yathā aññe sattā yonimagge laggantā bhaggavibhaggā nikkhamanti, na evaṁ nikkhamatīti attho.

Uddenāti udakena.

Kenaci asucināti. Yathā aññe sattā kammajavātehi uddhapādā adhosirā yonimagge pakkhittā sataporisaṁ narakapapātaṁ patantā viya tāḷachiddena nikkhaḍḍhiyamānā hatthi viya mahādukkhaṁ anubhavantā nānā-asucimakkhitā va nikkhamanti, na evaṁ Bodhisatto. Bodhisattaṁ hi kammajavātā uddhapādaṁ adhosiraṁ kātuṁ na sakkonti; iti so dhammāsanato otaranto dhammakathiko viya nisseniyā otarantapuriso viya ca dve ca hatthe dve ca pāde pasāretvā ṭhitako va mātu kucchisambhavena kenaci asucinā amakkhito va nikkhamati.

Udakassa dhārā ti udakavaṭṭiyo; tā susitā suvaṇṇakaṭāhe. Idañ ca paṭhavitale kenaci asucinā asammissaṁ tesaṁ pānīya-paribhojanīya-udakam eva aññesaṁ sādhāraṇaṁ kīḷā udakañ ca dassetuṁ vuttaṁ. Aññassa pana suvaṇṇarajataghaṭehi āharima-udakassa c'eva haṁsavaṭṭakādi-pokkharaṇigatassa ca udakassa paricchedo na 'tthi.

Sampatijāto ti muhuttajāto. Pāḷiyaṁ pana mātu kucchito nikkhantamatto viya dassito; na evaṁ daṭṭhabbaṁ. Nikkhantamattaṁ hi naṁ paṭhamaṁ Brahmāno suvaṇṇajālena patigaṇhiṁsu, tesaṁ hatthato cattāro mahārājāno maṅgalasammatāya sukhasamphassāya ajinappaveṇiyā, tesaṁ hatthato manussā dukūlacumbaṭakena, manussānaṁ hatthato muñcitvā paṭhaviyaṁ patiṭṭhito.

Setamhi chatte anubhīramāne ti dibbasetacchatte dhāriyamānamhi; ettacchattassa parivārāni khaggādīni pañca rājakakudhabhaṇḍāni pi āgatān' eva; pāḷiyaṁ pana rājāgamane rājā viya chattam eva vuttaṁ. Tesu chattam eva paññāyati na chattagāhākā. Tathā khaggatālavaṇṭamorahatthakavālavījaniuṇhīsabaddhā ye paññāyanti na tesaṁ gāhakā; sabbāni kira tāni adissamānarūpā devatā gaṇhiṁsu. Vuttam pi c'etaṁ:—

Anekasākañ ca sahassamaṇḍalaṁ.
Chattaṁ mārū dhārayuṁ antalikkhe.
Suvaṇṇadaṇḍā vītipatanti cāmarā
Na dissare cāmarachattagāhakā ti.

Sabbā ca disā ti. Idaṁ sattapadavītihārūpariṭhitassa viya sabbadisānuvilokanaṁ vuttaṁ. Na kho pan' etaṁ daṭṭhabbaṁ. Mahāsatto hi manussānaṁ hatthato muñcitvā

puratthimaṁ disaṁ olokesi. Anekāni cakkavāḷasahassāni ekaṅgaṇāni ahesuṁ. Tattha devamanussā gandhamālādīhi pūjayamānā: Mahāpurisa idha tumhehi sadiso pi na 'tthi kuto uttaritaro ti āhaṁsu. Evaṁ catasso disā ca catasso anudisā ca heṭṭhā uparīti dasa pi disā 'nuviloketvā attano sadisaṁ adisvā: Ayaṁ uttarā disā ti sattapadavītihāre agamāsi. Evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo.

Āsabhiṁ ti uttamaṁ; *aggo ti* guṇehi sabbapaṭhamo; itarāni dve padāni etass' eva vevacanāni.

Ayam antimā jāti na 'tthi dāni punabbhavo ti padadvayena imasmiṁ attabhāve pattabbaṁ arahattaṁ byākāsi.

Ettha samehi pādehi paṭhaviyaṁ patiṭṭhānaṁ catuiddhipaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ; uttarābhimukhabhāvo mahājanaṁ ajjhottharitvā abhibhavitvā gamanassa pubbanimittaṁ; sattapadāgamanaṁ sattabojjhaṅgaratanapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ; dibbasetacchattadhāraṇaṁ vimutticchattapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ; pañca rājakakudhabhaṇḍāni pañcahi pi vimuttīhi vimuccanassa pubbanimittaṁ; disānuvilokanaṁ anāvaraṇa-paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ; āsabhiṁ vācabhāsanaṁ appativattiya-dhammacakkappavattanassa pubbanimittaṁ; 'Ayam antimā jātīti' sīhanādo anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyanassa pubbanimittan ti veditabbo.

Ime vārā pāḷiyā āgatā sambahulavāro pana anāgato āharitvā dīpetabbo. Mahāpurisassa hi jātadivase dasasahassīlokadhātumhi devatā ekacakkavāḷe sannipatiṁsu; paṭhamaṁ devā patiganhiṁsu pacchā manussā; tantibaddhā vīṇā cammabaddhā bheriyo ca kenaci apātitā sayam eva vajjiṁsu; manussānaṁ andubandhanādīni khaṇḍākhaṇḍaṁ chijjiṁsu; sabbarogā ambilena dhotatambamalā viya vigacchiṁsu; jaccandhā rūpāni passiṁsu; jaccabadhirā saddaṁ suṇiṁsu; pīṭhasappī javasampannā ahesuṁ; jātijaḷānam pi elamūgānaṁ sati paṭṭhāsi; videsapakkhantanāvā supaṭṭanaṁ pāpuṇiṁsu; ākāsaṭṭhakabhummaṭṭhakaratanāni sakatejobhāsena bhāsitāni ahesuṁ, verino mettācittaṁ paṭilabhiṁsu, Avīcimhi aggi nibbāyi, lokantare āloko udapādi, nadīsu jalaṁ nappavatti, mahāsamuddesu madhusadisaṁ udakaṁ ahosi, vāto na vāyi, ākāsagatapabbatarukkhagatā sakuṇā vassitvā paṭhavigatā

ahesuṁ, cando ativiroci, suriyo uṇhena sītalo nimmalo utusampanno ahosi, devatā attano vimānadvāre ṭhatvā appoṭhanaseḷanacelukkhepādīhi mahākīḷaṁ kīḷiṁsu, catuddīpikamahāmegho vassi, mahājanaṁ n' eva khudā na pipāsā pīḷesi, dvārakavāṭāni sayam eva vivarīyiṁsu, pupphūpagaphalūpagarukkhā pupphaphalāni gaṇhiṁsu. Dasasahassīlokadhātu ekadhajamālā ahosīti.

Tatrā pi 'ssa dasasahassīlokadhātukampo sabbaññūtañāṇapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ; devatānaṁ ekacakkavāḷe sannipāto dhammacakkappavattanakāle ekappahārena sannipatitvā dhammapatigaṇhanassa pubbanimittaṁ; paṭhamaṁ devatānaṁ paṭiggahaṇaṁ catunnaṁ rūpāvacaracakkhānānaṁ paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ; pacchā manussānaṁ paṭiggahaṇaṁ catunnaṁ arūpajjhānānaṁ paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ. Tantibaddhavīṇānaṁ sayaṁ vajjanaṁ anupubbavihārapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ. Cammabaddhabherīnaṁ vajjanaṁ mahatiyā dhammabheriyā anusāsanassa pubbanimittaṁ. Andubandhanādīnaṁ chedo asmimānasamucchedanassa pubbanimittaṁ. Jaccandhānaṁ rūpadassanaṁ dibbacakkhu paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ. Jaccabadhirānaṁ saddasavanaṁ dibbasotadhātupaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ. Pīṭhasappīnaṁ javasampadā catuiddhipādavegassa pubbanimittaṁ. Jalānaṁ satipatiṭṭhānaṁ catusatipaṭṭhānaṁ paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ. Videsapakkhantanāvānaṁ supaṭṭanaṁ sampāpuṇanaṁ ca paṭisambhidādhigamassa pubbanimittaṁ. Ratanānaṁ sakatejobhāso bhāsitatā yaṁ lokassa dhammobhāsaṁ dīpessati tassa pubbanimittaṁ. Verīnaṁ mettacittapaṭilābho catubrahmavihārapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṁ. Avīcimhi agginibbānaṁ ekādasaagginibbānassa pubbanimittaṁ. Lokantarāloko avijjandhakāraṁ vidhamitvā ñāṇalokadassanassa pubbanimittaṁ. Mahāsamuddassa madhuratā nibbānarasena ekarasabhāvassa pubbanimittaṁ. Vātassa avāyanaṁ dvāsaṭṭhidiṭṭhigatabhindanassa pubbanimittaṁ. Sakuṇānaṁ paṭhavigamanaṁ mahājanassa ovādaṁ sutvā pāṇehi saraṇāgamanassa pubbanimittaṁ. Candassa ativirocanaṁ bahujanakantatāya pubbanimittaṁ. Suriyassa uṇhasītavivajjita-utusukhatā kāyikacetasikasukhuppattiyā pubbanimittaṁ. Devatānaṁ vimānadvāresu appoṭhanādīhi kīḷanaṁ

buddhabhāvaṁ patvā udānaṁ udānassa pubbanimittaṁ. Cātuddīpikamahāmeghassa vassanaṁ mahato dhammameghavassassa pubbanimittaṁ. Khudhāpipāsāpīḷānassa abhāvo kāyagatāsatiamatapaṭilābhāya pubbanimittaṁ. Dasasahassīlokadhātuyā ekadhajamālatā ariyadhajamālāya pubbanimittan ti veditabbaṁ. Ayaṁ sambahulavāro nāma. Ettha pañhe pucchanti yadā mahāpuriso paṭhaviyaṁ patiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukho gantvā āsabhiṁ vācaṁ bhāsi, tadā kiṁ paṭhaviyā gato udāhu ākāsena dissamāno gato udāhu adissamāno acelako gato udāhu alaṅkatapaṭiyatto daharo hutvā gato udāhu mahallako pacchāpi kinnādiso va ahosi udāhu pana bāladārako ti? Ayaṁ pana pañho heṭṭhā Lohapāsāde Tipeṭaka-Mūḷābhayattherena vissajjito va. Thero kir' ettha niyatapubbekatakammaissaranimmānavādavasena taṁ bahuṁ vatvā avasāne evaṁ vyākāsi: Mahāpuriso paṭhaviyaṁ gato mahājanassa pana ākāsena gacchanto viya ahosi, dissamāno gato mahājanassa pana adissamāno viya ahosi, acelako gato mahājanassa alaṅkatapaṭiyatto viya upaṭṭhāsi. Daharo va gato mahājanassa pana soḷavassuddesiko viya ahosi pacchā pana bāladārako va ahosi na tādiso ti. Parisā c' assa: Buddhena viya hutvā, bho, therena pañho kathito ti attamanā ahosi. Lokantarikavāro vuttanayen' eva.

Viditā ti pākaṭā hutvā. Yathā hi sāvakā nahāna-mukhadhovanapivanādikālena anokāsagatā atīte saṅkhāre nippadese sammasituṁ na sakkonti okāsapatte okāsapattam eva sammasanti, na evaṁ Buddhā. Buddhā hi sattadivasabbhantare vattitasaṅkhāre ādito paṭṭhāya sammasitvā tilakkhaṇaṁ āropetvā va vissajjanti; tesaṁ avipassitadhammo nāma na 'tthi. Tasmā *viditā ti* āha.

Sesaṁ sabbattha uttānam evāti.

Acchariyabbhuta-suttaṁ tatiyaṁ.

ART. XXIV.—*Some Notes on the Poetry of the Persian Dialects.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IN this article I do not propose to attempt any general classification of the dialects spoken in different parts of Persia; for, in the present state of our knowledge, and with the materials yet available, such attempt would, perhaps, be premature; and, in any case, the task is one which I am not competent to undertake. Neither do I deem it necessary to enlarge upon the importance of the philological results which a fuller study of these dialects may be expected to yield. My present intention is merely to make known a collection of poems, of various dates and authorship, composed in different dialects of the Persian language, and contained in a small manuscript which came into my possession about four years ago.

I have more than once had occasion to make mention in these pages of Sheykh A——, of Kirmán, a learned Bábí of the Ezelí faction resident in Constantinople. With him I maintained for some considerable time a pretty regular correspondence on matters connected with the bibliography, literature, and religions of Western Asia. In one of my letters I questioned him as to the exact nature of the dialect in which some verses occurring in a *ghazal* of Ḥáfiẓ (ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, vol. iii, p. 226: No. 78 in ک) are composed. In a letter dated July 30, 1891, he replied as follows: "The dialect about which you wrote for information is the Lúrí patois of Shíráz and Isfahán, which is the Pahlaví dialect.[1] Many poets, such as *Sa'di*,

[1] The term *Pahlaví*, as has often been pointed out, is very loosely used by later Muḥammadan writers, and is commonly applied to the dialects spoken in various districts of Persia, as, for example, by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí-i-Qazvíní in the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb* (A.H. 740), *s.v.* زنجان, مراغه, گشتاسفی. Cf. Olshausen's classical "*Parthava und Pahlav, Mâda und Mâh*" in the *Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1876, p. 765.

Abú Is-ḥáq, the gastronomic poet, *Ḥáfiẓ*, and *Khwájú* [of Kirmán], have composed verses in it. Of these poems I have collected a sufficient sample, and have written them down with a glossary; these, if you wish, I will forward to you."

It need scarcely be said that I accepted this offer with alacrity. On September 2, 1891, I received the manuscript which I shall describe immediately, together with a letter wherein Sheykh A—— wrote as follows: "As regards the Lúrí dialect of Shíráz, I have for some while entertained the idea of compiling a collection of specimens of the different dialects of Persian—Khúzí, Lúrí, Ná'iní, Závulí, Sughdí, Gílí, Deylamí, Rází, etc. With a thousand difficulties, I have been successful as regards some of these, amongst which is this same Lúrí dialect. . . . . For the moment, I have transcribed a few quires on the Lúrí dialect as now used at Sívand, which I herewith send you. Believe me when I tell you that it cost me nearly a year's work to prove and verify these few sheets; for to obtain from Persia information of this sort needs the strength of seven elephants. I would not have communicated it to anyone, but, by reason of my sincere friendship for you, who seek after learning and knowledge, and understand somewhat of these matters, I forward these six quires. Should you desire it, I will by degrees send you more. So likewise I have put together all that I have been able to collect about the other dialects of Persia, which also I will send you." The Sheykh added that he and several others in Constantinople and Persia had formed themselves into a small society for the study of these dialects, and the collection of illustrative material.

The mere formation of such a society, however small, however imperfectly equipped, however wanting in scientific method, is, I think, a thing worthy of note, and should tend to dissipate the notion entertained, as it would seem, by some students of Persian that there is a complete dearth of literary activity and intellectual life in modern Persia. Much might be said to prove the falsity of this notion,

but I have not space to pursue the matter further at present, and return to the manuscript above mentioned, which supplies the subject-matter of this article. It comprises ff. 44 (88 pp.), in six quires or "sheets," measuring 20·3 × 13·0 centimetres, and is written in a small, clear, Persian *ta'liq*. The paper is thick, and yellowish in colour. Each page is ruled in 18 lines, but the actual number of written lines varies according to the extent of the interlinear glosses, which, as well as the headings, are inserted in red ink. The contents are as follows:

I (ff. 1[a]–4[a]). An account of Sívand in Fárs (situated on the main road from Shíráz to Isfahán, about 3 parasangs N. of Istakhr) and its dialect.

II (ff. 4[a]–16[a]). A glossary of dialectical words (including many of those which occur in the poems immediately following), with their Persian equivalents, arranged in 13 classes, according to subjects, without regard to alphabetical order.

III (ff. 16[b]–44[a]). A collection of dialectical poems (about 75 pieces in all, comprising some 390 *beyts*) by 16 different poets.

IV (f. 44[b]). Remarks on the etymology of five words (گو, بیژن, پیماچان, تنبل, مژه).

Three years ago (in the summer of 1892) I began to prepare an article on this manuscript, but other work compelled me to lay it aside unfinished. My intention at that time was to prefix both the text and translation of the account of Sívand, which constitutes Part i of the contents, together with the glossary which forms Part ii, to the text and translation of the poems and such commentary as I could supply to them. Only, as a matter of convenience, I determined to rearrange the words in the glossary so that they should stand in alphabetical order, and to append a table of phonetic equivalents, showing the modifications which each Persian vowel and consonant might assume in the dialects. Of this abortive

article the whole preliminary portion, amounting to 35 pages, was actually written, when I was compelled for the while to turn my attention to other matters, hoping to resume and complete it at some future date. I was forestalled, however, by M. Clément Huart, to whose pen we owe so many interesting and valuable communications on Persian and Turkish bibliography, Persian philology, and other matters connected with Western Asia. In the *Journal Asiatique* for March–April, 1893 (Ser. ix, vol. i, pp. 241–65), he published an article entitled *le Dialecte Persan de Sîvènd*, in which were comprised a French translation of the account of Sívand which forms Part i of my MS., and the glossary which constitutes Part ii. In the latter he preserved the original arrangement of words according to classes. Concerning the source of this memoir he added the following particulars, not previously known to me. "In 1888 the Governor of the province of Fárs, His Highness Prince *Iḥtishámu'd-Dawla* [son of the late Prince Farhád Mírzá, *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*], hearing that the inhabitants of the village of Sívand, situated at a short distance from Shíráz, made use amongst themselves of a special dialect, had the curiosity to instruct a Persian man of letters attached to his service to make a study of this patois. This mission was entrusted to Mírzá Ḥuseyn Tihrání, poetically surnamed *Thureyyá*, who recorded his observations in a manuscript, of which there exists a copy in the library of Mírzá Ḥabíb of Isfáhan. He, very obligingly, authorized us to make use of it. This copy was made by the caligrapher Faḍlu'lláh, son of the late Mírzá Muḥammad Yúsuf, the gilder, and was completed on Thursday, the 9th of Rábí' II, A.H. 1306 (Dec. 14, 1888). It consists of 27 leaves, unnumbered, of a small size, corresponding approximately to the octodecimo of our booksellers."

This MS., which formed the basis of M. Huart's article, was, no doubt, the source whence Sheykh A—— derived Parts i and ii of the MS. which he sent to me; for, so far, the two MSS. correspond almost exactly; and, moreover, I happen to know that the learned Mírzá Ḥabíb (who died

two or three years ago) was one of Sheykh A——'s intimate friends. A comparison of M. Huart's translation of Mírzá Huseyn's Memoir on Sívand with the text in my MS. reveals only a few quite trivial differences; while my vocabulary differs from his chiefly in this, that with it have been incorporated some additional dialect-words drawn from the poems. This cannot be regarded as altogether an improvement, since the poems differ in age, authorship, and idiom, and it is obviously undesirable to confound the words occurring in them with those actually used at present in the Sívand dialect. The publication of M. Huart's article, therefore, renders it unnecessary for me to say much more about the first two parts of my MS. The English translation of the memoir on Sívand which I had prepared is no longer of any use, since the excellent French rendering of M. Huart is accessible to all in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*. Nor do I now think that the publication of the original Persian text of this memoir, which I had originally contemplated, is of much importance; since most of the place-names occurring in it (for which especially the text might be deemed necessary) are given by M. Huart in the proper character. As for the vocabulary, although I still consider an alphabetical arrangement preferable to the existing one, it does not appear to me to be worth reprinting the same series of words with the same explanations merely for the sake of introducing a better order.

Besides the text and translation of the memoir mentioned above, I had constructed for my abortive article a Table of Phonetic Equivalents, wherein I endeavoured to sum up in a compendious form such phenomena of permutation of sound as were revealed by comparison of the dialects in which these poems are written with standard Persian, so far as the intrinsic unfitness (for such a purpose) of the Arabic alphabet, and the transcriber's lack of scientific method, permit us to observe them. This table, somewhat modified from its original form, I here subjoin, for, imperfect though it be, it offers a summary of the more salient features of these dialects, and indicates, to some extent, the

relations existing between them and standard Persian. Each phonetic change recorded in this table will henceforth be denoted by the numeral here prefixed to it.

TABLE OF PHONETIC EQUIVALENTS.

I. Vowels.

1. *á* (آ, ا) is shortened to *a*; *e.g.* أَفْتَو for آفتاب; تَوِسْتَا for تابستان.
2. ,, becomes *ú* (وُ), *u*; *e.g.* آسیوبا for آسیابان; رُن for ران.
3. ,, becomes *í*, *i*; *e.g.* اِن for آن; درمین for درمان.
4. ,, (medial) becomes *é*; *e.g.* کهکُل for کاکُل.
5. *a* (rarely) becomes *í*; *e.g.* نیمیک for نمک.
6. Prosthetic *i* (اِ) is common in the dialects; *e.g.* اشکال for سپیدآب for اسپیدو; شغال for توت فرنگی for تیا فرنگی.
7. *í*, *i* (*iḍáfat*) is replaced by *á*; *e.g.* ولاسیره for گُل سرخ; تیا فرنگی for توت فرنگی.
8. *í* is shortened to *i*; *e.g.* شِرِن for شیرین.
9. *í* (medial) becomes *ih*; *e.g.* تهره for تیره.
10. *ú* is shortened to *u*; *e.g.* گُش for گوش.
11. *u* is lengthened to *ú*; *e.g.* کونه for کند.
12. *u*, *ú*, become *í*; *e.g.* سیره for سُرخ; آهی for آهو.
13. *ú* (final) becomes *é* (ه); *e.g.* ته for تو. [Perhaps, however, ته, pointed تُه, merely denotes a shortening of the vowel, as in 10. So in modern MSS. چو, when scanned short in poetry, is often written چه.]
14. *ú* (final) becomes *yé*; *e.g.* زالیه for زالو.
15. *é* (ه final) becomes *ú*; *e.g.* تیلو for توله.

16. *é* (ه final) becomes *á*; *e.g.* روشا for روزه.

17. The aspirate (ه) takes the place of *hamza* (ء); *e.g.* جرواهیل for جبرائیل.

II. Consonants.

18. *b* is replaced by *v* or *w*; *e.g.* شَو for شب; اَفتَو for آفتاب.

19. „ *gh*; *e.g.* چوغ for چوب.

20. *t*, *ṭ* are replaced by *s*; *e.g.* سبخ for طبخ.

21. *j* is replaced by *z*; *e.g.* رنزت for رنجد.

22. „ *g*; *e.g.* گان for جان.

23. *kh* „ *f*; *e.g.* فشکَ for خُشکَ; فین for خون.

24. *kh* „ *q*; *e.g.* قدا for خدا.

25. *kh* „ *h*; *e.g.* هر for خر; همیرگر for خمیرگیر.

26. *d* „ *z*; *e.g.* داند for داند; کذکَ for کودکَ.

27. *d* „ *t*; *e.g.* رنزت for رنجد.

28. *d* „ *y*; *e.g.* وایام for بادام.

29. *d* (final) is often dropped; *e.g.* بی for بید; کونه for کند.

30. *r* is replaced by *l*; *e.g.* قیل for قیر.

31. *r* is often transposed; *e.g.* جرواهیل for جبرائیل; نهر for نهر; چوری for چربی; نرخ for نرخ.

32. *r* (final) is sometimes dropped; *e.g.* اگ for اگر; هزا for هزار.

33. *z* is replaced by *zh*; *e.g.* ژن for زن.

34. *z* „ *sh*; *e.g.* روشا for روزه.

35. *z* (medial) is dropped; *e.g.* بائی for بازو.

36. *z* (final) „ *e.g.* پیا for پیاز.

37. *s* is replaced by *t*; *e.g.* تخن for سخن; تنزت for سنجد.

38. *s* „ *z*; *e.g.* مگز for مگس; نرگز for نرگس.

39. *sh* „ *s*; *e.g.* سور for شور.

40. *sh* „ *ch*; *e.g.* پاپوچ for پاپوش. [But this, perhaps, is due to Turkish influence.]

41. ع is softened down to ا; *e.g.* اشغ for عشق.
42. *gh* is replaced by *g* (*?k*); *e.g.* اشگال for شغال.
43. *gh* (medial) is dropped; *e.g.* رَوَن for روغن.
44. *gh* (final) ,, *e.g.* دِرو for دروغ.
45. *f* is replaced by *v*; *e.g.* اوسار for افسار.
46. *q* ,, *gh*; *e.g.* اشغ and عشغ for عشق; عاغل for عاقل; رغیب for رقیب.
47. *q* is replaced by *kh*; *e.g.* خارچ for قارچ.
48. *k* is replaced by *q*; *e.g.* قلا for کلاغ.
49. *k* (final) is sometimes dropped; *e.g.* بَنجش for گَنجشک.
50. *g* is replaced by *v*; *e.g.* وُل for گُل.
51. *g* ,, *b*; *e.g.* بَنجش for گَنجشک.
52. *g* ,, *gh*; *e.g.* اغ for اگر.
53. *m* is sometimes dropped at the end of words; *e.g.* چش for چشم.
54. *n* is sometimes replaced by *h*; *e.g.* سهدلی for صندلی.
55. *n* (final) is often dropped; *e.g.* ایدمی for ایندمی ("now").
56. *h* is sometimes replaced by *ch*; *e.g.* چمچه for همچو.

Besides the changes above enumerated, shortenings and other distortions of words not easily to be classified are of common occurrence.

That some of the modifications of sound revealed in the following texts, and summarized in this Table, already exist in the colloquial Persian of the present day, and underlie the stereotyped spellings of the standard speech, is a fact which must constantly be borne in mind. Thus, as is well known, *á* is in many words pronounced as *ú* or *u* (*e.g.* نان, *núu*, not *nán*; ماندن *mundan*, not *mándan* or *múndan*; آنجا, *unjá*, not *ánjá* or *únjá*; but, on the other hand, جان, خان, *ján*, *khán*, seldom or never *jún*, *khún*). So likewise, in rapid speaking, the final *d* of the 3rd person singular of the aorist

is often dropped (*na-mirá'* for *na-mirad*; *cf.* my *Year amongst the Persians*, p. 119); *ast* is shortened to *a*, *é*; and such pronunciations as *namí-shad* for *namí-shavad*, *mi-gíyad* for *mí-gúyad*, *t* for *ín*, and the like, are commonly heard even in the speech of educated persons. But these current pronunciations are, as above said, concealed by the stereotyped orthography of the literary language; and it is only when an attempt is made to represent in writing a provincial idiom, as, for instance, where a Gílání peasant is introduced into the amusing dialogue of the *Vazír of Lankurán* (edited by Haggard and le Strange), or in the so-called فهلويّات ("Pahlaví verses") of the dialect poets, that they come to light. Once having made up his mind to deviate from the normal orthography, however, it seems as though the Persian scribe endeavoured, as a rule, to make this deviation as great as possible, by substituting س for ص, ت for ط, and the like, although no distinction is made between these letters in pronunciation even in standard Persian.[1] From what has been said it follows that the difference between the pronunciation of the dialects and that of standard Persian is, on the whole, less than we should suppose if we were to judge from written specimens alone.

I use the words "attempt to represent in writing a provincial idiom" advisedly; for not only does the Arabic character, especially when unpointed, afford a very imperfect means of representing graphically the finer shades of pronunciation, but every scribe, when he has to do with dialects not used for literary purposes, where he has no fixed rule to guide him, employs his own system, and is usually not consistent even in that. It is bad enough when the scribe is thoroughly familiar with the dialect which he wishes to express in writing, and far worse when (as is generally the case) we have to deal with copies, more or

[1] As it is always well to have native evidence for such a statement, I may refer to p. 3 of Mírzá Ḥabíb's *Dastúr-i-Sukhan* (Constantinople, A.H. 1289), where it is explicitly stated that the Persians pronounce ث and ص exactly like س, ح like ه, ض and ظ like ز, ط like ت, and ع like ا.

less remote from the original draft, made by persons ignorant of the dialect before them, into which all sorts of clerical errors are almost sure to have crept. It is, indeed, evident that a really satisfactory study of a dialect can only be made by a scientific observer, skilled in Phonetics, who enjoys prolonged opportunities of conversing with persons who speak it naturally; and in the case of some at any rate of the poets who have written occasional verses in one or other of the dialects of Persia we cannot even feel confident that they were masters of the idiom in which they strove to express themselves. A very poor and inaccurate imitation of the peculiarities of speech of a Lur, for instance, might serve to amuse an educated Persian, just as an English audience will laugh at the fictitious brogue of an actor who may never even have set foot on Irish ground, and whose utterances, not modelled on any one dialect, are a mere travesty of certain striking features of Irish pronunciation in general.

The above considerations again and again almost decided me to abandon a task which, by reason of its intrinsic difficulty, the inadequate materials at my disposal, and my own imperfect qualifications, it seemed presumptuous to attempt. But, on the other hand, it seemed to me important to direct the attention of Persian students in this country to the existence of this considerable mass of dialect poetry, which hitherto has in England received but little attention; and, moreover, I have learned by experience that the publication of even a very faulty and imperfect account of a matter which is interesting in itself often suffices to elicit from other workers in the same field valuable communications and criticisms which might otherwise never be made. So, though it is disagreeable to one's self to turn out work which, notwithstanding all one's efforts, bears on itself to the last the stamp of manifold imperfection and incompleteness, I have finally decided to print as specimens a few of the poems which constitute the third (and chief) part of the manuscript above described, together with such commentary as I am able to add from

the notes and glosses of the compiler and other sources. The English renderings which I give must, in some cases, be regarded as rather of a tentative character, though I believe that they fairly represent the general sense of the poems.

Before proceeding further, it will be convenient for me to enumerate some of the principal published notices and studies of Persian dialects (to most of which I have had access), and the abbreviations wherewith I shall henceforth denote those of them to which I may have occasion to refer in the course of this article. This list makes no pretensions whatever to completeness, and includes monographs only, though valuable material is to be gleaned from a good many books of travel, etc. (such as Polak's *Persien*, Chodzko's *Mem. sur l'Asie Centrale*, etc.), which contain incidental allusions to the dialects of different parts of Persia. In the case of Kurdish, on which a good deal has been written, I mention only a few of the principal contributions of philologists. Fuller information will be found by those who desire it in the introduction prefixed by Justi to his edition of Jaba's *Dictionnaire Kurde-Français* (St. Pet., 1879, pp. xii–xviii), and in other monographs.

1840–1850. *Rödiger and Pott.* A series of Kurdish Studies in vols. iii–v and vii of the *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes.*

1842. [Ch. 1]=*Chodzko's* "Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia," etc.

1853. [Ber.]=*Berésine's* "Recherches sur les Dialectes Persans" (Talish, Gílak, Mázandaráni, Kurdish, Gabrí). Printed at Casan.

1857. [Ch. 2]=*Chodzko's* "Études philolog. sur la langue Kurde." *Jour. As.*[5] ix, 297–356.

1857–58. *Lerch's* "Forschungen üb. d. Kurden u. d. Iranische Nord-Chaldäer."

1860. [Jab. 1]. *Jaba's* "Recueil de Notices et Recits Kourdes . . ."

1860–66. [Dorn 1]=*Dorn's* "Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. Iranisch. Sprachen" (Mázandaráni).

1868. [Mel.]=*Melgounof's* "Essai sur les dialectes de Mazanderan et Ghilan," in vol. xxii of the *Z.D.M.G.* pp. 195–224.

1874. *E. Rehatsek's* "Deri phrases and dialogues." *Indian Antiquary*, ii, pp. 331–35.

1878. [H.S. 1]=*Houtum-Schindler*, *Z.D.M.G.* vol. xxxii, 535–41 (Semnán dialect).

1879. [Dorn 2]=*Dorn*, Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. d. Sciences de S. Pét., xxv, 265–67 (Semnán dialect).

1879. [Jab. 2]=*Jaba's* "Dict. Kurde-Français" (edited by Justi).

1880. [Jus. 1]=*Justi's* "Kurdische Grammatik."

1881. [Jus. 2]=*Justi's* article in vol. xxxv of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 327–414, "Ueber die Mundart von Jezd" (Gabrí dialect).

1881. [Rieu]=*Dr. Rieu's* very valuable account of the Gúrán dialect at pp. 728–34 of his *Persian Catalogue*.

1882. [H.S. 2]=*Houtum-Schindler* in vol. xxxvi of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 54–88, "Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache," etc. (Gabrí dialect).

1884. [H.S. 3]=*Houtum-Schindler* in vol. xxxviii of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 43–116, "Beiträge zum Kurd. Wortschatze."

1885. [Hu. 1]=*Cl. Huart's* "Quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān." *Jour. As.*[8], vi, pp. 502–45.

1887–90. *Prym and Socin's* "Kurdische Sammlungen."

1888. [H.S. 4]=*Houtum-Schindler* in vol. xlii of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 73–9, "Weitere Beiträge zum Kurd. Wortschatze."

1888. [Hu. 2]=*Cl. Huart's* "Notes sur le prétendu Dérî des Parsis de Yezd." *Jour. As.*[8], xi, pp. 298–302 (Gabrí dialect).

1888. [Shu.]=*V. Shukovski's* "Materials for the study of the Persian dialects." Unfortunately this book, which is by far the most important contribution

yet made on the subject, is written in Russian, so that to those who, like myself, are unfortunate enough to be ignorant of that language, only the texts included in it (transliterated, for the most part, in Russian characters) are of any use. The following particulars concerning M. Shukovski's valuable researches are derived from M. C. Salemann's *compte-rendu* to the *Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg* (Feb. 3, 1887; *Bulletin de l'Acad.*, vol. xxxi, pp. 537–40). M. Shukovski spent three years (1883–86) in Persia, during which period he studied eleven different dialects, grouped as follows :—

I. *Shíráz* district: dialects of *Sivand* and *'Abdu* (20–30 versts S. of Shíráz), with its dependencies *Kelún* and *Pópún*.

II. *Káshán* district: dialects of *Vônishún*, *Qohrúd*, *Keshé*, and *Zefré*.

III. *Semnán-Tihrán* district: dialects of *Sengiser* and *Shemerzôd*.

IV. *Isfahán* district: dialects of *Se-deh*, *Gaz*, and *Kafrôn*.

In all these dialects he obtained translations of the "Bacmeister'sche Sprachproben," the beginning of the "Finnic Rune," the parable of the Prodigal Son, and twelve stories from the مجمع التمثيل and the لطيفه و ظريفه. In the dialects of *Qohrúd*, *Keshé*, *Zefré*, and *Se-deh* he also obtained versions of popular Persian songs which pass current in those districts; and in the dialects of *Kafrôn*, *Zefré*, and *Gaz*, a rich store of verses by indigenous poets. Besides all this, he brought back a large collection of *Bakhtiyári* songs, and some specimens of the (Kurdish) dialect spoken by the *Kulkhání* branch of the *Kúzievend*. This vast accumulation of valuable material, with grammatical sketches,

vocabularies, and other necessary adjuncts, is to form five volumes, of which I only possess the first (dealing with the Káshán group of dialects), published in 1888. Whether the remaining volumes, or any of them, have yet appeared, I have hitherto been unable to ascertain.

1889. [Hu. 3]=*Cl. Huart's* "Notice d'un manuscrit Pehlevi-Musulman," etc., in the *Jour. As.*[8], xiv, pp. 238–70. I have succeeded in identifying the MS. described in this article with the *Jávidán-i-Kabír* (جاودان كبير), a heretical book on the doctrines of the Ḥurúfí sect of the Isma'íliyya composed by its founder, Faḍlu 'lláh b. Abí Muḥammad et-Tabrízí el-Ḥurúfí, who was put to death in A.H. 804 (A.D. 1401–2) by Tímúr. A full description of a manuscript of the same work contained in the Cambridge University Library, and bearing the class-mark Ee. 1. 27, will appear at pp. 69–86 of my forthcoming *Catalogue* of our Persian MSS. The value of this MS. of ours is largely increased by the careful interlinear glosses which have been supplied to most of the dialectical portions.

1893. [Hu. 4]=*Cl. Huart's* "Dialecte persan de Sîwènd," in the *Jour. As.*[9], i, pp. 241–65, to which I have already had occasion to refer (p. 776 *supra*). I ascertained from M. Huart, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at Geneva in September, 1894, that Mírzá Ḥabíb's manuscript, which formed the basis of his article, contained only the first and second parts of my manuscript, and not the poems which I am about to communicate. This present article may therefore be regarded as in some sense complementary to his.

The Authors of the Poems.

As already stated, the verses contained in my manuscript amount to about 390 *beyts*, and are ascribed, in very unequal proportions, to 16 different poets. These I shall now enumerate in alphabetical order, adding such particulars about each (save those who are too well known to need any further notice) as I have been able to collect.

1. *Abú Is-ḥáq* (*Bus-ḥáq*) of Shíráz, the wool-carder (*ḥalláj*) and gastronomic poet, author of the *Díván-i-aṭ'ima*, *Kanzu'l-ishtihá*, etc. He died (see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 634) in A.H. 819 or 827. Notices of his life and poems are given by Dawlatsháh (Bombay lith. ed. of 1887, pp. 160–63) and in the *A'tash-Kada* (Bombay lith. ed. of A.H. 1277, poets of Shíráz, *s.v.* بسحق). An excellent edition of his works, printed by Ebu'ḍ-Ḍiyá Tevfíq Bey, appeared at Constantinople in A.H. 1303, with a preface by Mírzá Ḥabíb (cf. *Journal Asiatique* [8], viii, pp. 182–6, and *ibid.* [8], xi, pp. 88–90). This edition contains a few of the poems in dialect (called فهلويّات). Complete MSS. of Abú Isḥáq's poems are very rare. One, bearing the class-mark L. 137, and dated A.H. 970, is, or was till recently, in the possession of the Society for the Propagation of Christianity amongst the Jews. It was given to Dr. Wolff in A.H. 1234 by a certain Hájí 'Othmán Núru'd-Dín. It is considerably fuller than the printed edition, with which I was fortunate enough to be able to collate it in part, and contains many more verses in dialect. In the colophon with which this MS. concludes the poet's name is given as Fakhru'd-Dín Aḥmad. It is written in a small, neat *ta'liq* between blue and gold lines, and comprises ff. 162 of 22·4 × 12·7 centimetres and 17 lines. A notice of Abú Is-ḥáq is also given by Riḍá-qulí Kháṉ at pp. 44–5 of

his *Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín* (Tihrán lith. ed. A.H. 1305). It is there stated that his name was Sheykh Aḥmad, his *kunya* Abú Is-ḥáq (which, in his *takhalluṣ*, he shortened to *Bus-ḥáq*), and his nickname *Aṭ'ima*; and that he was personally acquainted with Sháh Ni'matu'lláh of Kirmán (d. A.H. 834). Twenty of his poems are cited in my MS.

2. *'Alí* (*Mírzá* ——) of Soh (two stages from Káshán and one from Qohrúd, to the S.). I have hitherto been unable to identify this poet, and can give no particulars about him. One only of his poems is cited.

3. *'Alí Riḍá* (*Mulla* ——) of Behbehán may perhaps be identified with the Mírzá 'Alí Riḍa *Tajallá* mentioned in the *Átash-Kada* amongst the poets of Fárs (*cf.* Ethé's *Catalogue*, col. 284, No. 651), although the latter is described as a native of Ardakán (about 40 miles N.W. of Yezd). According to the *Átash-Kada*, this 'Alí Riḍá was a pupil of Áqá Ḥuseyn Khúnsárí, who, again, is stated (*cf.* Ethé, *loc. cit.* col. 277, No. 434) to have lived in the reign of Sháh Suleymán the Ṣafaví (A.H. 1077–1105; A.D. 1667–1694). The identification, however, is doubtful. Eight of his poems are cited.

4. *Bábá Ṭáhir 'Uryán* of Hamadán, author of the celebrated quatrains, published, with French translation and philological notes, by M. Cl. Huart in 1885 in the *Journal Asiatique*[8], vi, pp. 502–45. These quatrains, together with those of 'Omar Khayyám and Abú Sa'íd b. Abi 'l-Khayr, and other poems, were also published in lithograph by Mírzá Muḥammad Shírází at Bombay in A.H. 1297. The *Átash-Kada*, which fills a page with his poems, gives no hint of his date; but Riḍá-qulí Khán (*Riyáḍu'l-'Árifín*, ed. Tihrán, A.H. 1305, p. 102) states that he died in A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019–20), در چهار صد و ده, and

that consequently he cannot have been a contemporary of 'Aynu'l-Quḍát-i-Hamadání (d. A.H. 525 or 526, according to Hájí Khalfa, iii, pp. 459, 536; *cf.* also Jámí's *Nafaḥát*, pp. 475–77) or Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí (d. A.H. 672), as stated by some writers. Unfortunately Riḍá-qulí Khán does not cite his authority for this early date, which would make Bábá Ṭáhir a contemporary of Firdawsi. Twenty-four quatrains are cited.

5. *Ḥáfiẓ* of Shíráz (d. A.H. 791) is too well known to need further notice here. One poem cited.

6. *Ḥisábí* may with some probability be identified with the Mírzá Salmán *Ḥisábí* of Natanz, mentioned in the *Átash-Kada* amongst the poets of Isfahán, since Natanz is well known to be the stronghold of a peculiar dialect of Persian (*cf.* Ethé's *Catalogue*, col. 275, No. 372). One poem cited.

7. *Jalál-i-Ṭabíb* ("the physician") is probably identical with the Jalálu'd-Dín-i-Ṭabíb mentioned by Dawlatsháh (Bombay lith. ed. of A.D. 1887, pp. 129–30), who states that he flourished in Fárs under the patronage of the Muẓẓafarids, and that in A.H. 734 (=A.D. 1333–34) he published a poem called *Gul u Nawrúz* which achieved great celebrity. One poem cited.

8. *Maḥmúd b. Amír Aḥmad Niẓám Qárí* of Yezd, the poet of clothes, as Abú Is-ḥáq was of foods. His *Díván-i-albisa* (uniform with Abú Is-ḥáq's *Díván-i-aṭ'ima*), edited by Mírzá Ḥabíb of Isfahán, was printed at Constantinople in A.H. 1304 by Abú'ḍ-Ḍiyá Tevfíq Bey. The editor states in his preface that, saving a pretty full notice which he remembers to have seen in an old Indian *tadhkira* (not named), and one citation amongst the *shawáhid* of the *Burhán-i-Jámi'* of Muḥammad Karím b. Mahdiqulí of Tabríz (lith. ed. Tabríz, A.H. 1260), he has been unable, after the most diligent search, to find any notice of this poet. His edition was

based on a single MS. in his own possession, concerning the date and condition of which, unfortunately, he gives no particulars. Useful glossaries of the technical terms used by the poet of clothes and the poet of foods have been appended by the learned editor to their respective *diváns*. All that he says about the date of the former is that he outlived the latter, whose *Díván-i-aṭ'ima* served him for a model, and whom, in his preface, he speaks of as deceased. If, however (as appears probable), our poet be identical with the *Mír Niẓámu'd-Dín-Qárí* of Káshán, mentioned by Taqí'u'd-Dín Káshí in the *Khátima* of his *Khuláṣatu'l-ash'ár* (see Pertsch's *Berlin Catalogue*, pp. 611–15), he must have been alive in A.H. 993 (A.D. 1585), since the *Khátima* deals only with the biographer's contemporaries, and was composed in that year. One poem cited.

9. *Muḥammad Ṣúfí.* A Mullá Muḥammad, who wrote under the *takhalluṣ* of Ṣúfí, is mentioned in the *A'tash-Kada* (ed. Bombay, A.H. 1277, p. 170) amongst the poets of Isfahán. "Some persons," adds the biographer, "consider him to have been the maternal uncle of Mullá Jámí" (d. A.H. 898 = A.D. 1492–93), "but God knows best." Two poems cited.

10. *Nadhrí Sháh Riḍá'í.* A Mullá Nadhrí of Káshán and several Riḍá'ís are mentioned in the *Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibráhímí* (Pertsch's *Berlin Catalogue*, No. 663), but in the absence of further particulars I cannot even attempt an identification. Two quatrains cited.

11. *'Obeyd-i-Zákání* (d. A.H. 772 = A.D. 1370–71), the celebrated satirist, a contemporary of Salmán of Sáva. See Ouseley's *Notices of Persian Poets*, pp. 125–28; Ethé's *Catalogue*, cols. 572–73; Sprenger's *Catalogue*, p. 527; *A'tash-Kada* (amongst the poets of Qazvín, of which Zákán is a suburb);

Dawlatsháh (ed. Bombay, A.D. 1887, pp. 125–27). Selections from his writings (chiefly the *Hazaliyyát*) were published at Constantinople, at the printing-press of Abú'ḍ-Ḍiyá Tevfíq Bey in A.H. 1303, with an introduction (in Persian) purporting to be my M. Ferté. His "Cat and Mouse" (*Músh-i-Gurba*) has been lithographed at Bombay at the *Maṭba'i-Ḥaydarí* (no date). He excelled in parody, and is generally amusing, though often extremely ribald. His *Akhláqu'l-Ashráf* ("Ethics of the Aristocracy"), which occupies pp. 7–31 of the Constantinople edition, affords a good example of his bitter and ironical wit. Two poems cited.

12. *Pindár-i-Rází* (Kamálu'd-Dín). Notices of this ancient poet are given by Dawlatsháh[1] (pp. 23–24), in the *A'tash-Kada* (where he occupies the second place amongst the poets of Rey), and in Riḍá-qulí Khán's *Riyáḍu'l-'Á'rifín* (pp. 173–74). From these accounts it appears that he was originally from the mountainous country near Rey (ری تهستان); that he was the panegyrist of the Deylamite prince Abú Ṭálib Rustam *Majdu'd-Dawla b. Fakhru'd-Dawla* (A.D. 997–1029); that he was a pupil of Abu'l-Qásim Isma'íl b. 'Abbád [eṭ-Ṭáliqání, commonly called] "*eṣ-Ṣáḥib*" (d. A.H. 385=A.D. 995); that his talent was highly rated by Ẓahír of Fáryáb (d. A.H. 598); and that he wrote in Arabic, Persian, *and the Deylamí dialect.* Six poems cited.

13. *Púr-i-Feridún* is mentioned in the *A'tash-Kada* amongst the poets of Fárs, without further particulars, save that he wrote chiefly in the dialect of Rey. Two quatrains cited, both given, with slight variants, in the *A'tash-Kada.*

14. *Sheykh Rúz-bahán* of Shíraz. Jámí, who consecrates a notice of three pages to him in the *Nafaḥát*

[1] *Cf.* also Quatremère, *Journal des Savants* for 1840, p. 413; and Olshausen, *Monatsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad.* for 1876, p. 765.

(pp. 288–90), gives his name as Abú Muḥammad b. Abí Naṣr el-Baqlí of Fasá in Fárs, and enumerates several of his works, such as the *'Arâ'isu'l-Beyán* (see Hájí Khalfa, iv, p. 195, No. 8105; and pp. 717–18 of the old Arabic Catalogue of the British Museum), and a Commentary on the *Shaṭḥiyyát*, on account of which he is often called (*e.g.* in the *A'tash-Kada*, section on the poets of Fárs, and in the *Riyádu'l-'Árifín*, p. 79) "Sheykh-i-Shattáḥ." He is better known as a Ṣúfí than as a poet. He died in A.H. 606 (A.D. 1209–10) and was buried at Shíráz, where his tomb is still visited. It is in the eastern part of the town, near the *Derwázé-i-Qaṣṣáb-kháné* ("Slaughter-house Gate"). One line of poetry cited.

15. *Sheykh Sa'di* of Shíráz (d. A.H. 690=A.D. 1291) is too well known to need further notice here. Two poems cited.

16. *Sheydá* of Qum. Mention of at least two poets bearing this *takhalluṣ* (Mírzá Abu'l-Ḥasan and Áqá Muḥammad 'Alí) occur in some of the *tadhkiras* described in Pertsch's *Berlin Catalogue* (Nos. 645, 664, 673, and especially 667, the *Tadhkira-i-Dilgushá*). Unfortunately these works are inaccessible to me, and I can find no mention of this poet in the books at my disposal. One poem cited.

As it is important, as far as possible, to determine both the date and the locality to which each of the specimens of dialect-poetry contained in the MS. is to be referred, I shall now give a summary of the results of the preceding enquiry in tabular form, arranging these sixteen poets in chronological order, and noting the district to which each belonged. The dates are given according to the Christian era only.

I. Date and Locality both Known.

1.	*Pindár-i-Rázi*	c. 1000	Deylam and Rey.
2.	*Bábá Ṭáhir*	† 1020	Hamadán.
3.	*Sheykh Rúz-bahán*	† 1210	Shíráz.
4.	*Sheykh Sa'dí*	† 1291	Shíráz.
5.	*Jalál-i-Ṭabíb*	c. 1334	Shíráz.
6.	*'Obeyd-i-Zákání*	† 1370	Qazvín.
7.	*Ḥáfiz*	† 1389	Shíráz.
8.	*Bus-ḥáq*	† 1417	Shíráz.
9.	*Muḥammad Ṣúfí*	c. 1450	Isfahán.
10.	*Maḥmúd Qárí*	c. 1580	Yezd or Káshán.
11.	*'Alí Riḍá*	(?) c. 1680	Behbehán or Ardakán.

II. Locality Known, but not Date.

12.	*Mírzá 'Alí*	Soh.
13.	*Hisábí*	Natanz.
14.	*Púr-i-Feridún*	Rey.
15.	*Sheydá*	Qum.

III. Neither Date nor Locality Known.

16. *Nadhrí Sháh Riḍá'i.*

In the MS., as already stated, interlinear Persian translations, written in red ink, accompany many of the verses. Sometimes only one or two dialectical words are glossed, and sometimes the interlinear spaces are left blank altogether. To save room, I shall first give the text of each poem cited, and then so much of the compiler's interlinear explanations as appears necessary, together with my own remarks and criticisms. So far as possible, I shall also specify the metre in which each poem is written, and give a translation of it. The order in which the poems are given in the MS. is disregarded, but the page at which each occurs is indicated. For greater convenience of reference the lines will be numbered continuously, as though forming one series.

No. I. Sa'dí (f. 16b).

Metre, خفیف مخبون : | – ◡ – – | ◡ – ◡ – | ◡ ◡ = |

1. پیرِ هفتا سله چلی مکنه ‘
عشغ مکری و می نبی چش و روش ‘
2. زور میبا نه زر که بانی را ‘
گزری[1] دوستر که ده من گوش[1] ‘

Commentary.

(1) هفتا = هفتاد [by 29]; سله = ساله [by 1]; چلی [which is standard Persian, and is given in Vüllers and the *Burhán-i-Qáti'*, etc.] = دیوانگی; مکنه (*mi-kuna'*) = میکند [by 8 and 29]; عشغ = عشق [by 46]; مکری (*mi-karí*) = میورزد [or rather میکند, the employment of *kar* in place of *kun* as the imperative of the verb *kardan*, and the stem of the tenses derived from it, being, as M. Huart has pointed out, one of the most constant characteristics of that large group of Persian dialects which he collectively designates as "Pehlevi-Musulman" or "Modern Medic"]; می نبی = نمی بیند [rather, I imagine = نمی باشد, نمی بُوَد, for بی = بُوَد is common]; چش و روش = چشم و روی خودرا [I doubt the correctness of this explanation, and would rather take و می نبی چش و روش as = *when he has neither eyes* to see, *nor a face* worth looking at"].

(2) میبا = میباید; بانی = بانو [by 12]; گزری = گزر یک گزر [گَزَر = Ar. جَزَر, 'carrot,' Pers. زردک; Súdí likewise, in his

[1] As the MS. does not distinguish گ (*g*) from ک (*k*), I shall only do so in the following texts when there seems good reason to believe that *g*, not *k*, is the proper pronunciation.

commentary on the *Gulistán*, explains it by Turk. هاوج. It seems to be here used in an obscene sense as = Pers. کیر, Ar. ذَکَر]; گوش = گوشت.

Both of these verses are given, though in a somewhat different form, by Mr. Platts, at p. 125 of his excellent edition of the *Gulistán*. The first of the two *beyts* (which he separates) he calls ترکیه ("Turkish, provincial, or barbarous Persian"), and gives as follows :—

پیر هفتا سله جنی مکنه ، کور مُقْرِی بخوا نبی چَش و روش ،

In his Vocabulary he explains جنی مکنه as = جوانی میکند, "plays the part of a young man"; کور مقری as "blind from birth"; بخوا as = بخواب, "in sleep," "in a dream"; نبی as = نبیند; چش as = چشم; and روش as = روشن, "clearly." The second *beyt* he normalizes, by substituting باید for میبا, بانورا for بانی‌را, and گوشت for گوش. He also reads گرزی سخت به ز for گزری دوستر که in the second *miṣrá'*.

I refrain from giving a translation of these verses because of their coarseness. They present no difficulty, and, with the help of the above explanations, will be easily understood by any Persian scholar.

No. II. Sa'dí (ff. 16ᵇ–17ᵇ).

Metre, هزج مسدّس محذوف : |⏑ – – –|⏑ – – –|⏑ – –|

3. گش اتهن[1] دار اغت خاطر نرنزت ،
که تخنی عاغلی ده وار اتنزت ،

[1] اتخه is written over the line as a variant. It occurs again in the next *beyt*. Perhaps اتخن is the correct reading, as we find the form تخنی in the following *miṣrá'*.

4. که منعم به مبر گول اتخه درویش ‘
کوانش می نبی دنبل مزش نیش ‘
5. ببات ای دهر دو هزا تیر ازی مشت ‘
نه همش ای تیر و ای کمان بو کش ای کشت ‘
6. نه کت تفسیر و فق خواند اشته ابهشت ‘
بسم دی کسوره ماند بیده بیذشت ‘
7. کمسکینی ادست وخدا تو بهریت ‘
مخن شز دم وأن چندانکه وگریت ‘
8. عزیزی کت هنش هردّم مشش پش ‘
که صحبت هم ملال آرد بش از بش ‘
9. وچه ترش رو بدی کم ترغ خوان نی
تز آن مسکین خبر هن کش خُه نان نی
10. غرش نان هاجه از حلوا بترست ‘
نِنِ تی گلشکر هن کت بگرست ‘
11. چه داند ای کش سَبخ خوردست نفتست
که مسکینی وسرما گسنه خفتست
12. تو انکه بیفته از هنجار و دسته ‘
پشیمان کم مخوردام توشه نسته ‘
13. که بپسندت که مو خو غصه بکشم ‘
که گرْدم گِرْد بخرم[1] یا ببخشم ‘
14. که زاهد نادنی کنداش مه کو ‘
اکور جو منت کش در به از تو ‘

[1] This as a variant to بخورم, which I have rejected *ob metr.*

15. چنان نزدم ددت[1] کت چوخو وا گُاند ‘
که پاکش خورد دیگ تی چه وا گُاند ‘
16. که احسان وکنه وا هروی اصولی ‘
شنه هم بجهتِ صاحب قبولی ‘
17. غراز مو میشنه وا هرکس مگی راز ‘
که جمغی میبُری خهترهز انداز ‘
18. ته ازدشمن بترسی غافل از دوست ‘
که غردشمن ببوتت نپسنت پوست ‘
19. کذک[2] می دی کش ایرو وا جونی گُوت ‘
مزم کس کت قلاشی نتوون آشوت ‘
20. که خیرت بوت ازی معنی کت اشنفت ‘
بگُی رحمت وسعدی با کش ای گفت ‘

COMMENTARY.

(3) گُش = گوش [by 10]; اتهن [or اتخه, or اتخن] = بسخن; سخنی‌را = تخنی; نرنجد = نرنزت; اگرت = اغت; عاقلی = عاغلی [by 46]; ده بار می ساجد = ده وار اتنزت.

(4) The interlinear translation, which appears to me unsatisfactory, runs thus:—

به منعم بگو که خودرا کلّ درویش مکن ‘
اگر مرهمی بردنبل او نمی گذاری نشترهم مزن ‘

If the text be correct, and we should not read به مُنْعِم گو for گه منعم به, I can only suppose, either that گه = گو,

[1] Or perhaps ودت.
[2] This as var. to کدنکی دی.

"say"; that the preposition before مـنـعـم is dropped, as is so commonly done in modern colloquial Persian; and that مَبَـر = بـه مَبَـر (cf. *J.R.A.S.* for July, 1894, p. 437, § ϵ); or that گـه مُنْعِم بـه = اگـر مـنـعـم بـاشـی, "if you are rich." It would appear that بـه مـبـر گـول = گـول مـزن, "do not cheat," a common colloquial expression, and one recorded in most of the dictionaries (*e.g.* Vüllers' *Lexicon*, vol. ii, p. 1055, *s.v.* گول). The object of the verb is دروبش, and آتخه (cf. 3 *supra*) = بسخن. The second *miṣrá'* is explained by the commentator as meaning "if thou dost not apply a salve [مرهم] to his abscess [دُنَبَل], at any rate do not lance it" [نشتر هم مزن]. This appears to me to be a mere guess, and I do not know which word is supposed to mean "salve," "ointment." I suppose that مـی نـبـی = نـمـیـبـاشـد, and that with it must be connected the pronominal suffix ش in the obscure گـوانـش, which last I cannot fully explain, though the initial letter, as in l. 7 *infra*, seems to represent گر, "if." The explanation of مـزش نـیـش as = نـیـشـش مـزن is probably correct.

(5) *Trans.* روزگاررا دو هزار تیر ازین مشت میباشد مگر نه همه‌را با این تیر و کمان کشت. بـبـات probably = بـبـاشـدت, "there are for thee"; ای appears to be a preposition (*cf.* Kurd. ا, "to"); ای دهر . . . مشت probably = دهررا در مشت, "in the hand of fate"; ازی = ازین in the sense of چنین [*cf.* Blochmann's *Persian Prosody*, p. 27, note], "two thousand *such* arrows"; هزا = هزار [32]; ای تیر و ای کمان نبود = این تیر و این کمان نبود [55 and 29]; کش ای کشت = که بکشت [*cf.* Rieu, 730^{b}-731^{a}; Platts' *Persian Grammar*, p. 174, Note 2,

and p. 175, *Rem.*; and *J.R.A.S.*, Jan. 1895, pp. 242-3]; همش apparently = همه‌اش.

(6) *Trans.* نه هر کس تفسیر و فقه خوانده بهشت میرود بسیار دیدم که سواره ماند و پیاده بگذشت. It seems to me that کت = ات + که, and should be taken with خواند as = نه که خواندی, "not because thou hast studied theology," the past tense being frequently expressed in these dialects as in Pahlaví (*cf.* end of last paragraph), by the verb-stem *plus* the appropriate pronominal suffix, which last is usually joined to a particle. In this case اشته must = میروی. The ا in ابهشت (= ببهشت) is again a preposition. بسم دی = بس دیدم, "often have I seen." The second *miṣrá'* seems to be correctly rendered in the Persian translation.

(7) *Trans.* اگر مسکینی دست برای خدا بتو دراز کند تو باو مخند هر قدر او گریه بکند. The first *miṣrá'* (if, as I suppose, بخدا = وَخْدَا, "for God's sake") will not scan, and is therefore probably corrupt. If not, گمسکینی ادست probably = گر مسکینی بدستِ تُست, "if a poor man is in your power"; and بهریت = بخرید, "buy," "ransom," "redeem," "succour." In the second *miṣrá'*, I take مَخَنْش از دِم as = مخند (یعنی رویش) از دیمش, "do not laugh at him before his face," or "at his aspect."

(8) *Trans.* عزیزی که داری هر دم پیشش مشو . . . . . بیش از بیش. هن = هست (see Rieu, p. 729[b], last par.), and کت هنش = که ترا هست. The rest of the verse is easy.

(9) *Trans.* چرا ترشروئی میکنی که در خوان ترّه نیست تورا از آن مسکین خبر هست که اورا خود نان نیست. وچه = چرا, بچه; کم نی = که مرا نیست. The preposition

before خوان is, as usual, omitted—"*on* the table," or "tray." تز آن = تو ازآن ; هَن = هست, as in (8); خَه = خود, "even"; نَی = نیست.

(10) *Trans.* اگرش . . . . . بترسد نان تهی گلشکرست اگر گرسنه شود. I think that هَا = هست, and am disposed to read چه for جه. گَت probably = گرت (*cf.* ll. 4 and 7 *supra*), and گُرست seems to be the 3rd. s. of an impersonal verb = German *hungern*.

(11) *Gloss.* سَبخ = طبیخ و پلاو [20]; در سرما = و سرما گسنه ایشکه = ای کش خوردست [27]; دَاند = داند. گرسنه خورده‌است. I cannot understand نفتست.

(12) *Trans.* تو آنوقت بیُفتی از هنجار و قوّت (پشیمان) که هم خورده‌ام و هم توشه نیست. But I think that توانکه = تواند بود که.

(13) *Gloss.* گَرْدم گِرْد ; که من خودرا = که مو خو فراهم آوردم.

(14) *Gloss.* آنکه بیرونش از درونش به است = کَش در به از تو نادانی = نادنی [27, and l. 11 *sup.*].

(15) *Trans.* (2nd *miṣrá'* only). که همه را خورد با دیگ تهی چه بکند.

(16) *Trans.* هرکه احسان بکند با هر بی اصول در میان همه بجوید صاحب قبولی.

(17) *Trans.* اگر از من میشنوی با هرکس راز مگو که بجمعی میبرد از اندازه بیشتر.

(18) *Trans.* (2nd *miṣrá'* only). که اگر ترا دشمن شود پوست بر تو نمی پسندد.

(19) *Trans.* کودکی دیدم که روزی با جوانی گفت . . . . فلاخن نتوان آشفت.

(20) *Trans.* که خیرت بود ازین معنی که شنیدی بگو رحمت بسعدی باد که این‌را گفت.

TRANSLATION.

(3) "*Lend thine ear to my words, if thy heart will not take offence; for a wise man will weigh each word ten times.*

(4) "*Say to the rich man, 'Do not mislead the poor man by your words; if he has no abscess do not inflict on him the lancet'* [*i.e.* if he has done no evil, do not vex him with harsh words].

(5) "*Fate has in its hand two thousand such arrows* [*i.e.* misfortunes]; *was it not this bow and these arrows* [of fate] *which slew all* [who have gone before us]?

(6) "*Not because thou hast studied the Commentaries and the Law shalt thou enter Paradise; often have I seen the horseman left behind while the pedestrian passed on.*[1]

(7) "*If a poor man is in your power, for God's sake care for him; do not mock him to his face while he sheds tears.*

(8) "*If you have a friend* [or patron] *do not visit him too often, for conversation exceeding due measure causes weariness.*[2]

(9) "*Why dost thou frown because thou hast no cress on thy table? Hast thou knowledge of that poor wretch who lacks even bread?*

(10) "*If he had bread, what would he care for* [the absence of] *sweets? Plain bread is* [as sweet as] *conserve of roses, if you are hungry.*

(11) "*What recks he who has eaten cooked meats . . . . . that some poor wretch sleeps hungry in the cold?*

(12) "*It may be that thou wilt fall from wealth and prosperity, filled with regret because thou did'st not enjoy* [while it was possible, and now] *thou dost lack the means.*

[1] Exactly the same idea is expressed in the *Gulistán*, Bk. ii, story 16 (ed. Platts, pp. 53–4), especially in the verse—

ای بسا اسپ تیزرَو که بماند ' که خر لنگ جان بمنزل بُرد '

بس که در خاک تن درستان را ' دفن کردند و زخم خورده نمرد '

[2] Cf. *Gulistán*, Bk. ii, Story 30 (ed. Platts, p. 61).

(13) "*Who would wish* [to be tormented with the reflection], '*I suffer anguish because I* [ought to have] *amassed wealth to enjoy it or to give it away*'?

* * * * * * *

(16) "*He who shows charity to every worthless fellow* [does so because] *he seeks amongst them all one who is acceptable* [in God's sight].[1]

(17) "*If thou hearest a secret from me, do not tell it to every one, for he may transmit it to a multitude exceeding computation.*

(18) "*Thou fearest thine enemy, yet neglectest thy friend, who, should he become thy foe, would not willingly leave thee even the skin upon thy back.*

(19) "*To-day I saw a child saying to a young man* . . . . . .

(20) "'*May good accrue to thee from these maxims which thou hast heard: say,* "[God's] *mercy be on Sa'dí who has given them utterance.*"'"

Notwithstanding the difficulties presented by this poem, and my imperfect comprehension of some portions of it, I have given it here because, to my mind, it so thoroughly bears the impress of Sa'dí's thought, and because, moreover, it supplies so many instances of that formation of the past tense akin to the old Pahlaví to which I have alluded in the commentary on l. 5.

No. III. Ḥáfiẓ (f. 17ᵇ).

Metre, *Hazaj-i-musaddas.*

The following verses occur in a slightly different form in Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the *Díván-i-Ḥáfiẓ* (vol. iii, p. 226, No. 78 in ی, *beyts* 3–6), where the text

[1] Compare a story with a very similar moral in Bk. ii of the *Bustán* (ed. Graf, pp. 144–46; ll. 59–78, especially l. 75):—

بد و نیک را بذل کن سیم و زر
که این کسب خیرست و آن دفع شر

and also *Ibid.* pp. 180–81, ll. 411–18, especially ll. 413–15.

and explanation of Súdí, the Turkish commentator (d. *circ.* A.H. 1000; *cf.* Hájí Khalfa, vol. iii, p. 273) are accepted without alteration. Besides Súdí's text and commentary (Const. ed. of A.H. 1288, in margins, vol. ii, pp. 693–95) and the MS. on which this article is based, I have before me a copy of these verses taken from a MS. of the *Díván* written in Shíráz in A.H. 1263 (=A.D. 1846). These three texts I shall call respectively *S.* (Súdí's), *A.* (Sheykh A——'s MS. collection of dialect poems), and *Sh.* (Shíráz MS.). I shall now, by combination of these three, give what I believe to be the correct text, indicating the variants below.

21. أَمَنْ أَنْكَرتَنِي عَنْ عِشْقِ سَلْمَى
تُز اوّل رو یکی لولو بوا دی ‘
22. که همچون مت ببوتن دل وای ره
غَرِيقُ ٱلْعِشْقِ فِي بَحْرِ ٱلْوِدَادِي ‘
23. به پیماچان غریمت بسپریمُن
غرت یک وی رَوِشْنِي تزاَما دی ‘
24. غرت جنگی وَرَم اَشْتِي وما کن
وغرنه وا بنی آنچت نشا دی ‘

VARIANTS.

(21) *Sh.* has روی بت لُؤلُؤ for رو یکی لولو, and *A.* gives لولی as a variant on لولو.

(22) *A.* has چمچون [*cf.* 56 in Table of Equivalents] and *S.* همچو for همچون. *Sh.* has واین ره [which clearly = باین ره, by 18] for the وایره [= و ای ره, by 18 and 55] of *A.* and *S.*

(23) *Sh.* has و حش ما هم غرامت, and *S.* غرامت for غریمت, but the last (which I have adopted) is quite analogous to کتیب for کتاب, حسیب for حساب, etc., which are of

common occurrence in the classical poets (*e.g. Bústan*, ed. Graf, p. 6, l. 31). In the 2nd *miṣrá'*, *S.* and *Sh.* have دی for وی [= بی, by 18]; *A.* and *Sh.* روشتی for روشنی. I prefer the latter, supposing it to be the old verbal noun in *-ishn* (*ravishn* = *ravish*, "conduct": *bí-ravishní* = "misconduct"). *A.*, *S.*, and *Sh.* all have اما (= ما in many of the dialects; *cf.* Ber., p. 34) for the ما of *R.S.*

(24) *S.* has غم این دل بواتت خورد ناچار (which is also given as a variant in the margin of *A.*). *Sh.* has آشتی (*contra metr.*) for اَشْتِی [by 1] and بزم (of which I can make no sense) for وَرَم (= بَرَم, by 18). *A.* has بما for the more consistent وما. For the 2nd *miṣrá'*, *Sh.* here substitutes اغرچه دشمنان شان این نشا دی, but introduces it in an additional *beyt* (the 3rd in order) as follows :—

غم دل تت بوا خوردن بناچار ' وغرنه او بنی آنچت نوادی '

Commentary.

Súdí's explanation (which, of course, refers to the text which he adopts) is in brief as follows: "This *ghazal* is a *mulamma'* ['patch-work,' the technical name for a poem of which *beyts* or *miṣrá's* in two or more different languages alternate with one another] written partly in Arabic, and partly in a speech peculiar to Shíráz." *Tu z' avval=tu zi avval*, 'thou from the first,' 'thou first'; *buvá' dí=bi-báyad díd* 'should'st have seen'; *rú yaki Lúli=rúy-i-yaki Lúli*, 'the face of a Lúlí' (a tribe of gipsies or nomads which provided many professional dancers, singers, and courtezans). *Mat*, the pronoun of the 1st person singular+that of the 2nd; *bu-bútin=bi-báyad shud*, 'should be'; *va-i-rah*[*=bi-yak-ráh*]*=yakbára*, 'all at once,' 'all of a sudden.' *Pey =pá*, 'foot'; *má*, 'we'; *chán=ján*, 'soul,' 'life'; *gharámat*, 'recompense,' 'equivalent,' 'forfeit'; *bi-s'parímun = bi-*

sipárim, 'would render, or yield up; *gharat=agarat*; *di-rivishní* [? *dush-* or *dizh-* (δυσ-) + *rawshaní*] = 'lack of clearness,' and metaphorically 'discourtesy' (روشنسزلك معناسنه در ترك ادبدن كنايتدر); *tu z' amá=tú az má*, 'thou from us,' 'on our part'; *dí* [+the ت in غرت]=*dídí*, 'hast seen.' *Buvátat=bi-báyad-at*, 'it behoves thee,' 'thou must'; *ghar na=gar na*, 'if not'; *vá-bíní=báz bíní* 'thou wilt see again,' 'experience'; *ánchat na-shá'dí=ánché turá na-sháyad díd*, 'that which thou should'st not see,' 'what thou had'st best not see.'

In my MS. the dialectical verses are thus translated:—

(21[b]) تورا هركه از روز اوّل دید گفت یك معشوقی است

(22[a]) كه همچون منت دل بحسرت شود

(23) غرامت را در آستان شما میكشیم اگر یك بی روشی از ما دیدید

(24) اگر جنگی با تو بیارم .... وگرنه به بینی آنچه نمی شاید

Of these explanations, in 21[b] I prefer Súdí's. *A.* evidently takes *ba-vádí* as from the dialectical *vát-*, *váj-*, 'speech' (*vót-vun* in Gabrí='to speak,' and the root, as M. Huart repeatedly points out, is characteristic of all these dialects). In the explanation of 22[a], *S.* and *A.* agree, except that *S.* takes the *í* in *va-í-rak* as=*yak*, and *A.* as=*in*, both of which seem to me possible. In 23, on the other hand, Súdí, not understanding the proper meaning of پیماچان [=Pers. پاماچان], has gone altogether astray. It is explained on f. 44[b] of my MS. as follows:—

پیماچان' اصل آن پای ماچان بمعنئ كفشكن و صفّ نعال چون عادت الوار بر آن جاری است كه هركس گناهی بكند موزه های خودرا پر از ریگ كرده در كفشكن می ایستد و آن موزهارا بگردن آویخته طلب عفو و رحمت میكند' این است كه حافظ گوید (به پیماچان غرامت بسپریمو)'

"*Pey-máchán* was originally *páy-máchán*, in the sense of 'threshold' [*lit.* 'place where the shoes are removed'], 'row of shoes' [*i.e.* the lowest part of the room, beyond the carpet, where visitors remove their shoes on entering; the least honourable place, where people of the humbler sort stand]. There is a custom prevalent amongst the Lurs that when anyone has committed a fault he fills his shoes with sand, hangs them about his neck, and stands at the threshold seeking pardon and forgiveness; wherefore Ḥáfiẓ says, '*We will do penance at the threshold*, etc.'"

The word in its normal form *pá-máchán* occurs in the *Mathnawí* of *Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí* (Const. ed. of Bk. i, A.H. 1288, p. 66, l. 20), in the following verse—

آدم از فردوس و از بالای هفت ' پای ماچان از برای عذر رفت '

"*From Paradise and from beyond the Seven* [Ḥeavens or Planets] *Adam went to make his excuses at the pá-máchán.*" The explanation given in the Turkish Comm. of Ṣárí 'Abdu'lláh Efendí (Const., A.H. 1288, vol. ii, p. 372) differs somewhat from that above quoted, and the custom alluded to is ascribed to schools and to the dervish-orders. It runs as follows:—

(مثنوی) پای ماچان از برای عذر رفت ' عذر دیلمکدن اوتوری
پای ماچانه گتدی ' پای ماچان دیار عجمده مکتبده اولان اطفال
سبقنی بلمسه و سبقنگ باشنی اونتسه آنی یوللامق ایچون بازاردن
پاچه آلدیررلر اول پاچه یه پای ماچان دیرلر و کله دخی آلدیررلر اکا
کله‌ماچان تعبیر ایدرلر بعده عجمده اولان پیران طریقت بو اصطلاحی
ما بینلرنده استعمال ایدوب ارباب طریقتدن برینه خلاف طریقت بر
زله واقع اولسه آکا طریقت چکدیروب و قزان قینادوب و یاخود
پیاده کعبه‌یه وارمق امر ایدوب زله‌سنه گوره جزا چکدیروب بعده
اول درویشی طریقتلرینه قبول ایدوب اول دخی ال باغلایوب و
ایشکده طوروب عذر دیلمکه پای ماچان تعبیر ایدرلر '

"In Persia when a school-boy does not know his lesson and forgets the beginning of it, to punish him they get from the market sheep's trotters (which they call *páy-máchán*) and a sheep's head (which they call *kellé-máchán*).[1] Afterwards the spiritual directors of the dervish orders in Persia employed this expression amongst themselves, and when a member of their order committed any fault contrary to the rules of the order, they punished him according to his fault by suspending him from his membership of the order, or making him serve in the kitchen, or bidding him undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca on foot. Afterwards they would receive him back into their order, and he, with hands crossed on his breast, would stand at the threshold and make his excuses. This they term *páy-máchán*."

Riḍá-quli Khán in his *Farhang-i-Náṣirí* (lith. ed., Tihrán, A.H. 1288) gives the following explanation :—

پای ماچان با میم و چیم پارسی بر وزن ماه تابان اصطلاح درویشان است و صفّ نعال را گویند که کفش کن باشد و قرار ایشان است که اگر کسی از ایشان گناهی کند اورا در صفّ نعال بیک پای باز دارند و او هر دو گوش بر چپ و راست گیرد و بایستد تا مرشد اورا عفو کند ' حکیم خاقانی گفته (شعر) هوا میخواست تا در صفّ شهوت برتری جوید ' گرفتم دست و افگندم بصفّ پای ماچانش '

"*Páy-i-máchán*, with *mím* and Persian *chím*, of the measure of *Máh-i-tábán*, is a term employed by dervishes, and denotes the threshold or shoe-stand [*ṣaff-i-ni'ál, kafsh-kan*]. And their practice is that when one amongst them has committed a fault they keep him on one foot at the threshold, and he stands there holding his two ears, the

[1] Some portion of the explanation appears to be omitted here, as it is not clear wherein the punishment consists.

right and the left, until his spiritual director grants him pardon. *Kháqání* says, 'Passion wished to take a higher place in the rank of desire; I seized its hand and hurled it back to the level of the threshold' (*páy-máchán*)."

In the following passage in the *Kitáb-i-aqdas*, by "those who sit at the threshold [*ṣaff-i-ni'ál*] seeking the chief seat of glory," Behá'u'lláh appears to mean the dervishes, and may perhaps allude to the above-mentioned custom:—

اذ جآء الوعد و ظهر الموعود اختلف النّاس و تمسّک کلّ حزب
بما عنده من الظنون و الاوهام ' من الناس من یقعد صفّ النّعال
طلباً صدر الجلال قل من انت یا ایّها الغافل الغرّار '

"When the time for the fulfilment of the Promise comes, and the Promised One appears, men differ, each faction clinging to their own fancies and opinions. There are some who sit at the threshold [*lit.* 'shoe-row,' *ṣaff-i-ni'ál*] seeking the chief seat of glory. Say, 'Who art thou, O heedless misleader of men?'"

Translation.

(21) "*O thou who chidest me for my love of Salmá, thou should'st first have looked upon the face of a charmer,*

(22) "*That thy heart, like mine, might have been suddenly overwhelmed by passion in the Ocean of Love.*

(23) "*We will do penance in the shoe-row* [*pey-máchán*] *if thou hast seen any misconduct on our part.*

(24) "*If I make war against thee, do thou sue for peace; else thou wilt experience what thou wilt not like.*"

Nos. IV. and V. Púr-i-Ferídún (f. 40a).

Metre, *hazaj-i-musaddas.*

25. هر آنکو لعل یارش ها لَو آمد ' دمادم بر تنش جان نَو آمد '
26. بسر شد ظلمت پور فریدون ' که در والین خورش نیم شَو آمد '

27. عزیزا مردی از نا مرد نآئی ' فغان و ناله از بی درد نآئی '
28. هغیغت بشنو از پور فریدون ' که شعله از تنیر سرد نآئی '

Both these quatrains are cited in the *A'tash-Kada*. In the first, آید stands for آمه [=آمد] in my MS., and بالین for والین [by 18] in the *A'tash-Kada*, which also has حقیقت for هغیغت in the second.

TRANSLATION.

(25) "*He to whose lips the ruby lips of his sweetheart come— into his body fresh life enters continually.*
(26) "*The darkness of Púr-i-Feridún has passed away, for the Sun has come at midnight to his bedside.*"

(27) "*O my friend, courage comes not from a coward, nor lamentation and groaning from him who suffers no pain.*
(28) "*Hear the truth from Púr-i-Feridún, to wit that flame issues not from a cold hearth.*"

No. VI. PINDÁR-I-RÁZÍ (f. 40a).

Metre, *Ramal-i-musaddas*.

29. مَی فرا آور که بهره میبری ' مَی نشاط افزا و شادی آوری '
30. هرکرا که مَی نبو شادی نبو ' این جهون را خرّمی با می دری '
31. أوّلیان گویند کاین مَی بی حرام ' مو ندونم کان حرام از چی خری[1] '

TRANSLATION.

(29) "*Bring wine, for by it wilt thou most profit; wine is the increaser of joy and the bringer of gladness.*
(30) "*Whosoever hath not wine, hath not joy; gladness in this world subsists through wine.*
(31) "*Fools say, 'This wine is unlawful': I know not what ass made it unlawful.*"

[1] The MS. has خوری, but an emendation seems required, not, perhaps, to give sense, so much as to give force and point. The ی with which each *beyt* ends= است, and should probably be read *-é*. Cf. p. 781, l. 2, *supra*.

No. VII. Pindár (f. 40b).

Metre, *Ramal-i-muthamman-i-makhbún.*

32. وَشکه شَوْگریه بِریارمُنِ چِل مکنه ‘
کیچهارا همه از ارسِ چَشمَم گِل مکنه ‘
33. کم بزِمینِ سرم کلمچ و چوغ و چپلاغ ‘
ورنه مِهْ چوُغ مِکِشِم و تنه آغل مکنه ‘

Translation.

(32) "*So much do I, mad* [with love], *weep nightly for my sweetheart, that I turn all the streets into mud with my tears.*

(33) "*Do not beat me over the head with fists and sticks and cuffs, else I will lift up my staff and bring you to your senses.*"

No. VIII. Mullá ‘Alí Riḍá Behbehání (f. 41a).

Metre, *Ramal-i-musaddas-i-makhbún-i-maqṭú‘.*

34. یاروا ما چه جفاها میکُه ‘ منع چشمم زتماشا[1] میکُه ‘
35. دلمش برده و میگو نه منم ‘ هوشمش برده و حاشا میکُه ‘
36. هردمم میگوتی ایسه میِیُم ‘ گوتشم ایسه و یکسا میکُه ‘
37. اکفِ پاش نشو مرزنکم ‘ اوسه که چشِ مه پاسا میکُه ‘

Commentary.

(34) وَا = با ; میکه = میکنند. (35) دلمش برده = دل مرا ببرده است ; *cf.* comm. on l. 5 *supra.* So likewise هوشمش برده = هوش مرا برده است in the next *miṣrá‘*, and

[1] MS. اتماشا, *contra matrum.* Moreover the preposition ا means ‘to,’ not ‘from.’ *Cf.* l. 37; and comm. on l. 5 *supra.*

گوتشم = مرا گفت in l. 36. میگو (35 and 36) = میگوید. ایسه, 'now,' and اوسه, 'then,' are probably shortened from آن ساعت, این ساعت (*cf.* Rieu, p. 732, under Adverbs). یکسا (36) is explained as = یک ساعت, but I think that more probably it is for یک سال. (37) اکفت = بکف. پاسا = پایمال. نشو = نشود.

Translation.

(34) "*How unkindly my sweetheart treats me! She forbids my eyes to gaze upon her.*

(35) "*She has stolen my heart, and says, 'It was not I'; she has bereft me of reason and disavows it.*

(36) "*Every moment she says to me, 'I am coming to you in a moment'; she says 'a moment,' and makes it a year.*

(37) "*May my eyelashes not pierce the sole of her foot when she treads my eyes under her feet!*"

No. IX. Mullá 'Alí Riḍá Behbehání (ff. 41b–42b).

Mukhammas. — Metre, *Ramal-i-muthamman-i-makhbún-i-maqṣúr.*

38. از غمت خیبن دلم لُجّهٔ بی پی وامبو'
چمچو مینا که لَوالَوْ شده از مَی وامبو'

39. مُژگم از غصّهٔ دل دردِ مه از وی وامبو'
ما جرای مه و ته طی وامبو کی وامبو'

40. تاچگه ته دلِ مه زخم پیاپی وامبو'

41. سر پرستار کجا حالت ویمارئ مه'
دردات رحم نبو وقت دل آزارئ مه'

42. همه کس وا خبر از جور ته[1] و زاری مه ‘
شهرتِ حُسْنِ ته و نقلِ گرفتاری مه ‘
43. دم بدم پیشترک آسی آسی وامبو ‘
44. تا چگه خود بر دل باخته وا میازه ‘
از پئی کشتنِ مه چند تو مه پردازه ‘
45. توسنِ حُسْن اسرم از چه سبب اتازه ‘
اَمَنِ زار چه از چش و رخت مینازه ‘
46. دو سه روزی چو گل و نرگز تر طی وامبو ‘
47. ای خش آندم که اسروقتِ مه ای جان برسه ‘
یا اتابوتِ مه ای نَو گُل خندان برسه ‘
48. اسرِ تربتم ای سَرْوِ گلستان برسه ‘
امزارم پس مردم چه خرامان برسه ‘
49. زِرِ لَوْ از ته عیان حسرت وآخی وامبو ‘
50. ته مپندار که از حُسْنِ ته چش می وینم ‘
بدو گیسوت قسم بلکه همش می وینم ‘
51. اشعاعِ رخِ ته دل اتپش می وینم ‘
زلف عنبر وشت هر لحظه که مش می وینم ‘
52. رُز روشن ابرم چمچو شَوِ دَی وامبو ‘
53. یه چه رسمین که ته از مهر و وفا میگذره ‘
همه دم جوله کنان از برِ ما میگذره ‘
54. برغیبان دغا صبح و مسا میگذره ‘
بعد عمری که اوالیمِ رضا میگذره ‘
55. گُشِ افلاک پر از نالهٔ هی هی وامبو ‘

[1] MS. inconsistently has تو.

TRANSLATION.

(38) "*For love of thee my heart's blood is become a boundless ocean; it is like a glass which is filled to the brim with wine.*

(39) "*I die from anguish of heart; my suffering is from her: when will it be that my dispute with thee shall be ended?*

(40) "*How long shall successive wounds be inflicted on my heart by thee?*

(41) "*Where is one who will care for me in my state of sickness? There is no pity in thy heart when it is I whose heart thou art tormenting.*

(42) "*All men are aware of thy unkindness and my wretchedness. The fame of thy beauty and the story of my captivity*

(43) "*Slowly spread a little further every moment.*

(44) "*How long wilt thou make fresh attacks on a heart already lost? How long wilt thou busy thyself with my slaughter?*

(45) "*Wherefore dost thou hurl the steed of thy beauty against me? Why dost thou glory over poor me by virtue of thine eyes and cheeks?*

(46) "*In a few days these will shrivel up like the rose and the narcissus* [which they resemble].

(47) "*O my life! Sweet will be that moment when thou visitest my solitary dwelling, or when, O smiling rose-bud, thou standest by my coffin,*

(48) "*Or when, O cypress of the rose-garden, thou approachest my grave, when thou advancest, gracefully dignified, behind the crowd to my tomb,*

(49) "*And a regretful sigh escapes thy lips!*

(50) "*Do not imagine that of thy beauty it is only thine eyes that I behold! Nay, by thy two long locks I swear that I take note of every feature!*

(51) "*I see my heart flutter in the radiance of thy cheek, while each moment that I behold thy fragrant locks.*

(52) "*Bright day becomes to me like a December night.*

(53) "*What is this custom of thine of passing over love and constancy? Every moment thou passest by me displaying thy charms;*

(54) "*Morning and evening thou dost pass on to my false rivals. If, after an age of waiting, thou should'st pass by* Riḍá's *couch*

(55) "*Heaven's ear will be filled with the sound of his* [triumphant] *shouts!*"

COMMENTARY.

(38) خین = خون by 12; بی پی = بی پایان; وامبو = میشود; چمچو = همچو (also in l. 52) by 56; لوالو = لبالب by 18. (39) مه = من; ته = تو. (40) چگه = چه وقت, چه گاه. (43) پیشترک, "a little further forward," dimin. of پیشتر; so also آهسته ترک, "a little more gently"; آسی آسی = آهسته آهسته. (44) میازه is glossed آرایش میدهی, but it seems to me = می یازی from یازیدن, and I have so translated it. (45) اسرم = بسرم; امن = بمن. The preposition ا, which we have already met with in these poems, occurs repeatedly in this piece (*e.g.* l. 47, اسَرْوَقْت, اتابوت; l. 48, اسر, امزارم; l. 51, اشعاع, اتپش; l. 52, ابَرَم; l. 54, اوالین = به بالین). (46) نرگز = نرگس by 38. (47) خش = خوش. (48) چه = چو. (49) زِرلو = زیر لب. (50) چش, which I take as = چشم (as in 45, 37, 32, etc.) is glossed as = چه‌اش. (51) مش = مَنَش. (52) رُز = روز by 10. (53) ایں چه = یه چه رسمین; رسمست = جوله. (54) رغیبان = رقیبان by 46.

No. X. Mullá 'Alí Riḍá Behbehání (f. 42b).

Metre, *Ramal-i-muthamman-i-makhbún-i-maqṭu'*.

56. یارِ ما تازه دلش میلِ گلستان کرده
او که خاکِ قدمش سوسن و ریحان کرده

57. می چه وابیده که دلها همه یکجا روته ‘
سرِ زلفش مغر از ناز پریشان کرده ‘
58. یه چه چشمین که ز یکنظرش اندوخته ‘
دل و گان برده و هم دخلش اایمان کرده[1] ‘
59. یه چه سرمه که درِ نرگس شهلات زده ‘
اشَوِ تار مَغَر غارت زیدان کرده ‘
60. چه رخیرن که ور افروخته وابیده چو شمع ‘
که چه پروانه همش کشته و سوزان کرده ‘
61. مُدّتیرن که رضا دل ازخدان میده ‘
یوسف آسا وطنش در چه کنعان کرده ‘

TRANSLATION.

(56) "*The heart of my beloved inclines afresh to the rose-garden—she of whose feet the dust produces lilies and myrtles.*

(57) "*What hair is this which has swept into a heap the hearts of all? Is it coquetry which prompts her to loosen her tresses?*

(58) "*What eyes are these which, by casting a single glance, steal our hearts and souls, and even threaten our faith?*

(59) "*What antimony is this which thou hast applied to thy flashing eyes? Dost thou then intend a raid on Zeydán in the dark night?*

(60) "*What cheeks are these, which are enkindled like a candle, wherein all are slain and consumed like moths?*

(61) "*It is a long while since* RIḌÁ *lost his heart to thy chin, and, like Joseph, has made his abode in the pit of Canaan.*"

[1] In this *beyt* the MS. has از for ز, and اندخته for اندوخته, while هم in the second *miṣrá‘* is omitted. I have emended the line so as to accord, as far as possible, with the requirements of the metre.

Commentary.

(57) مَی I take as = مو, by 12; وابیده = بوده, شده; روته = رُفته; مَغر = مگر by 52. (58) این چه = یه چه چشمین چشمنست; *cf.* l. 53 *supra*; اندوخته I take as = انداخته by 2; گان = جان by 22. (59) *Zeydán* is the name of a district near Ahwáz (Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. de la Perse*, pp. 291-2), and consequently near Luristán, and the author's native place, Behbehán. (60) ور افروخته = بر افروخته شده. (61) "The pit of Canaan" is, of course, a metaphor for the dimple in the chin.

No. XI. Mullá 'Alí Riḍá Behbehání (f. 44ª).

Metre: *Hazaj-i-muthamman-i-sálim.*—معراج نامه بزبان الوار بختیاری.

62. ملک اللّه دولتمند جرویله فرستیدس[1]
ز جسجوی شه مُحَمَد سوارس بر براک آرس
63. براک آورد جرواهیل شه محمد سوارس شُد
براکش چی کبوتر از زمی تا آسمان پهرس
64. کدم در آسمان اوّلین بنهاد آنحضرت
علی أووید چه سیر سهر سر رهنه باو کهرس
65. به جرواهیل کوت[2] مُحَمَد که ای سیراز مه چه ایخُه
که از ترسس دل مه چی کلاه کهنه ایدهرس
66. به مُحَمَد کوت جرواهیل که[3] ایخُه از ته رهداری
پس آنگه محمدیل انگشترینش داد وا رهنس

[1] The MS. has فرسنیدس.
[2] So MS., but the metre seems to require کُت.
[3] The metre would seem to require the omission of که.

Translation.

("Account of the Prophet's Night-journey, in the dialect of the Bakhtiyári Lurs.")

(62) "*God, the Mighty King, sent Gabriel to seek King Muḥ'mad* [*i.e.* the Prophet Muḥammad] *and bring him mounted on Burág.*

(63) "*Gabriel brought Burág; King Muḥ'mad mounted; Burág, like a pigeon, flew from earth to heaven.*

(64) "*Our Lord set his foot* [dismounted] *in the First Heaven. 'Alí came forth like* [*i.e.* in the form of] *a tawny-red lion,*[1] *and barred his way.*

(65) "*Muḥ'mad said to Gabriel, 'What does this lion want of me? For from fear of it my heart is torn like a worn-out cap.'*

(66) "*Gabriel said to Muḥ'mad, 'He desires guidance of thee'* [or perhaps, 'he wants to show thee the way']: *then Muḥ'mad gave him his ring as a pledge.*" [?]

Commentary.

The substitution of س for ش is a prominent feature in this piece (*e.g.* سَد for شد, سوارس for سوارش, سیر for شیر, etc.), and also that of ک for ق (*e.g.* براک for براق, کدم for قدم). جرواهیل and جرویل (of which جرویله in l. 62 appears to be the accusative = جبرئیل‌را) are corruptions of جبرئیل (*cf.* 31). فرستیدس (if this emendation of فرسنیدس be correct) apparently = اش + فرستاد (*cf.* 3, and comm. on l. 5). آرس is glossed آورش, "bring him," in which case the last four words in l. 62 are in *oratio recta*, and represent God's command to Gabriel. پهرس, glossed پرید, seems to represent a distortion of the root اش + پر; and similarly کهرس of گیر + اش, and دهرس of دَر +

[1] Cf. Layard's *Early Adventures* (ed. 1894), pp. 186–89.

اش. The ای in ایدهرس, ایخه, is evidently a verbal prefix (? = می). The accusative رهنه (= رادرا) in l. 64, finds a parallel in l. 33 *supra*, where تنه = ترا. Of the remaining words, چی = چون (by 12 and 55); زمی = زمین (by 55; also in Persian, *e.g.* *Sháhnáma*, ed. Macan, vol. i, p. 98, l. 21); آوید = آمد; سهر = سُرخ. In the last *miṣrá'* وا رهنس (which I have taken as = برای رهن + اش, the pronominal suffix belonging to داد) is explained by the commentator as وخلاص شد, "and [thus] escaped." The یل- in محمدیل is incomprehensible to me.

For the text of these eleven poems, amounting to 66 lines, I have been entirely dependent on my MS. for all save four (Nos. I, III, IV, and V), which together comprise only 10 lines. Of texts based on a single modern manuscript great suspicion may reasonably be entertained, much more so when, as in this case, the idiom in which they are conceived is one with which the copyist (perhaps even a series of copyists) was at any rate not very familiar. Some may even be disposed to feel grave doubts as to the genuineness of many of the poems, and to ask, "Have we, save in the case of the four pieces above mentioned, any positive proof that we are dealing with verses in real dialects, composed by the poets to whom they are here ascribed, and not with ingenious forgeries, wherein forms actually occurring in the dialects are mingled with arbitrary distortions of the standard speech?"

It is especially with the view of meeting such doubts as this that I conclude these extracts with one of *Abú Is-ḥáq's* poems which is contained in the Wolff MS. written in A.H. 970 (=A.D. 1562–63; see p. 787 *supra*) as well as in my own. It is also given at pp. 43–4 of the Constantinople edition of Abú Is-ḥáq's works (A.H. 1303); but, as it is quite possible that the editor used the same

sources as my correspondent Sheykh A——, this fact is of less importance. I shall not attempt to translate this piece, firstly, because I find the dialect in which it is written exceptionally difficult; and secondly, because it abounds in words appertaining to an obsolete culinary terminology which seems often to have baffled even the learned editor. My object in printing it is to show that an old MS. (written not more than a century and a half after the poet's death), to which neither the compiler of the collection of verses contained in my MS., nor the editor of *Bus-ḥáq's* poems, could, so far as I can see, have had access (since it passed into Dr. Wolff's possession in A.H. 1234=A.D. 1818–19), justifies the MS. communicated to me by Sheykh A—— in the case of a singularly difficult poem from a very rare *díván*.[1] It is worth noting that as regards some of the most extraordinary and suspicious forms (*e.g.* المدست, explained in the vocabulary prefixed to my MS. as=آمدواست (بیرون) entire agreement reigns; and this, I think, goes to prove that some care has been taken by the copyists not to introduce arbitrary changes, even where the temptation to do so was greatest, and establishes a strong presumption in favour of the genuineness and comparative correctness of the other poems.

Of this poem, then, I shall combine the three texts before me as well as I can, choosing in each case what seems to me the better reading, but recording also *all* the variants, save variations in the order and arrangement of the lines, which, for my present purpose, I deem to be of no great importance. I call my MS. (Sheykh A——'s) *A.*; the Constantinople printed text *C.*; and the Wolff MS. *W.*

[1] Several other poems by the same author given in my MS. occur also in the Wolff MS. and in the printed edition, but lack of space compels me to withhold them for the present. The specimen cited fairly indicates the extent of divergence between the different texts.

No. XII. Abú Is-ḥáq (ff. 19b–20a).

Metre: *Muḍári'-i-akhrab* [– – ⏑ | – ⏑ – – | – – ⏑ | – ⏑ – –].

67a. از برج محلت مه ماهی تمام المدست ‘
کز حسن یوسفش پیش امروز نام المدست ‘
67b. دز از فُرخیالم کاکی تمام أَلمَدِست ‘
کِش از کلیجه بِشترامروز نام أَلمَدِست ‘
68. از شوکت مزعفر وز رونق قطایف ‘
قند از حسد بدهتست شهد از طعام المدست ‘
69. از رشتهٔ ختائی لوزینه جون أَدَرجشت ‘
کی شیت ابال مروی کش پا نه دام المدست ‘
70. چربه تَزَه نبیشیت وا شرغه قند مصری ‘
غرتان نِدی که هرگز صبحی وشام المدست ‘
71. وا رنگ سرخ بریان یغنیم دی روی خوان ‘
آلیش نی کیاشا از دیگ خام المدست ‘
72. آشو دُمغِه کشکک اجوان و پیرادستست ‘
شوربی مَهْی سودا از خاص و عام المدست ‘
73. نان از حیِ حسیبک وز پیچ جیم زیجک ‘
چون قلیهٔ جِغَربن از دال و لام المدست ‘
74. کام دل از روی خوان آن کاسه داشت بس بیت ‘
کز بوم سختش ایرو تلخی وکام المدست ‘
75. چرب و شری هه بسحق چون رشتهٔ قطایف ‘
شکرتخی چو قندت کز د بضام المدست ‘

VARIANTS.

(67[a] and 67[b]) These are evidently alternative *maṭla's*. The first stands as such in *C.* and *W.*, but is entirely omitted by *A.* The second stands as such in *A.*, follows the *maṭla'* in *W.*, and assumes the following form in l. 5 of *C*:—

کش از کلوچه بشتر بگرفته نام امروز'
دز از فرخیالم کالی تمام المدست '

In *W.* the fourth word of the second *miṣrá'* might be read بشنز, otherwise it offers no variant to *A.*

(68) *W.* has قتایف for قطایف; *A.* and *C.* تعام for طعام. For بدهتست *A.* has بَدِشْتِشْت and *C.* مدملست.

(69) *C.* omits جون, *contra metr.*, and *A.* reads جو. *A.* and *C.* read اتال مردی for ابال مروی. For پا نه دام *A.* reads پا بذام and *W.* دانه دام.

(70) For تزه *C.* has ترة, and for نبیشیت, پنیشیت. For شرغه *A.* has شرعة and *C.* شوغ. For غرتان *C.* has غرمان. For وشام *A.* has زشام.

(71) This line occurs only in *A.*, which reads بروی, *contra metr.*

(72) For آشو دمغه *C.* has آشود دمغ. The و between اجوان and پیر is omitted by *C.* and *W.* For اوست *C.* has اوستست. For سودا *A.* and *C.* have شور, *contra metr.*

(73) For وز *C.* reads واز. *W.* transposes پیچ and جیم. *C.* has زیجک for زبجک. For جغربن *C.* has چغربن and *W.* جِغَربان.

(74) This line occurs only in *A.*

(75) *W.* omits. For شری *C.* has شیری (*contra metr.*); and for هه, یه. For بسحق *A.* has بسحاق, *contra metr.*; for رشته, خرده, and for قندت, قندست, *contra metr.* For کزئ (= که ازدو in gloss) *C.* has کرد.

It will be seen that although the variants indicate that the three texts before us are derived from two, if not three, originals, they are, considering the difficulty of the piece, comparatively slight. Some of those offered by *C.* are probably mere misprints. The metre and apparent sense are a sufficient guide to the correct reading in some cases, while in others we must for the present remain doubtful. The vocalization is chiefly derived from *W.*, but a few words not pointed in *W.* are pointed in *A.*

Glosses and Notes.

(67^b) دِز "yesterday"; فُر "oven"; کاکی "bread"; اُلَمِدِشت "came out" (*A.*, in vocab.); کلیچه "bread mixed with oil and sugar, and made into the form of discs" (*C.* in glossary). (68) قطایف "the name of several sweet dishes" (Redhouse's Turkish Dict.); مزعفر "*pillâw* coloured with saffron, also called زرده پلاو" (*C.* in gloss.); بدهشت, glossed in *A.* as = بگداخته است, وحشت کرد, but more probably stands for بگذشت in l. 6. *Cf.* بیذشت for بگذشت "melted" (with envy). (69) رشتهٔ ختائی "dough drawn out fine" (before it is baked). This particular kind of *rishté* is said (*C.* in gloss.) to be identical with the *qaṭâ'if* above mentioned. لوزینه, a kind of almond-cake or sweetmeat. اَدَرْجَسْت = بدرجست "is confined" (as though in a casket). کی شیت = چه شود (*A.* gloss.). ابال = ببال (اتال, the reading of *A.* and *C.*, is glossed in *A.* = بحال). مروی (written مردی in *A.* and *C.*) = مرغی (*A.* gloss.), *cf.* Pahlaví *murv* (Darmesteter, *Ét. Iran.*, i, pp. 24-5). In نه دام I take it that نه is a preposition = به (*cf.* Rieu, p. 732^a, second par.). (70) اگر ندیده = غرتان ندی یغنیم دی ; glossed یخنی مرا ; وشام = بشام. (71) وا = با ; ایده

دید, but I think it means یخنی را دیدم, "I saw the stew." آلویش نبود = آلیش نی, "it had no plums." کیا شا glossed as گویا شاد, but rather = گویا شاید. (72) کشکک probably connected with کشک, "curds." جوانرا, بجوان = اجوان and بدست = ادست, "are in the hands of old and young." شوربی مهی, "fish broth." (73) کباب رودگانی = حسیبک (? a kind of sausage, or tripe). حی = حا (the name of the first letter in *ḥasíbak*). زیجک, "sheep's intestines fried" (*C.* in glossary). (74) بوم = طعم و رنگ (*A.* gloss.). ایرو = امروز. (75) شری = شیرین. سخن = تخی (*cf.* l. 3 *supra*). بضام = بادام (بذام or even بزام would be more consistent, by l and 27; *cf.* n. 1 on p. 781 *supra*).

The above specimens must suffice for the present, as the space at my disposal does not allow me to add to their number. They only amount to about one-fifth of the total number of verses comprised in my MS., which contains as many separate pieces as I have given lines. It is to me a matter of regret that I have not been able to give at least one sample from the verses of each poet represented in this collection, but I was influenced in my choice by other considerations which rendered this impossible.

I began with an apology, and with an apology I must conclude. I cannot flatter myself that the texts which I here print will in themselves prove of much value. For the dialects still in use we need such researches as those of M. Shukovski, investigations conducted on the spot, amongst populations who speak them naturally, by skilled observers, capable of recognizing and recording each *nuance* of sound. But we need to know further what modifications these dialects have undergone in course of time, and to trace them back as far as possible; and here we are necessarily dependent on written specimens. I have attempted to show that a continuous series of poets, ranging in date

from the time of Firdawsí to the present day, that is to say, over a period of nearly nine centuries, have composed in different dialects verses of which some have been preserved to us. Careful search through different *dívâns* and *tadhkiras* would doubtless enable us to emend and correct texts already known to us, and to supplement them by new ones. All authorities, from the celebrated Ibnu'l-Moqaffa', who died not much more than a century after the Arab conquest of Persia, down to the most recent lexicographers, mention three idioms (*Párs̄i, Pahlaví, and Darí*) used in Persia for literary purposes. What precisely these writers mean by the two last of these terms—especially the last—is a large and a vexed question into which I do not propose to enter here; neither can I discuss at present the ingenious views propounded on the subject by M. Huart. This much, however, seems to me almost certain: that many archaic forms and words lost to standard Persian are preserved in the dialects; that some at least of the dialects are the lineal descendents, not of old Persian, but of the Avestic language;[1] and that others maintain in a remarkable manner some of the peculiar constructions which distinguish Middle Persian, or Pahlaví, from the Modern, or Post-Muḥammadan idiom.

What we most need for a study of the dialects in their earlier forms is the publication of connected texts of known date and authorship, such as are found in the *Jávidán-i-Kabír* alluded to at p. 786 *supra*. The publication of the Gúrán poems preserved in the British Museum is also much to be desired. Careful search would undoubtedly reveal the existence, even in comparatively old MSS., of verses and other fragments composed in dialect. M. Schefer lately called my attention to the existence of such verses in an old MS. history of the Seljúqs contained in his incomparable collection, which dated, if I remember aright, from the thirteenth or fourteenth century of our era. Even in old Arabic writers whole sentences of Persian are occasionally cited which present many features of interest, and

[1] *Cf.* Chodzko, *op. laud.*, pp. 453-62, 465-66.

which are not of such dubious authenticity as the "*Imrút hamín vasé*" ("This is enough for you to-day") which the Persian lexicographers delight to adduce as proof that 'Alí could converse with the faithful Salmán, the converted Magian, in his own tongue. Here are materials, as it seems to me, wherewith we may hope to bridge, at least in part, the gulfs which still exist in our knowledge of the history and developments of the Persian language.

ART. XXV.—*Arabic Inscriptions in Egypt.* By HENRY C. KAY.

I.

ON the occasion of a visit to Egypt last winter, I occupied myself in copying some of the inscriptions in the old graveyard of Assuan (Aswān, or Uswān)—as many, that is to say, as the limited time at my disposal would permit.

Many stones have of late years been removed, but large numbers remain, bearing witness to the once flourishing condition of the old frontier town. Under the protection of the garrison, an Arab settlement formed itself on the spot soon after the Muḥammadan conquest of Egypt, and its members, besides employing themselves in agriculture, carried on an active trade with their southern neighbours, deriving also a not unimportant source of wealth, from their relations with the workers of the gold and emerald mines, in the neighbouring country of the Bujahs. Maḳrīzi makes special mention of the prosperity which the citizens of Assuan enjoyed in those days, and, in illustration, quotes from a native historian an incident which occurred in the middle of the third century of the Hijrah. An Arab adventurer, Abu 'Abd ar-Raḥman al-'Omari, had contrived to establish his supremacy over the people of the gold mines. Their numbers had rapidly grown and were now largely composed of Arabs, who had flocked to the mines on the conclusion of the war between the Bujahs and the troops sent against them by the Khalīfah al-Mutawakkil in A.H. 241.[1] The Arabs, it may be added,

[1] See Ṭabari, ser. iii, pp. 1428–33.

entered into terms of friendship with the native inhabitants, even to taking their daughters in marriage, whilst the Bujahs, on their side, began to adopt the religion of Islām, in a form, it is true, which could meet with but little approval on the part of its orthodox teachers in Egypt. Their Islām, it is said, was very "weak."

Returning, however, to Maḳrīzi's anecdote, al-'Omari, he tells us, finding himself in want of supplies, wrote to the merchants of Assuan, one of whom responded by setting forth with no less than a thousand camels laden with provisions and stores. Sixty thousand camels, it is added, were (yearly) employed in carrying supplies from Assuan to the country of the Bujahs, irrespective of the merchants' caravans from Ḳulzum (Clysma) to 'Aydhāb (on the Red Sea opposite Juddah).[1]

On the completion of the Arab conquest of Egypt throughout the Nile valley, as far as the first cataract, 'Amru ibn al-'Āṣ, by command of the Khalīfah 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, made war upon the Nubians, with no result that I find mentioned, excepting that his troops appear to have been grievously impressed by the skill of the Nubian archers. 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'd, after having been Amīr of Upper Egypt, succeeded 'Amru on the latter's recall. In A.D. 651–2 he renewed the war, and penetrated as far as Dongola, where the Nubian king, according to Arab authorities, was compelled to sue for peace, and it is stated, was put to an annual tribute. From other incidental statements in these narratives, as well as from the earlier historians, it may rather be gathered that what really occurred was an arrangement for the mutual exchange of

[1] See for Abu 'Abd ar-Raḥman al-'Omari, *Ibn al-Athīr*, vol. vii, pp. 181 and 182. But is it not through some error that the *Bujahs* are said to have been the enemies against whom al-'Omari entered into his campaign? It is stated that after defeating them, he invaded their country, looted it, captured many prisoners, and afterwards followed up his first successes with repeated raids. The story cannot be reconciled with what we know of the barren and desolate wastes inhabited by the Bujahs, and I find no account of al-'Omari's enterprise in Maḳrīzi's *Khiṭaṭ*, but he incidentally mentions al-'Omari's return to the mines after the conclusion of a war *with the Nubians*.—*Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, pp. 196 and 199.

presents—slaves on the one part, corn and clothing on the other.[1]

The relations thus established between the two nations remained in substance unchanged for several centuries, and throughout the period to which the Cufic gravestones of Assuan belong, with only casual interruptions, the result, according to Arab accounts, of aggressions on the parts of the Nubians, and on other occasions, of remissness in the payment of tribute. One dispute, it may be mentioned, of which particulars have been handed down to us, and which occurred in the early years of the third century of the Hijrah, concerning the possession by the Muslims of certain lands on the Nubian side of the border, was attended with some rather sharp practice on the part of the Arabs, but was peacefully settled in their favour.

After the sixth century a decline in the prosperity of Assuan, which had already been in progress, became more and more marked. A great Arab family, the Banu'l-Kanz, obtained command over the border country. They were driven forth by the troops of Saladin, but regained their footing soon after A.H. 790, and entered into a series of struggles with the local rulers. Under the troubled reign of an-Nāṣir Farraj over Egypt (A.H. 801–808), governors ceased to be appointed from Cairo, and the Banu'l Kanz became absolute masters of the country. But in A.H. 815 (A.D. 1412) they were attacked by the powerful tribe of Hawwārah, who at that time held Upper Egypt at their mercy. They captured Assuan, plundered and ravaged the town, pulled down its walls, and massacred large numbers of its people. On their departure, carrying off the women and children into slavery, they left the place in ruins and utterly desolate.[2]

[1] See Ṭabari, ser. i, p. 2593, *Ibn al-Athīr*, vol. ii, p. 443, and Maḳrīzi, vol. i, p. 200.

[2] The author of the *Tāj al-'Arūs* gives a brief account of the tribe of Hawwārah, drawn partly from a treatise composed by himself on the genealogy of the tribe, and partly from a small work by Maḳrīzi, on the Arab tribes in Egypt, *Al-Bayānu wa'l-I'rāb 'amman fi Miṣra min Ḳabā'ila'l-A'rāb*, of which a copy, I believe, exists at Paris.

The British Museum possesses sixteen specimens of the Assuan tombstones, the inscriptions upon which have been published, with translations by the late Professor Wright, in the *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archæology* for June, 1887. M. Henri Sauvaire has published several funerary inscriptions, including five from Assuan, deciphered from squeezes; and a letter, containing a brief account of the old cemetery, which I addressed at about the same time to the *Institut Egyptien*, and which was published in its Bulletin, may be mentioned for the purpose of stating that the earliest date I met with on the occasion referred to was A.H. 211.[1]

As might be expected, strict accuracy in matters of grammar and orthography are not a characteristic of the Assuan tombstones. Thus we have جمادى الاول for الاولى; also لاربعة اعشرة خلون for لاربع عشرة خلت, and in like manner لاحد عشرة خلون for لاحدى خلت. We find also صلى (in the imperative) for صلّ, and on one of the stones the engraver has written فنا, يبقا, and الاعلا. It will be observed that امة, ابنة, and رحمة are for the most part written with the open instead of with the closed *ta*.

In three of the proper names I have met with some difficulty. The name امى (No. 1) I have with some hesitation read أُمِّيّ, as if derived from أُمّ *a mother*, although like the name أَمَة it may possibly be connected with the verb أَمِا. The feminine termination is absent, but the word resembles in that respect the name مَيّ, which the lexicographers tell us stands for مَيَّة, and is allowable at least in poetry.

The name written درو (No. 7) is likewise unknown to me,

[1] I had not an opportunity of correcting the proof, but the only material error was the substitution in the date of a tombstone of A.H. 271 for 241.

but the Ḳamūs and Tāj al-'Arūs have الدَرّ or الدِرّ as a man's name. Ṭabari[1] has الدّرّى, which, if an Arabic name, is perhaps related to the word دُرّ *a pearl*. In Maḳrīzi I have met with درى (vol. ii, pp. 81, 82), the name of an Armenian Mamlūk.

A name closely resembling بخشى occurs twice. In one case it might be read بحسلى, but the letter which looks like a *lam* is possibly nothing more than an accidental defect on the surface of the stone. In No. 7 the word seems to be written بحسدى, but it may be noted that in No. 1 the word *dhi* (dhi'l-Ḳa'dah) is written بدى.

The Assuan graveyard is a plain covered with a layer of sand, the depth of which seems to have undergone considerable increase since the time when, upwards of a thousand years ago, the spot was converted into a Muhammadan place of burial. The lower portions of the head-stones are buried in fine sand, almost as fluid as water, and it was practically impossible to scoop it away, so as to be able to read the concluding words of the inscriptions. These being, however, of a purely formal character, may, for the most part, be supplied without much difficulty. The inscription in No. 3 is complete, the stone having been removed from its original position and set into the wall of a tomb of recent date.

The graveyard of Assuan, I must finally add, presents a totally different aspect from that of a modern Arab cemetery. But for the sand and absence of verdure, it might, indeed, with more justice be likened to an old English churchyard. Neither cenotaphs nor their accompanying stelæ are anywhere to be seen; nothing but the slabs, each standing erect at the end of the grave. They average for the most part, I should say, about twenty-four inches in height by about sixteen inches in

[1] de Goeje, ser. iii, pp. 1295–1300.

width. There is nothing to show whether the dead were laid to rest in underground vaults of masonry, according to the orthodox practice of more modern times.

I. A.D. 863.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ان اعظم مصائب اهل الاسلام | مصيبتهم بالنبى محمد صلى الله عليه | و سلم هذا قبر امى ابنت يونس | العسال رحمت الله و مغفرته و رضوانه | عليها توفيت يوم الاثنين لثلث ليال | خلون من ذى القعدة سنة ثمان و اربعين | و مائتين كانت تشهد الا اله الا الله | وحده لا شريک له . . . . . .

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Verily, the greatest of the afflictions that have befallen the people of Islām, is that with which they have been smitten through (the death of) the Prophet Muḥammad. May God bless him, and hail him with salutations of peace!

"This is the tomb of Ummīyah (?), daughter of Yūnus al-'Assāl (the dealer in honey): may the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and approval be with her. She died on Monday, the third of Dhu'l-Ḳa'dah, of the year 248. She bore witness that there is no god but God, the one God, with whom is no associate. . . . . ."

II. A.D. 865.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ان اعظم مصائب اهل الاسلام الخ هذا قبر عائشة ابنت محمد بن | قاسم بن مسلم رحمت الله[1] | و مغفرته و رضوانه عليها توفيت | يوم السبت لاربع ليال خلون من جمادى | الاول سنة احدى و خمسين | و مائتين وهى تشهد الا اله الا الله و | حده لا شريک له و ان محمدا | . . . . . .

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Verily, the greatest," etc. (as in the preceding).

[1] Written العصله.

"This is the tomb of 'Ā'ishah, daughter of Muhammad, son of Ḳāsim, son of Muslim: the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and His approval be with her. She died on Saturday, the fourth of Jumada'l-Ūla, of the year 251, bearing witness that there is no god but God, the one God, with none associated unto him, and that Muḥammad . . . . ."

III. A.D. 865.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ان اعظم مصائب الخ[1] هذا قبر امت
السلام ابنت | شهر بن اسحق بن سعيد رحمت | الله و مغفرته
و رضوانه عليها | توفيت عند الزوال يوم الجمعة | لاربعة اعشرة
خلون من ذى القعدة | من سنة احدى و خمسين و مائتين | وهى
تشهد الا اله الا الله وحده | لاشريك له و ان محمدا عبده و ر | سوله
صلى الله عليه و سلم و تشهدا ان الجنة و النار حق و ان الساعة اتيه
لا | ريب فيها و ان الله يبعث من فى القبور

"In the name of God," etc. "Verily, the greatest," etc.

"This is the tomb of Amat as-Salām, daughter of Shahr, son of Isḥaḳ, son of Sa'īd: the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and His approval be with her. She died, as the sun declined from the meridian, on Friday, the fourteenth of Dhu'l-Ḳa'dah, of the year 251, bearing witness that there is no god but God, the one God, with none associated unto him, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle. May God bless him, and hail him with salutations of peace! Bearing witness (also) that Paradise and the Fire (of hell) are truths; that the hour will assuredly come, therein is no doubt, and that God will raise up unto life them that are in the graves" (Ḳur., S. xxii, 7).

[1] For بالنبى the engraver has written بالـ[illegible] (بالعزى ?). There is an ill-defined horizontal stroke below the word, which perhaps stands for the final *ya*.

IV. A.D. 867.

بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحيم | ان اعظم مصائب الخ هذا قبر احمد
بن هرون | بن بشر بن محسلى (؟) رحمة الله | و مغفرته ورضوانه
عليه | توفى يوم الخميس لاربع عشرة | ليلة بقيت من شهر ربيع |
الاخر سنة ثلث و خمسين | و مائتين و كان يشهد . . . . . .

"In the name of God," etc. "Verily, the greatest," etc.

"This is the tomb of Aḥmad, son of Harūn, son of Bishr, son of Makhshy (?): may the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and His approval be with him. He died on Thursday, the sixteenth of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir, of the year 253; and he bore witness . . . . . ."

V. A.D. 868.

بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحيم | لكل ملك انقضاء و اجل حتى فنا |
و لكل عمل جزآء و يبقا الملك الحق | الواحد الاعلا هذا قبر موسى |
بن شبيب بن عبد الله رحمة الله و مغفر | ته و رضوانه عليه توفى
يوم الخميس | لنصف من المحرم سنة اربع و خمسين | و مائتين
كان يشهد ان لا اله الا الله | وحده لا شريك له و ان محمدا عبده |
و رسوله ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق | ليظهره على الدين كله و لو كره |
المشركون اللهم اغفرله و ارحمه | . . . . . .

"In the name of God," etc. "Unto every king is ordained an accomplished term and an end, so that he perisheth; and unto every work belongeth retribution. But the King, the Truth, the One (God), the Most High, endureth (for ever).

"This is the tomb of Mūsa, son of Shabīb, son of 'Abd Allah: the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and His approval be with him. He died on Thursday, the fifteenth of Muḥarram, of the year 254. He bore witness that there is no god but God, the One (God), with whom is no associate,

and that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle. God hath sent him with true guidance and with the religion of truth, that he might raise it triumphant over all religions, even though the polytheists be averse thereto.[1] O God, pardon him and have mercy upon him . . . . . ."

VI. A.D. 873.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | تبارک الذى بيده الملک و هو على | كل شىء قدير الذى خلق الموت | و الحياة ليبلوكم ايكم احسن | عملا و هو العزيز الغفور | هذا قبر جميلة ابنت ياسين | بن يحى بن بلال رضوان الله و مغفرته | و رحمته عليها توفيت يوم الاثنين | لمستهل شعبان سنة تسع و خمسين | و مائتين وكانت تشهد الا اله الا | الله وحده لا شريک له . . . . . .

"In the name of God," etc. "Blessed be He in whose hand is supreme rule, and He is mighty over all things; who hath created death and life, to try which among you hath excelled in good works. And He is the Mighty, the Forgiving.[2]

"This is the tomb of Jamīlah, daughter of Yā-Sīn, son of Yaḥya, son of Bilāl: the approval of God, His pardon, and His mercy be with her. She died on Tuesday, the first of Sha'bān, of the year 259, and she bore witness that there is no god but God, the One (God), who hath no associate . . . . . ."

VII. A.D. 878.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ان اعظم مصائب الخ هذا قبر | محسى (؟) بن دور رحمت الله و مغفرته او رضوانه عليه توفى يوم الاثنين | لاحدى عشرة ليلة خلت من شهر | ربيع الاول سنة خمس

[1] Kur., ix, 33; xlviii, 28; lxi, 9.
[2] Kur., lxvii, 1–3.

وستين وما | ئتين وهو يشهد الا اله الا الله | وحده لا شريك له وان محمدا عبده | ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم | ويشهد ان الجنة والنار حق او ان الساعة آتية لا ريب فيها وان | . . . . .

"In the name of God," etc. "Verily, the greatest," etc.

"This is the tomb of Makhshy (?), son of Dar'u: the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and His approval be with him. He died on Monday, the eleventh of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, of the year 265, bearing witness that there is no god but God," etc. (as in No. III).

VIII. A.D. 904.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | تبارك الذى بيده الملك الخ هذا قبر احمد بن يحي الزبار[1] | رحمة الله ومغفرته ورضوانه | عليه توفى يوم الاحد لخمس | بقين من جمادى الاول سنة | احدى وتسعين ومائتين | وهو يشهد . . . . . .

"In the name of God," etc. "Blessed be He," etc. (as in No. VI).

"This is the tomb of Aḥmad ibn Yaḥya az-Zabbār: the mercy of God, His pardon, and His approval be with him. He died on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of Jumada'l-Ūla, of the year 291, bearing witness . . . . . ."

IX. A.D. 962.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ان الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم استقاموا تتنزل عليهم | الملائكة الا تخافوا ولا تحزنوا وابشروا | بالجنة التى كنتم توعدون اللهم صلى (صلّ) على | محمد النبى وعلى آله الطاهرين وارحم | احمد بن ابرهيم بن يحى بن ابرهيم الصباغ | رحمة الله

[1] Written الجبار.

و مغفرته و رضوانه عليه | توفى يوم الجمعة لاحد عشرة خلون | من ذى القعدة سنة احدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة و هو يشهد الا اله الا الله وحد | ه لا شريك له و ان محمد (محمدا) عبده و رسوله | صلى الله عليه . . . . . .

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Verily, they that have said our Lord is God, and who have practised rectitude, the angels will descend upon them (and will say): 'Fear ye not and mourn not, but rejoice in the glad tidings of the Paradise which was promised unto you.'[1]

"O God, bless Muḥammad the Prophet, and his pure family, and have mercy upon Aḥmad, son of Ibrahīm, son of Yaḥya, son of Ibrahīm aṣ-Ṣabbāgh (the dyer): the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and His approval be with him. He died on Friday, the eleventh of Dhu'l-Ḳa'dah, of the year 351, bearing witness that there is no god but God, the One (God), without associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle. May God bless him . . . . ."

X. A.D. 968.

بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحيم | تبارک الذى بيده الملک (الآية) اللهم صلى (صلّ) على | محمد النبى و على آله الطاهرين و ا | رحم زينب ابنت محمد بن موسى بن | على بن موسى بن بشير ابى صبور رحمة | الله و مغفرته و رضوانه عليها | توفيت يوم السبت لا . . . . . بقين | من صفر سنة ثمان و خمسين و ثلثمائة . . . .

"In the name of God," etc. "Blessed be He," etc. (as in No. VI).

"O God, bless Muḥammad the Prophet, and his pure family, and have mercy upon Zaynab, daughter of Muhammad, son of Mūsa, son of 'Aly, son of Mūsa, son of Bashīr Abu Ṣabūr: the mercy of God, His forgiveness, and

[1] Kur., xli, 30.

His approval be with her. She died on Saturday . . . . . of Ṣafar, of the year 358 . . . . . ."

The inscriptions are, as a rule, in a good state of preservation, but in the present instance the surface of the stone is much worn on the spot I have indicated. The words specifying the day of the month are consequently quite illegible. But the date must have been either the 16th, 18th, 19th, or 26th, and the day of the week, *Saturday*, is capable of removing all doubt on the subject.

ART. XXVI.—*The Lî Sâo Poem and its Author.* By Professor LEGGE, Oxford.

III. THE CHINESE TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

I NOW conclude my Papers on the *Lî Sâo.*

The Chinese text is that approved by the famous Chû Hsî in his "Collection of Comments" on all the portions of the *Ch'û Ts'ze.* I have taken it from the Hû-pei edition of his Work in 1876. In studying the poem, I have made constant use of the *Lî Sâo Ching, Chang Chü* by Wang Yî of our second century, and a minister of the later Han dynasty, as published in the Ch'ang-sha or Hû-nan edition of 1882, with which is incorporated the "Supplemental Commentary" of Hung Hsing-tsû of our twelfth century. My earliest study of the poem, however, was from a reprint of the *Wän Hsüan,* or "Selections of Literary Compositions," by Hsiâo T'ung, with the posthumous title of Châo-ming, eldest son of the founder of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502 to 556), containing also the commentary of Lî Shan, a functionary of the T'ang dynasty.

Two versions of the poem have been frequently before me—those of the late Marquis d'Hervey de Saint Denys, published at Paris in 1870, with "Un Commentaire perpétuel," and of the late Dr. August Pfizmaier, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna. This was laid before a meeting of the department of the Academy so long ago as June, 1851, but does not appear to have been

published separately till more recently. I have also consulted, and with advantage, a metrical translation by Mr. E. H. Parker, of Her Majesty's Consular Service in China, and the *Botanicon Sinicum* of Dr. Bretschneider.

The reader will find no notes accompanying my translation, but I beg to refer him to the second Paper, which was intended to give an account of the contents of the poem, and to supersede, for the present at least, longer notes and discussions.

第一節六章

帝高陽之苗裔兮。朕皇考曰伯庸。攝提貞於孟陬兮。惟庚寅吾以降。
皇覽揆余于初度兮。肇錫余以嘉名。名余曰正則兮。字余曰靈均。
紛吾既有此內美兮。又重之以脩能。扈江離與辟芷兮。紉秋蘭以爲佩。
汩余若將不及兮。恐年歲之不吾與。朝搴阰之木蘭兮。夕攬洲之宿莽。
日月忽其不淹兮。春與秋其代序。惟草木之零落兮。恐美人之遲暮。
不撫壯而棄穢兮。何不改乎此度。乘騏驥以馳騁兮。來吾道夫先路。

第二節七章

昔三后之純粹兮。固衆芳之所在。雜申椒與菌桂兮。豈維紉夫蕙茝。
彼堯舜之耿介兮。既遵道而得路。何桀紂之昌被兮。夫唯捷徑以窘步。
惟黨人之偷樂兮。路幽昧以險隘。豈余身之憚殃兮。恐皇輿之敗績。
忽奔走以先後兮。及前王之踵武。荃不察余之中情兮。反信讒而齌怒。
余固知謇謇之爲患兮。忍而不能舍也。指九天以爲正兮。夫唯靈脩之故也。
曰黃昏以爲期兮。羌中道而改路。
初既與余成言兮。後悔遁而有他。余既不難夫離別兮。傷靈脩之數化。

第三節二章

余既滋蘭之九畹兮。又樹蕙之百畮。畦留夷與揭車兮。雜杜衡與芳芷。
冀枝葉之峻茂兮。願竢時乎吾將刈。雖萎絕其亦何傷兮。哀衆芳之蕪穢。

第四節七章

衆皆競進以貪婪兮。憑不厭乎求索。羌內恕己以量人兮。各興心而嫉妒。
忽馳騖以追逐兮。非余心之所急。老冉冉其將至兮。恐修名之不立。
朝飲木蘭之墜露兮。夕餐秋菊之落英。苟余情其信姱以練要兮。長顑頷亦何傷。
擥木根以結茝兮。貫薜荔之落蕊。矯菌桂以紉蘭兮。索胡繩之纚纚。
謇吾法夫前脩兮。非世俗之所服。雖不周於今之人兮。願依彭咸之遺則。
長太息以掩涕兮。哀民生之多艱。余雖好脩姱以鞿羈兮。謇朝誶而夕替。
既替余以蕙纕兮。又申之以攬茝。亦余心之所善兮。雖九死其猶未悔。

第五節三章

怨靈脩之浩蕩兮。終不察夫民心。衆女嫉余之蛾眉兮。謠諑謂余以善淫。
固時俗之工巧兮。偭規矩而改錯。背繩墨以追曲兮。競周容以爲度。
忳鬱邑余侘傺兮。吾獨窮困乎此時也。寧溘死以流亡兮。余不忍爲此態也。

第六節八章

鷙鳥之不羣兮。自前世而固然。何方圜之能周兮。夫孰異道而相安。
屈心而抑志兮。忍尤而攘詬。伏清白以死直兮。固前聖之所厚。
悔相道之不察兮。延佇乎吾將反。回朕車以復路兮。及行迷之未遠。
步余馬於蘭皐兮。馳椒丘且焉止息。進不入以離尤兮。退將復脩吾初服。
製芰荷以爲衣兮。集芙蓉以爲裳。不吾知其亦已兮。苟余情其信芳。

高余冠之岌岌兮。長余佩之陸離。芳與澤其雜糅兮。唯昭質其猶未虧。
忽反顧以遊目兮。將往觀乎四荒。佩繽紛其繁飾兮。芳菲菲其彌章。
民生各有所樂兮。余獨好脩以爲常。雖體解吾猶未變兮。豈余心之可懲。

第七節三章

女嬃之嬋媛兮。申申其詈予。曰鯀婞直以亡身兮。終然殀乎羽之野。
汝何博謇而好脩兮。紛獨有此姱節。蔈菉葹以盈室兮。判獨離而不服。
衆不可戶說兮。孰云察余之中情。世並舉而好朋兮。夫何榮獨而不予聽。

第八節十章

依前聖以節中兮。喟憑心而歷茲。濟沅湘以南征兮。就重華而陳辭。
啟九辯與九歌兮。夏康娛以自縱。不顧難以圖後兮。五子用失乎家衖。
羿淫遊以佚畋兮。又好射夫封狐。固亂流其鮮終兮。浞又貪夫厥家。
浞身被服强圉兮。縱欲而不忍。日康娛而自忘兮。厥首用乎顛隕。
夏桀之常違兮。乃遂焉而逢殃。后辛之菹醢兮。殷宗用之不長。
湯禹儼而祗敬兮。周論道而莫差。舉賢才而授能兮。循繩墨而不頗。
皇天無私阿兮。覽民德焉錯輔。夫維聖哲之茂行兮。苟得用此下土。
瞻前而顧後兮。相觀民之計極。夫孰非義而可用兮。孰非善而可服。
阽余身而危死兮。覽余初其猶未悔。不量鑿而正枘兮。固前脩以菹醢。
曾歔欷余鬱邑兮。哀朕時之不當。攬茹蕙以掩涕兮。霑余襟之浪浪。

第九節十九章

跪敷衽以陳辭兮。耿吾既得此中正。駟玉虯以乘鷖兮。溘埃風余上征。
朝發軔於蒼梧兮。夕余至乎縣圃。欲少留此靈瑣兮。日忽忽其將暮。
吾令羲和弭節兮。望崦嵫而勿迫。路曼曼其脩遠兮。吾將上下而求索。
飲余馬於咸池兮。總余轡乎扶桑。折若木以拂日兮。聊逍遙以相羊。
前望舒使先驅兮。後飛廉使奔屬。鸞皇爲余先戒兮。雷師告余以未具。
吾令鳳鳥飛騰兮。繼之以日夜。飄風屯其相離兮。帥雲霓而來御。
紛總總其離合兮。斑陸離其上下。吾令帝閽開關兮。倚閶闔而望予。
時曖曖其將罷兮。結幽蘭而延佇。世溷濁而不分兮。好蔽美而嫉妒。
朝吾將濟於白水兮。登閬風而繫馬。忽反顧以流涕兮。哀高丘之無女。
溘吾遊此春宮兮。折瓊枝以繼佩。及榮華之未落兮。相下女之可詒。
吾令豐隆乘雲兮。求虙妃之所在。解佩纕以結言兮。吾令蹇脩以爲理。
紛總總其離合兮。忽緯繣其難遷。夕歸次於窮石兮。朝濯髮乎洧盤。
保厥美以驕傲兮。日康娛以淫遊。雖信美而無禮兮。來違棄而改求。
覽相觀於四極兮。周流乎天余乃下。望瑤臺之偃蹇兮。見有娀之佚女。
吾令鴆爲媒兮。鴆告余以不好。雄鳩之鳴逝兮。余猶惡其佻巧。
心猶豫而狐疑兮。欲自適而不可。鳳皇既受詒兮。恐高辛之先我。
欲遠集而無所止兮。聊浮游以逍遙。及少康之未家兮。留有虞之二姚。

理弱而媒拙兮。恐導言之不固。世溷濁而嫉賢兮。好蔽美而稱惡。
閨中既以邃遠兮。哲王又不寤。懷朕情而不發兮。余焉能忍而與此終古。

第十節五章

索藑茅以筵篿兮。命靈氛爲余占之。曰兩美其必合兮。孰信脩而慕之。
思九州之博大兮。豈惟是其有女。曰勉遠逝而無狐疑兮。孰求美而釋女。
何所獨無芳草兮。爾何懷乎故宇。世幽昧以眩曜兮。孰云察余之善惡。
民好惡其不同兮。惟此黨人其獨異。戶服艾以盈要兮。謂幽蘭其不可佩。
覽察草木其猶未得兮。豈珵美之能當。蘇糞壤以充幃兮。謂申椒其不芳。

第十一節九章

欲從靈氛之吉占兮。心猶豫而狐疑。巫咸將夕降兮。懷椒糈而要之。
百神翳其備降兮。九疑繽其並迎。皇剡剡其揚靈兮。告余以吉故。
曰勉陞降以上下兮。求矩矱之所同。湯禹儼而求合兮。摯咎繇而能調。
苟中情其好脩兮。又何必用夫行媒。說操築於傅巖兮。武丁用而不疑。
呂望之鼓刀兮。遭周文而得舉。寧戚之謳歌兮。齊桓聞以該輔。
及年歲之未晏兮。時亦猶其未央。恐鵜鴂之先鳴兮。使夫百草爲之不芳。
何瓊佩之偃蹇兮。衆薆然而蔽之。惟此黨人之不諒兮。恐嫉妒而折之。
時繽紛以變易兮。又何可以淹留。蘭芷變而不芳兮。荃蕙化而爲茅。
何昔日之芳草兮。今直爲此蕭艾也。豈其有他故兮。莫好脩之害也。

余以蘭爲可恃兮。羌無實而容長。委厥美以從俗兮。苟得列乎衆芳。
椒專佞以慢慆兮。樧又欲充夫佩幃。既干進而務入兮。又何芳之能祗。
固時俗之流從兮。又孰能無變化。覽椒蘭其若茲兮。又況揭車與江離。
惟茲佩之可貴兮。委厥美而歷茲。芳非菲而難虧兮。芬至今猶未沫。
和調度以自娛兮。聊浮游而求女。及余飾之方壯兮。周流觀乎上下。

第十二節五章

靈氣既告余以吉占兮。歷吉日乎吾將行。折瓊枝以爲羞兮。精瓊靡以爲粻。
爲余駕飛龍兮。雜瑤象以爲車。何離心之可同兮。吾將遠逝以自疏。
遭吾道夫崑崙兮。路脩遠以周流。揚雲霓之晻藹兮。鳴玉鸞之啾啾。
朝發軔於天津兮。夕余至乎西極。鳳凰翼其承旂兮。高翱翔之翼翼。
忽吾行此流沙兮。遵赤水而容與。麾蛟龍以梁津兮。詔西皇使涉予。
路脩遠以多艱兮。騰衆車使徑待。路不周以左轉兮。指西海以爲期。
屯余車其千乘兮。齊玉軑而並馳。駕八龍之婉婉兮。載雲旗之委蛇。
抑志而弭節兮。神高馳之邈邈。奏九歌而舞韶兮。聊假日以媮樂。
陟陞皇之赫戲兮。忽臨睨夫舊鄉。僕夫悲余馬懷兮。蜷局顧而不行。

第十三節九章

亂曰已矣哉。國無人兮。莫我知兮。又何懷乎故都。既莫足與爲美政兮。吾將從彭咸之所居。

第十四節一章

THE LÎ SÂO POEM.

Translation.

SECTION I. Stanzas 1 to 6.

1. A descendant am I of the *Tî* Kâo-yang.
   My excellent deceased father was called Po-yung.
   When Sheh-t'î (=the planet Jupiter) culminated in the first month of spring,
   On *kăng-yin* (=the 27th cycle-day) I was born.

2. My father, in his first auspice at the inspection of me,
   Commenced by giving me an auspicious name;
   He named me "Correct Pattern,"
   And afterwards styled me "Efficient Adjuster."

3. Largely gifted with those inward excellences,
   I proceeded to add to them far-reaching ability.
   I gathered and wore the angelicas of the streams, and those of the hidden vales;
   I strung together the autumn orchids to wear at my girdle.

4. I hurried myself as if I could not reach the goal;
   I was afraid the years would not wait for me.
   In the morning I plucked the magnolias of Pî;
   In the evening I gathered the evergreen herbage of the islands.

5. The days and months passed hastily on without delaying;
   Spring and autumn succeeded to each other.
   Considering how the grass and trees withered and lost their leaves,
   I feared that the object of my admiration would be late in arriving.

6. He did not in his time of vigour put away his bad advisers.
Why did he not change his (erroneous) measures?
Why did he not yoke his grand steeds, and dash along,
And come to me to lead him in the way of the ancient (kings)?

Section II. Stanzas 7 to 13.

7. Anciently, the purity and agreement of the three Sovereigns
Was owing to their having all the perfumes around them.
They brought together the pepper-plant of Shăn, and the finest cassia;
Their wreaths were not only of the *hûi* orchids, and the *ch'ih*.

8. And the glorious greatness of Yâo and Shun
Arose from their following the (right) way, and getting the (right) path.
How did Chieh and Châu wear their clothes so ungirt?
Because, hurrying along their devious paths, their steps were all-distressed.

9. Those partizans, in their reckless pleasing of themselves,
Were leading on by darksome paths to a dangerous defile.
Did I dread the consequent suffering that would befal myself?
I feared a fatal injury to the royal car and load.

10. I hurried on, now before and now behind,
That the ruler might be kept in the footprints of the former kings.
His Majesty would not consider the loyal feelings of my heart;
He believed the slanderers, and burned with anger (against me).

11. I well knew that straight-forward words would bring calamity,
But I could not repress myself, and forbear them.
I pointed to the nine heavens in confirmation of my truth;—
All for the sake of His Majesty's intelligence.

12. He had appointed the time of dusk for our meeting,
But in the middle of the way (to me) he altered his path.

13. At first he had given me this promise,
But afterwards he repented, avoided me, and took other counsellors.
I do not think it hard to be separated from him;
I am grieved that, intelligent as he is, he should be subject to so many changes.

Section III. Stanzas 14, 15.

14. I had planted nine large fields of orchids;
I had sown a hundred acres of the *hûi* orchid.
The dykes of my fields showed the *liû-î* and *chieh-ch'ê*,
Mixed with *asarums* and fragrant angelicas.

15. I hoped that their branches and leaves would be long and luxuriant!
And wished to wait for the time when I should cut them down.
Though they wither and pass away, why should that grieve me?
I lament that, with all their perfume, they were regarded as useless weeds.

Section IV. Stanzas 16 to 22.

16. They all emulously strove for advancement through their greed of money and their gluttony;
Though full, they never wearied of seeking for more.
Ah! they took the measure of others from themselves;
Each one excited himself to hatred and jealousy.

17. Recklessly they drove along in pursuit (of their objects),
Which were quite unimportant to me.
Old age will gradually come on me,
And I fear that the cultivation of my name will not have been accomplished.

18. In the morning I drank the dew that had fallen from the magnolia trees;
In the evening I ate the flowers that had fallen from the autumn asters.
Thus sincerely devoted to, and believing in, what is good, and practising what is most important,
What did I care for the meagre and emaciated visage?

19. I grasped the roots of trees to bind with them the *ch'ih*;
I strung together the flowers dropt from the fig trees;
I straightened (the branches of) the finest cassia to thread the orchids on them;
I bound with the *hû-shăng* beautiful bouquets.

20. It is hard, but I strive to imitate the culture of the former time,
Though it is not what the manners of this age approve.
Though it is not conformed to the (views of the) men of to-day,
I wish to imitate the pattern handed down by P'ăng Hsien.

21. I heave deep sighs, whilst I endeavour to hide my tears;
Lamenting the many afflictions to which men are born.
Though I love to cultivate what is good and pure, it serves to me as a bit and bridle.
Faithfully in the morning I remonstrated, and in the evening I was dismissed.

22. Though dismissed, I still wore the cincture of *hûi* orchids;
And added to it a garland which I made of angelicas.
The character so emblemed was what my heart approved.
Even nine deaths would not make me regret my course.

SECTION V. Stanzas 23 to 25.

23. I was indignant that our Intelligent Ruler should be so greatly indifferent,
And never examine the minds of the people.
(The courtiers, like) the ladies (of a harem), all hated my silk-worm eyebrows,
And vilified me, saying I was given to licentiousness.

24. Yes, stupid are the skilful builders of to-day!
They turn the back on the compass and square; they lay them aside for other measures;
They reject the line marked by the plummet, and try a crooked one instead;
They strive to get themselves borne with: this is their constant rule.

25. Sad and disappointed, I am irresolute;
I am now solitary, and reduced to the greatest straits.
But sudden death and banishment would be more welcome to me
Than to act in such a way as they do.

SECTION VI. Stanzas 26 to 33.

26. The birds of prey do not collect in flocks;
So it has been in all generations.
How can the square and the round fit in together?
How can those who pursue different ways agree together?

27. I bent my mind and controlled my will,
To bear the charges against me, and cast from me the shame of them.
I would keep pure and unstained, and even die in maintenance of the right;
Pursuing the course which the earlier sages approved.

28. I regretted that I had not examined more my course,
And long stood considering whether I should go back;
Turning my carriage round, and retracing my way,
While yet I had not gone far astray.

29. I walked my horses through the orchid fields along the lake;
Then I galloped them to the mound of pepper trees, and there stopt.
My advance was ineffectual to lead (the king) from his errors,
And I retired to cultivate again my former habits.

30. I fashioned the (flowers of the) water-caltrops and lotus to (adorn) my upper garment;
I collected those of the *hibiscus* for my lower one.
If he acknowledged me not, I would give up my efforts;
My own wishes were to realize a similar fragrancy.

31. How loftily rose the top of my cap!
How many and various were the ornaments of my girdle!
How did their fragrance and soft beauty blend together,
Showing that my brightness and ability had not failed!

32. Suddenly I turned round, to let my eyes look all about;
I would go and see the most distant regions of the four quarters.
The rich appurtenances of my girdle and its many ornaments (would be seen),
Their exuberant fragrance would be more displayed!

33. Every man born has that in which he delights,
But I alone wish to cultivate what is good as my constant work;
Though my body were torn in pieces, I would not change.
Is there anything in my mind to reprove?

SECTION VII. Stanzas 34 to 36.

34. (My sister,) Nü-hsü, drawn by her affection,
Would gently say to me, while blaming me,
"Kwăn, obstinate and unbending, brought upon him his death,
Coming at last to a premature end in the wild of Yü.

35. "Why do you so fully speak out your mind, and indulge your love of culture,
Standing out alone in the possession of your admirable qualities?
Like the tribulus, the king-grass, and the burr-weed, your enemies fill the court,
While you stand separate with quite another mind."

36. (I replied,) "How can all men be talked with from house to house?
Who would examine the real facts of my case?
In the world they all put one another forward, and love partizanship;
How should they regard a poor solitary like me, and listen to me?"

SECTION VIII. Stanzas 37 to 46.

37. I would test the correctness of my views by those of the former sages,
And mournfully in my excitement unfold all my mind.
I crossed the Yüan and the Hsiang on my way to the south,
And by the grave of Ch'ung-hwâ set forth my plaint.

38. Ch'î (received) the Nine Accounts (of the provinces of the kingdom) and the Nine Songs about them.
(His son), K'ang of Hsiâ, found his pleasure in self-indulgence,

Without thinking of the troubles (arising from it), or any consideration of the future;
And (his brothers), "the Five Sons," thereby lost their possessions.

39. Î, given to vicious indulgence, found his pleasure in hunting,
And was fond of shooting the great foxes,
But seldom is it that one abandoned to disorder and idleness comes to a (good) end;
And Cho, (Î's minister), was coveting his wife.

40. (Cho's son) Âo was possessed of immense strength.
Abandoned to his lusts, he put no restraint on himself;
Daily devoted to pleasure, he forgot all restraints,
Till his head in consequence fell from his body.

41. Chieh of Hsiâ was a constant rebel (against right),
Taking his own way, and meeting with calamity.
King Hsin cut up and pickled (the flesh of the Earl of Mei),
And in consequence the temple of (the kings of) Yin did not last long.

42. T'ang and Yü, in their dignified awe, were reverent and respectful;
(The founders of) Châu weighed well the Path, and erred not in regard to it.
They employed the wise and talented, and gave power to the able;
They kept to the straight line, without deviation from it.

43. August Heaven has no private partialities;
It observes the qualities of men, and disowns or helps accordingly.
It is only the conduct fully ordered by sage wisdom
That can obtain rule on this earth below.

44. Looking back to the earlier and round on the later times,
We obtain a complete view of (Heaven's) dealings with men.
Who without righteousness was ever fit to be employed?
Who without goodness was ever fit to direct affairs?

45. As on a precipice I exposed my person to danger, and nearly met with death;
But looking on my course from the first, I still feel no regret.
It was by not measuring their chisel, and fashioning the handle for it,
That former worthies caused themselves to be killed and kept in pickle.

46. Sighing and sobbing because of my distressful sorrow,
I bewailed that the time is so unsuitable for me.
I took the soft *hûi* orchids to wipe the tears,
The torrents of which wet the lapel of my gown.

Section IX. Stanzas 47 to 65.

47. Kneeling on my outspread skirt, I set forth my complaint;
And had a clear conviction that my views were true and correct.
In car drawn by four unhorned dragons, smooth as jade, and mounted on a phœnix,
It was for me at once, through dust and wind, to travel on high.

48. In the morning I started from Ts'ang-wû,
And in the evening I came to Hsüan-pû.
I wished to delay a little at the sculptured gate (of this abode) of the Immortals,
But the day seemed hastening to the evening.

49. I commanded Hsî and Ho to delay the stages of their course,
And not to hurry on as they made for Yen-tsze.
The way was long, and distant far was my goal:
I would ascend and descend, pursuing my search.

50. I watered my horses at the pool of Hsien;
I gathered up and tied my reins to a Fû-sang (tree);
I broke off a branch from a *Zo* tree to defend myself from the sun:
Thus did I enjoy myself, aimlessly wandering.

51. Before me I sent Wang-shû, (the Charioteer of the Moon), as my precursor,
And behind me Fei-lien, (the Baron of the Wind), hurried on in attendance;
A *lwan* and a phœnix went before with guardian care;
The Master of Thunder told of anything that had not been prepared.

52. I ordered the phœnix to fly aloft,
And continue its flight day and night.
But a whirlwind brought together my opponents;—
Clouds and rainbows were led to meet and oppose me.

53. In multitudes they came together, now dividing, now collecting.
In confusion they separated, some going above, and others beneath.
I ordered the porter of God to open the gate,
But, leaning against it, he only stared at me.

54. The time was dark and obscure, and I was nearly wearied out;
I tied (to my girdle) the secluded orchids, and remained long as if not heeding anything.
The age was one of confusion and greed, where no notice was taken of the different characters of men;
The good were kept in obscurity, and viewed with hatred and jealousy.

55. On the morrow, being about to cross the White-water,
I ascended to the top of Lang-făng, and there haltered my horses.
Suddenly I looked back and shed tears,
Lamenting that on the lofty height there was no lady (for me).

56. Forthwith I rambled to this palace of the Spring
And broke off a branch of the *ch'iung* tree to add to my girdle.
Before the glorious flower (of my years) had fallen,
I would see the attendant of the lady to transmit an offering (for me).

57. I ordered Făng-lung (= the Master of Thunder) to mount on a cloud,
And search for the place where the lady Fû was.
I unloosed the string of my girdle to serve as the gage of my truth,
And ordered Ch'ien-hsiû to transact the affair for me.

58. In multitudes (he and others) came together, now dividing, now collecting.
Suddenly misunderstandings arose, difficult to change.
In the evening I returned and halted at Ch'iung-shih;
In the morning I washed my hair in the water of Wêi-p'an.

59. She guarded her beauty with a haughty arrogance;
She daily sought her pleasure in licentious abandonment,
Truly beautiful she was, but had no regard to propriety;
Therefore I abandoned her, and sought elsewhere.

60. In my inspection I surveyed (the earth) to its four extreme points;
I travelled all over the sky, and then descended (to the earth).
(There,) looking to the lofty height of the Yâo-built tower,
I saw the beautiful daughter of the prince of Sung.

61. I ordered Chăn to make proposals of a union with her for me,
But he told me that she was not good.
(Then) there passed by a jackdaw screaming;
But I still hated the lightness and craft of them both.

62. My mind full of doubt, and, mistrusting as a fox,
I wished to go myself, but it was not proper for me to do so.
The phœnix, (moreover,) had been employed by Kâo-hsin to negotiate a marriage with her,
And I feared that (that sovereign) had anticipated me.

63. I wished to settle far off, but there was no place where I could rest;
Perhaps I might wander aimlessly about and enjoy myself.
(Ah!) while Shâo-k'ang was yet unmarried,
There would have been left for me the two Yâos of the state of Yü!

64. My grounds of application were weak, and my go-between was stupid;
I was afraid that the communication of my views would not be (sufficiently) firm.
The age is one of confusion and greed, and of hatred of the wise and good;
All love to keep the excellent in obscurity, and to celebrate the praises of the bad.

65. (Since) the female apartments inside are so deep and distant,
And the wise king moreover does not awake,
I will keep my feelings in my breast, and not express them!
How can I bear to abide with such people so long as the ages of the past?

SECTION X. Stanzas 66 to 70.

66. I searched for the *hibiscus* and the grass-ropes, to divine with the splinters of bamboo,
And commanded Ling-făn to explain their indications for me.
He said, "(It is,) The two Beauties are sure to act in union;
But who (here) will believe in your culture, and desire it?

67. "Consider the vast extent of the nine regions:
Is it only here that the lady (whom you seek) is to be found?
I tell you, Strive to go away far, and allow no doubts to arise:
Who will be seeking an admirable (partner), and neglect you?

68. "What place is there in which alone there are no fragrant plants?
Why do you keep on thinking of your past abode?"
(But I rejoined,) "The age is dark, and dazzled by what is bright.
Who will examine whether I am good or bad?

69. "People differ in their likings and dislikings;
But those partizans (in Ch'û) are peculiar, and differ from all others.
In every house they carry at their waists bags full of moxa,
And say that the secluded orchids are not fit for their girdles.

70. "However they look at and examine plants and trees, they still cannot distinguish one from another;
How much less can they estimate the value of the brilliant *ch'äng* jade!
They collect muck and earth to fill their perfume bags;
And say that the pepper plant of Shăn has no fragrance."

SECTION XI. Stanzas 71 to 79.

71. I wished to follow the auspicious oracle of Ling-făn,
But my mind was undecided, and I was suspicious as a fox.
The (old) sorcerer, Wû Hsien, was to descend that evening;
I would take pepper and the finest rice, and constrain him (to divine by them for me).

72. Hundreds of spirits overshadowed him as he descended in state;
Multitudes also from (the hill of) Nine Doubts met him at the same time.
August (Heaven thus) gloriously displayed its power,
So telling me that the issue (of Ling-făn's advice) would be good.

73. (Wû Hsien) said, "Exert yourself, ascending above and descending beneath,
And seek for those whose rules and measures shall agree with yours.
T'ang and Yü in their dignity sought such coadjutors;
With Chih and Kâo Yâo all their measures were harmonious.

74. "When one loves (as you do) his self-culture in his heart,
What further need has he to employ go-betweens?
Yüeh was working as a builder in Fû-yen,
When Wû-ting called him to office without misgiving.

75. "When Lü Wang was reduced to tapping with his (butcher's) knife,
He met with (king) Wăn of Châu, and was raised to office.
When Ning Ch'î was singing his song,
(Duke) Hwan of Ch'î heard him, and gave him all help.

76. "While it is not yet too late in the years of your life,
And your time is not yet come to its middle,
(Look out) lest the Tî-chüeh have sounded its note,
And made all plants lose their fragrance."

77. How many are the precious ornaments of my girdle!
But my numerous opponents secretly seek to hide them.
All-insincere are those partizans;
I fear that their hatred and jealousy will cause my ruin.

78. The time is in confusion, and going on to changes;
And how can I remain here long?
The orchids and angelicas are changed, and no more fragrant;
The *ch'üan* and the *hûi* orchids are transformed and become mere reeds.

79. How is it that the fragrant grasses of former days
Are now only these plants of oxtail-southernwood and mugwort?
Is there any other reason for it,
But the injury which the love of culture brings with it?

SECTION XII. Stanzas 80 to 84.

80. I had thought that the orchids were to be relied on,
But they had no reality, and were (only) in outward appearance good.
They have thrown away their excellence to follow the vulgar ways;
It was rash (ever) to rank them among things fragrant.

81. (Those who seemed to be as) pepper plants only use their glib tongues to promote negligence and dissoluteness,
And want to fill the perfume bags at their girdles with the (fruit of the) *boymia*.
Thus seeking for entrance and admission (to the court),
How can they have reverence for their character as fragrant?

82. Yes, surely the manners of the time follow the current.
Who, moreover, can avoid change and transformation?
When we see how it is thus with the pepper-plant and orchids,
How much more will it be so with the *chieh-ch'ê* and angelicas of the streams!

83. There were the pendants of my girdle more valuable than any others;
But their beauty was rejected, and sad has been their fate.
But their odoriferous fragrance it was difficult to lessen,
And even now it is still not exhausted.

84. I order my measures in harmony with my circumstances, and find pleasure in doing so;
I will wander about and seek for the lady.
While still in possession of my (symbolic) ornaments, and in vigour,
I will travel around, now ascending, now descending.

Section XIII. Stanzas 85 to 93.

85. As Ling-făn had told me in his auspicious oracle,
I chose a fortunate day when I would go away.
I broke off a branch of the *ch'iung* tree for my food,
And boiled it as into the finest rice to be my nourishment.

86. There was yoked for me the team of flying dragons;
With the *yâo* jade and ivory the carriage was adorned.
How could there be union with those who were estranged from me in heart?
I would go far away, and keep myself apart.

87. I turned my course to K'wăn-lun;
Long was the way, and far and wide did I wander.

Amidst the dark shade were displayed the rainbows in the clouds,
While there sounded the tinklings of the bells of jade about the equipage.

88. I started in the morning from the Ford of Heaven (in the sky),
And in the evening I arrived at the extreme west.
The male and female phœnix greeted me from their supporting flags,
One soaring on high, one floating along, in mutual harmony.

89. All at once I was walking over the Moving Sands,
And proceeded gaily along the course of the Red-river.
I motioned with my hand to the dragons to bridge over the ford,
And called the Western Sovereign to carry me across.

90. The way was long and beset with many difficulties;
I made all my carriages ascend (before me) and, going by by-ways, wait for one another.
(I would go by) Pû-châu (hill), and turn to the left;
And I appointed the Western sea for our general (rendezvous).

91. I collected my carriages, a thousand in number:
Their linchpins were all of jade, and they raced on together,
To each one were yoked eight dragons, which glided, snake-like, on;
O'er them floated with easy grace the cloud-like banners.

92. I repressed my emotion and moderated my haste,
But my spirit was borne aloft very far.
I sang the Nine Songs (of Yü), and danced the dance (of Shun),
Borrowing a day for enjoyment and pleasure.

93. I ascended to the glorious brightness of the great (sky),
And suddenly looked down askance on my old neighbourhood.
My charioteer lamented; my horses longed for their old home.
The game was over; I looked round, and went no farther.

SECTION XIV. One stanza.

94. In conclusion I say, All is over!
There is no (good) man in the country, no man who knows me!
Why should I still keep thinking of the old capital?
Since I am not thought fit to aid in good government,
I will follow P'ăng Hsien to the place where he is.

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COUNTERMARKS ON PERSIAN AND INDIAN COINS.

ART. XXVII.—*Counter-marks on early Persian and Indian Coins.* By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

THE addition of a counter-mark to a coin already current has usually served one or other of two distinct purposes. It has occasionally merely denoted the ratification or re-sanction of a currency already legal; it has more frequently been used to show some change in the conditions of a currency—as, for instance, a change in its value as legal tender, or its circulation in a different country or under a different government. The true interpretation of many ancient counter-marks would no doubt add considerably to our knowledge of the world's history. Unfortunately their evidence is generally of that kind which suggests a great deal more than it can prove; and it must be confessed that their contribution to knowledge has been disappointingly small.[1]

The silver coins, or *sigloi*, struck by the princes of the Achæmenid dynasty of Persia from the reign of Darius (B.C. 521–485) to the end of the dynasty in B.C. 331, afford one of the best known examples of the practice of counter-marking in antiquity. In this instance, the practice is strictly confined to the silver coinage. No example of a counter-struck gold Persian coin—daric or double-daric—is known. Of the numerous marks found on the silver coins, numismatists have been inclined to regard some as letters and the others as symbols distinctive of the various provinces of the great Persian empire in which the imperial coinage was current. The latest authority, M. Ernest Babelon, in plate xxxix of his great work, "Les Perses Achéménides,"

[1] For the literature of ancient counter-marks see Engel, *Revue Numismatique*, 1887, p. 382.

has published a collection of these marks, and on p. xi of his preface he gives reasons for attributing several of them to certain countries—viz. Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Cyprus —in which the custom of counter-marking is known to have obtained. That M. Babelon's attributions are extremely probable, if indeed they are not absolutely certain, is shown by the occurrence of precisely the same marks, formed in precisely the same manner, on certain coins of the countries mentioned. The only doubt which can be entertained is whether the Persian imperial coins and the coins of these countries may not equally have obtained their counter-marks from some common and as yet undetermined source.

My object, in the present paper, will be to show that there was one province of the Persian empire—the province of India, that is to say, territory on both sides of the Indus, including much of what is now known as the Panjāb and Sind—in which counter-marked weights of metal constituted the recognized form of coinage, and that to this province some of the counter-marks in question, whether interpreted as letters or as symbols, may very plausibly be referred.

The Persian occupation of North-western India lasted for about a century and three-quarters. It began during the reign of Darius, probably *c.* 500 B.C., and lasted till 331 B.C., when, after the battle of Arbela, the whole empire of the Achæmenids acknowledged the sovereignty of Alexander the Great. Evidences of extensive intercourse during this period between the centre of the Persian empire and its Indian satrapy are abundant on all hands; and it must not be forgotten in this connection that the fact of a regular commerce, also during this period, between India and the West—Greece, Phœnicia, and various cities of Asia Minor—is well established. It is, therefore, quite possible that the influence of India may be traced not only on the coins of Persia, but also on the coins of other Western states—for instance, the very states mentioned by M. Babelon. But, in the present paper, we must confine our attention to Persia and India. Of the intimate relation of these two during the Achæmenid period, there can be

no doubt. Not only have we the evidence of writers like Hecataeus and Herodotus, but we have the more tangible evidence of architectural remains in Northern India, which show the predominating influence of Persian art. From the fifth century B.C. onwards the wealth of India becomes proverbial in all literature. The stories in Xenophon's Cyropædia, for example—worthless as that production is as a history of the times of Cyrus, it may still be quoted as evidence for the ideas of Xenophon's time—show that the Persian king regarded India as an unfailing source of riches. This wealth, as Herodotus has shown, consisted in gold dust; and in exchange for this, the commodities of the West, and silver among them, came in great quantities to India. General Sir A. Cunningham ("Coins of Ancient India," p. 5) has shown by quotations from the *Periplus maris Erythryaei* that "the merchants made a profit by exchanging their own money for Indian gold. Gold was cheap in India, being as 1 to 8 rates of silver, whereas in Persia the rate was 13 of silver." And what was true at the date of the *Periplus* (probably the latter part of the first century A.D.), was undoubtedly true at an earlier period. This fact of the attraction of silver to India accounts for the large number of ancient silver coins still found there. These coins are of various kinds, the two most noteworthy varieties being Athenian and Persian; but undoubtedly the Persian coins vastly outnumber all the others. Probably no great collection made in the Panjāb has not included several specimens, and dealers in the Panjāb have repeatedly submitted them to the British Museum for purchase. Several specimens in the collection of the British Museum were transferred from the India Office collection, and therefore presumably came from India, while the Indian origin of others is extremely probable, though, unfortunately, only the name of the collection to which the coins belonged, and no note of their actual *provenance*, has been preserved.

The most striking confirmation of the fact that Persian *sigloi* circulated freely in the Indian satrapy would—if its

origin were undisputed—be derived from the weight-standard adopted for the silver coinage of all the Greek princes of Northern India. After the transference of the Greek power from Bactria to the Kabul valley and the Panjāb—a transference which began about 200 B.C. and was completed probably before 120 B.C.—the Attic standard is abandoned for another, which has been identified with the Persian.[1] The change is gradual. The purely Bactrian princes use only the Attic standard; those princes who ruled both in Bactria and India strike coins of both standards; their successors, who ruled only in India, adopt the so-called Persian standard only.

Now, according to the view commonly accepted, this change was adopted with the object of bringing the Græco-Indian silver coinage into relation with the Persian coinage, in such a way that two Greek hemidrachms of about 40 grains (2·59 grammes) might be the exact equivalent of a Persian *siglos* of 80 grains (5·18 grammes). This would seem to be the most natural way of explaining this change of weight-standard — it was necessitated by change of locality, and was in accordance with the recognized standards of this locality. If this view be correct, we have here the most conclusive evidence of the predominance of Persian power, and of the circulation of Persian silver coins, in North-western India.

This explanation has, however, been disputed by the greatest of Indian numismatists, General Sir A. Cunningham, who explains (*Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 216) the change of standard by purely economic considerations as due to a real change in the relative values of gold and silver. Every argument of so great an authority is entitled to serious consideration; and if the fact, or the probability, of such an alteration in the relative values of gold and silver could be proved for India at this period, this particular argument would be irresistible. But it does not appear

[1] Gardner, "Brit. Mus. Cat. of Indian Coins: 'Greek and Scythic Kings,'" p. lxviii.

that any such change can be proved or was probable. In fact, General Cunningham's own quotations from the *Periplus* above cited are against this supposition; and, on the other hand, the Persian influence in North-west India during the Achæmenid period is known to have been so strong, that we have little cause for surprise if we find a further trace of this influence in so important a subject as the monetary standard.

In suggesting an Indian origin for some, at least, of the counter-marks borne by these Persian *sigloi*, I shall try to show first that the practice of counter-marking the native coinage was universal in India at this period, and that it is extremely probable that any foreign coins taken into circulation would receive the same treatment. Unfortunately, in the imperfect state of our present knowledge of the numismatics of ancient India, very little can yet be regarded as *proved* beyond dispute. The very fact of the existence of an independent native Indian coinage at this period—fifth and fourth centuries B.C.—has as yet not been universally recognized. It is even now not rare to find the Western origin of the Indian coinage taken for granted, and further used as an argument in support of other supposed borrowings from the West.[1] In fact, the arguments on the other side have hitherto not received the attention which they deserve, and I may, therefore, perhaps be excused if I state these arguments here as briefly and cogently as I can.

(1) It seems only possible to explain the square Indian form as the result of an independent development of the art of coin-making. The ancient Indian coin is little more than an approximately square or oblong weight, sometimes a piece cut from a sheet of metal, sometimes merely a length of metal cut from a bar. The origin of all the Western coinages, on the other hand, is to be traced to

[1] For instance, by the late Prof. J. Darmesteter, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1892, p. 62, the last but one in that brilliant series of *rapports annuels* in which this truly great scholar was wont to summarize the whole progress of Oriental research.

the bullet-shaped weight, which, when struck by the die, tended, because of the expansion of the metal on all sides, to assume an approximately round shape. It is surely not to be imagined that one of these systems could have been derived from the other.

(2) A coinage of square form was so firmly established in India at the date of the Greek invasion from Bactria, which began *c.* 200 B.C., that it was imitated by the earliest Greek settlers—Demetrius, Pantaleon, and Agathocles. The whole story of the introduction of a Greek coinage first into Bactria and then into India is full of interest from a morphological point of view. The Greek coinage in Bactria remained purely Greek in type and execution, because there was no previously existing Bactrian coinage to influence it in any way. This Greek coinage, immediately on its transference to India, begins to be modified in every particular—type, execution, shape, and weight—because it was found necessary to adjust it to some extent to the native coinage.

(3) These square coins are actually represented in sculptures from the Mahābodhi temple at Buddha-Gaya, and from the great stūpa at Bharhut. Both of these monuments probably date from the middle of the third century B.C.

(4) Certain copper coins of square form, bearing the inscription ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΟΥ, have with great probability been regarded as an Indian issue of Alexander the Great. If this attribution be correct, it would follow that a native coinage of the square form must have been firmly established before 326 B.C.

(5) The evidence derived from literary sources, which has been most carefully examined and weighed by such authorities as Burnouf, Thomas, Cunningham, and Rhys Davids, while not proving any positive date for the beginning of a coinage in India, allows of the existence of a coinage for some considerable period before the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

In face of these arguments it is difficult to doubt that the square Indian coins—the so-called punch-marked coins

—which are found in considerable numbers in nearly every part of India, were actually in circulation in the Indian satrapy during the Achæmenian period, and in company with Achæmenian coins. If the following view as to the nature of the punch-marks found on the Indian coins be correct, the occurrence of similar punch-marks, or counter-marks, on the contemporary Persian *sigloi* would be explained.

The conservatism of the Indian mind is proverbial; and in studying the ancient institutions of the country more help is usually to be obtained from a consideration of the state of things still existing than is afforded by any analogies derived from our knowledge of other ancient civilizations. Perhaps the most distinctive and the most persistent feature in the social history of India is the organization of the village community. "These village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Seik, English, are all masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same."[1] This organization was in ancient times, if not universal, certainly more widely prevalent throughout India than it remains at the present day; and it seems probable that such matters as the issue of coinage were regulated by local authorities—money-changers or merchants —and not by the imperial authority. The very great variety of early Indian coins would thus be naturally explained, and such inscriptions as are found on them have been interpreted by Dr. Bühler in a sense which entirely supports this view. In referring to specimens represented in plate iii of Cunningham's "Coins of Ancient India," figures 8, 9, 10, 11, all of which bear the word *negamā* on the reverse, together with other words on the obverse, he says, "The word *negamā* is common enough in Pali and

[1] Montgomery Martin, "History of the British Colonies" (1835), vol. i, p. 340.

in the epigraphic Prakrits, and means always 'the traders.' It shows here that the coins are mercantile money-tokens, issued by traders, and the names on the obverse may be either names of towns or of guilds. The latter explanation is perhaps the more probable one."[1] When Dr. Bühler communicated this discovery to me, I at once saw in it a striking confirmation of a theory already suggested by Sir A. Cunningham to account for some of the punch-marks found on the uninscribed specimens. He says ("Coins of Ancient India," p. 58): "Another explanation of some of these symbols has struck me as possible, or perhaps even probable. I have a suspicion that several of the symbols may have been the private marks of ancient money-changers. At the present day these men are still in the habit of placing their own particular stamps on the rupees that pass through their hands, so that when any of the coins come back to them again, they know their value without making a second testing."

This attribution, already sufficiently probable in itself, is thus supported by a reference to the practice of the shroffs of modern times, whose methods no doubt differ little from those of their ancestors more than two thousand years ago, except in so far as the greater exactness of weight and the security against fraud afforded by the imperial coinage and the best of native coinages have rendered the use of the money-changer's private stamp less and less necessary. If, then, in ancient times the issue and regulation of the coinage was mainly or exclusively in the hands of the local authorities, the use of these distinguishing marks must have been universal and generally recognized, and they would, as a matter of course, be applied to all silver coins in circulation, whether native, as the "punch-marked" coins, or foreign, as the Persian *sigloi*.

While dealing with the subject of the earliest Indian coins, we may perhaps venture to carry our investigations one step farther. It has long been recognized that these

[1] Indian Studies, No. iii: "On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet," p. 47.

punch-marks are not used without some discrimination.[1] The typical specimen has one of its sides, usually called the obverse, more or less completely covered with a number of different punch-marks, evidently applied at different times, and often in such a manner that the later stamps have been partly superimposed on the earlier. The other side, the reverse, has, in a great number of instances, only one mark in the centre. Even when the reverse bears two or more stamps, they are usually different in character from those found on the obverse. They are smaller, and they show less variety. There occur cases in which, from want of space, obverse marks have been imprinted on the reverse; but it is doubtful if the converse statement is ever true. The reverse marks seem not to be found on the obverse.

Another observation of General Cunningham's suggests an explanation of this distinction. "I have often thought," he says, "that where only one stamp is found on the reverse it might possibly be the peculiar symbol of the place of issue. I found, for instance, that about one-third of the silver punch coins discovered at Taxila bore the same stamp placed alone on the reverse, and as this particular stamp is found as the full reverse of the small gold coins of Taxila, I think my conjecture may be correct. . . . . A second symbol I have noted as being often placed alone on the punch-marked coins from Benares and the surrounding districts."[2] Coupling this observation with the injunction of Manu, viii, 403, "All weights and measures must be duly marked, and once in six months let him (*i.e. nṛpa*, the prince) re-examine them,"[3] we may perhaps still more

[1] Thomas, "Ancient Indian Weights," p. 57.

[2] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 56.

[3] Dr. Bühler's translation in "Sacred Books of the East," p. 324. The original quotation is—

तुलामानं प्रतीमानं सर्वं च स्यात्सुलक्षितं ।
षट्सु षट्सु च मासेषु पुनरेव परीक्षयेत् ॥

and the commentators explain सुलक्षितं by स्वमुद्रया मुद्रितं "sealed with his own seal."

nearly determine the source of these reverse marks. In Manu coins are well known, but they are still regarded as weights, and consequently they are, no doubt, included in the injunction just quoted. The "prince" is the governor of the district—perhaps, if the period referred to is anterior to the rise of the great kingdoms, an independent ruler, or perhaps already dependent on some over-lord; in any case, he is the official whose duty it was to take personal cognizance of the minutest affairs of the people under his care, to settle the prices of their commodities, to act as their judge, and in fact to fulfil numberless functions which could never have been discharged by the monarch of a great kingdom. The fact, then, that the coins issued for circulation had first to receive the stamp of his approval, by no means invalidates our contention that, in ancient India, the right of coinage was in no sense an imperial prerogative.[1] The merchants or money-changers, to whom we have attributed the obverse punch-marks, had simply to submit their coins to the chief authority in the district, who rejected such as were deficient in weight or quality of metal, and sanctioned such as were approved by marking them with his official stamp, which may perhaps be identified with the solitary punch-mark so often found in the centre of the reverse. The occasional occurrence of more than one of these reverse punch-marks on a coin is naturally explained by supposing the coin to have passed current in more than one district, and consequently to have been officially tested more than once.

In the following detailed list of those counter-marks found on the Persian *sigloi*, whose origin may most probably be traced to India, it should be remembered that only the Persian collection in the British Museum has been examined. When other collections also have been examined from this

[1] Thomas, "Ancient Indian Weights," p. 57 *note*, shows that in the fourteenth century in Southern India "goldsmiths and dealers in bullion were authorized, by prescriptive right, to fabricate money at will on their own account"; and he further quotes from Malcolm ("Central India," 1832) to show that in the present century any banker or merchant was permitted to coin money at the mints of Central India.

special point of view, we may expect further evidence tending either to confirm or to disprove the theory here propounded.

Brāhma Characters.

 = *yo*, Plate, Fig. 1.

 = *va*, Figs. 2–5.

 = *kha*. This letter or symbol is of common occurrence, though, by an unfortunate omission, no example has been given in the plate. If regarded as a letter, its form would well agree with Dr. Bühler's description of the oldest form of *kha*, "a circle with a superimposed vertical line ending in a curve" (*Indian Studies*, iii: "On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet," p. 66), and with the representation given in his plate (*id.*, col. v, 1). Numismatists have, however, usually supposed it to be the symbol, occurring on Lycian coins, to which Mr. Hill has given the name *monosceles*, as contrasted with the commoner *trisceles* symbol (*Num. Chron.*, 1895, p. 11).

 = *pa*, Fig. 6.

 = *ja*, Figs. 15 and 16. This identification is doubtful. The letter *ja* only assumed this form in late times, though Dr. Bühler has pointed out that an approximation to this form occurs even in the Aśoka edicts (*op. cit.*, p. 39).

 = *go*, Fig. 17. This is also doubtful for the same reason. It is more probable that this is not a letter at all, but simply the symbol represented in Fig. 18.

Kharoṣṭhī Characters.

 = *ma*, Figs. 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20. It is, of course, extremely doubtful whether, in some instances at least, this is not simply a crescent. In favour of the other

view, we can only appeal to the two signs next represented, which may very naturally be interpreted as

 = *me*, Figs. 13 and 14, and

 = *maṃ*, Fig. 12. This is precisely the form of *maṃ* which is found on coins (*v.* Gardner, *Catalogue*, pl. xiv, 2 and 6, where it occurs in the left field of two silver coins).

 = *ti*, Fig. 7, also perhaps Fig. 8, but in the latter case partly obliterated. This is certainly not unlike the form of *ti* which constantly appears on the coins, where, from want of space, the true proportions between the consonant itself and its attendant vowel-mark are often disregarded.

 = *da*, Fig. 9. *Cf.* the form of *da* often found on the coins, *e.g.* in *Apuludatasa* (Gardner, *Cat.*, pl. x, 5).

 = *ha*, Fig. 10.

Symbols.

, Figs. 19 and 20 (Persian), 27 and 28 (Indian). This is one of the commonest of Indian symbols. Cunningham called it the Taurine symbol, as being the sign of the constellation Taurus. It is No. 28 of Mr. Theobald's list.

, Figs. 20, 21, and , Fig. 22 (Persian), compared with Figs. 29, 30 (Indian).

, , Figs. 23–25. Mr. Theobald regards this as the earliest form of the trisceles symbol, and quotes it as occurring on Indian punch-marked coins (*v.* his list, No. 130). The more usual form on Indian coins, if one may judge from the collection in the British Museum, is slightly different, as shown in Figs. 31–33.

With regard to this last section of my list, I ought to say that I have not made a thorough investigation of the

symbols which are common to Persian and Indian counter-marks. I have confined my attention principally to those signs which could reasonably be interpreted as letters, and have only added to my list those counter-marked symbols, the striking similarity of which both in form and execution could scarcely fail to attract the notice of the most careless observer.

TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS,

HELD AT GENEVA.

Report of the Transliteration Committee.

(TRANSLATION.)

THE Committee appointed by the Congress to select a system for the transliteration of the Sanskrit and Arabic Alphabets has held several meetings. After having examined and discussed the systems which have hitherto been used, and taken note of the various improvements which have been suggested by members of the Congress and other savants, the Committee submit for the approval of the Congress, and with a view to general adoption by Orientalists, the systems shown in the two tabular forms annexed to this report.

They have taken as a basis for their work the report presented by a special committee appointed by the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and the systems of transliteration usually adopted in France, in Germany, and by the Bengal Asiatic Society. They do not pretend to have discovered a perfectly scientific system; it was necessary to give weight to established usages, and also to take into consideration the varying pronunciations which the letters of the Arabic alphabet have received in different Muhammadan countries. This is one reason for the alternative modes of transliteration proposed for certain letters, but the number

for which these alternative methods are suggested has been kept as small as possible, and it is hoped that the Orientalists of every country will endeavour to still further reduce this number by conforming as much as possible to the system recommended by the Committee.

As regards the transliteration of Sanskrit, the differences of opinion have been much less, and only in the case of a very small number of letters has any difficulty arisen. In these instances the Committee have chosen from among the various equivalents proposed those which on the whole seem best suited for practical use.

To obtain uniformity each country and each society must make some concessions, and the Committee hope that the systems now proposed will be unanimously adopted and brought into general use.

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EMILE SENART,
SOCIN,
WINDISCH.

GENEVA, *September* 10*th*, 1894.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND PALI ALPHABETS.

अ	*a*	ऊ	*ū*
आ	*ā*	ऋ	*ṛ*
इ	*i*	ॠ	*ṝ*
ई	*ī*	ऌ	*ḷ*
उ	*u*	ॡ	*ḹ*

ए	*e*	प	*p*
ऐ	*ai*	फ	*ph*
ओ	*o*	ब	*b*
औ	*au*	भ	*bh*
क	*k*	म	*m*
ख	*kh*	य	*y*
ग	*g*	र	*r*
घ	*gh*	ल	*l*
ङ	*ṅ*	व	*v*
च	*c*	श	*ś*
छ	*ch*	ष	*ṣ*
ज	*j*	स	*s*
झ	*jh*	ह	*h*
ञ	*ñ*	ळ (in Pali *ḷ*-)	*ḷ*
ट	*ṭ*	ं (*Anusvāra, Niggahīta*)	*ṁ*
ठ	*ṭh*	ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐*
ड	*ḍ*	ः (*Visarga*)	*ḥ*
ढ	*ḍh*	× (*Jihvāmūlīya*)	*ḫ*
ण	*ṇ*	ϰ (*Upadhmānīya*)	*ḭ*
त	*t*	ऽ (*Avagraha*)	*ʼ*
थ	*th*	*Udātta*	*◌̍*
द	*d*	*Svarita*	*◌̎*
ध	*dh*	*Anudātta*	*◌̱*
न	*n*		

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC ALPHABET.

Recommended.		Recommended.	
	at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ـٔـ	ع ـٜـ	
ب	*b*	غ	*ġ* permissible *gh*
ت	*t*	ف	*f*
ث	*ṯ* permissible *th*	ق	*q*
ج	*j* permissible *dj*	ك	*k*
ح	*ḥ*	ل	*l*
خ	*ḫ* permissible *kh*	م	*m*
د	*d*	ن	*n*
ذ	*ḏ* permissible *dh*	و	*w*
ر	*r*	ه	*h*
ز	*z*	ي	*y*
س	*s*	vowels ـَ *a*, ـِ *i*, ـُ *u*	
ش	*ṡ* permissible *sh*	lengthened اَ *ā*, ـِي *ī*, ـُو *ū*	
ص	*ṣ*	diphthongs ـَيْ *ay* and ـَوْ *aw*	
ض	*ḍ*	*e* and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*	
ط	*ṭ* or *t*	also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish	
ظ	*ẓ* or *z*	ل of article ال to be always *l*.	

ADDITIONAL IN PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.		HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	
پ	*p*	ټ or ټ	*ṭ*
چ	*ċ* permissible *ch*	ډ or ډ	*ḍ*
ژ	*ż* permissible *zh*	ړ	*ṛ*
گ	*g*	PAKSHTŪ LETTERS.	
TURKISH LETTERS.		څ	*ṯs*
ک	when pronounced as *y* *k̡* is permitted.	ږ	*ġ*
ڭ	*ñ*	ڼ	*ṇ*
		ښ	*kṡh*

Also in India will be recognized *ṡ* for ث, *ż* for ذ, and *z* for ض.

Report of the Sub-Committee on the Transliteration of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Alphabets.

(TRANSLATION.)

The Sub-Committee appointed to consider the transliteration into the Roman characters of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Alphabets have done me the honour of entrusting me with the compilation of their report.

It is in the first place necessary to recall the nature of the task laid upon them.

They were not required to elaborate a system theoretically perfect, capable of entirely meeting every linguistic requirement—an arduous and, in fact, impossible task, for it would be necessary, in order to arrive at finality, to find a system which would accord not only with such scientific principles as have been already discovered (or supposed to be discovered), but with any that future studies may bring forth. Their aim has been more modest; taking into consideration the systems of transliteration which have, it may be said, passed a "first reading," on the one hand that of the Royal Asiatic Society and on the other that of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, but allowing modifications as to details, it was necessary to come to a decision, and by a certain amount of give-and-take to harmonize these two. We have neither the right nor the power to establish a general uniformity, which must, however, be our principal aim: for instance, I made no proposal on behalf of the French; nevertheless, the transliterations adopted in different countries have shown such a general tendency towards unification that we may now, without presumption, look for a unanimous agreement in the near future. It was desirable, therefore, to adopt such proposals

as by their simplicity seemed likely to bring about a general agreement.

We must not lose sight of the essentially practical character of our task; it is therefore incumbent on us to pay especial attention to the sentiments expressed in India, where the adoption of a uniform system of transliteration for proper names and for every-day use is particularly urgent.

Under these conditions the Sub-Committee were naturally ready to welcome suggestions made from any quarter, and consequently they have come to a unanimous decision, except on one single point. The two proposed systems agree in transcribing by *ṛ* and *ḷ* (dot below) the *vowels* *r* and *l*.

M. de Saussure, so well qualified to speak as a linguist, has not seen his way to accept this; he would like his objections recorded in writing as follows:—

"It is desirable in the interests of Indo-European linguistic studies, and apart from all personal predilection, to adopt *r̥*, *l̥* instead of *ṛ*, *ḷ*, because in the analysis of every Indo-European language, including Sanskrit, the vowels *m̥*, *n̥* hold a place corresponding in every way to that of the vowels *r̥*, *l̥*; therefore, if one adopts *ṛ*, *ḷ* one forces linguists to write *ṃ*, *ṇ*, and consequently a confusion arises—for *ṃ* with certain notations of the anusvāra, for *ṇ* with the cerebral consonant *ṇ*."

The Sub-Committee cannot ignore the force of this reasoning; they are the less doubtful on this point inasmuch as, according to MM. Bühler and Windisch, the German Oriental Society had at first spontaneously inserted on their programme the transliteration *r̥* and *l̥* (with the circle). If, in spite of all, the Sub-Committee have not thought it right to propose the adoption of this amendment, it is for purely practical reasons.

The German Committee only arrived at the transliteration *ṛ*, *ḷ* (with the dot) after discussion and a direct vote. Would it be prudent to re-open the debate on a detail concerning which the German Commissioners have finally come to an agreement, without any preconcerted action, with the

English proposals? Would not this jeopardize at the outset the work which we hope to bring to a successful termination?

Besides, it seems very important for the extension of the system to become wide and general that it should offer to the eyes, even of the general public, only such signs as will not bewilder and alarm them, signs which are sufficiently familiar to all from their use in the ordinary alphabets, though employed in a different manner.

It is also very evident that a system of transliteration which cannot be followed without an effort could not meet the perfectly legitimate wants of linguists without many other alterations, which must, however, be relinquished, because the mere endeavour to introduce them would, in advance, condemn the attempt to the failure we should all regret.

I now come to the very few points in which, as the two schemes do not agree, we have had to make a choice. The German Oriental Society has not fixed upon any sign for the long vowel *l*; the method proposed by the London Society, *l* with two dots below it, seems to recommend itself. Regard to the convenience of printing does not allow the *l* to have the long mark over it; this want of symmetry with the *r̥*, *r̥̄* is of the less importance, as the long vowel *l* is more rarely used.

For the Sanskrit *e* and *o* it does not seem advisable to place the long mark over the letter; no confusion is possible. It seems preferable to reserve the use of the diacritical marks for the exceptional cases in which, either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit, one must mark the short *e* and *o*—*ĕ*, *ŏ*.

For the guttural *n* we propose *ṅ* (with a dot above). It really does not seem necessary in this case to introduce, as is proposed in the London scheme, a particular sign specially invented. The notation *ṅ* is widely used by Indian scholars in all countries, and as regards the objection put forward by the London Society against the placing of a diacritical mark above a consonant, it has weighed the less with us inasmuch as regarding the palatal *n* everyone

agrees to accept the form *ñ*. The sign *ṅ* is analogous to that of other nasal letters, and causes no surprise.

By a very singular *chassé-croisé* it is the English scheme which, for the "hissing-palatal" (English *sh*), proposes *ç*, and the German which recommends the sign *ś*, whereas the *ś* was first very generally used in English transliterations and the *ç* in Continental. This is, perhaps, for the very reason of this diffusion of the sign *ç*, the most delicate point which has to be decided. The Sub-Committee does not ignore the difficulty of modifying old-established customs, and the more serious risk of mistakes between three different *s*. In deciding, however, in favour of the transliteration *ś* it has been from no excessive striving after symmetry, but for three reasons which may be briefly indicated.

The first is well expressed in the report of the London Society. It wisely recommends the choice of such transliterations that where the diacritical marks shall be necessarily or accidentally omitted, the pronunciation should not be too much distorted for European ears. Although this principle cannot be always acted upon, it is well to observe it as far as possible. Secondly, much stress has been laid upon the disapproval which the sign *ç* would certainly meet with in India; the French custom has familiarized but few persons with this character; it would take by surprise the greater number of those interested. M. Bühler thinks that if an attempt were made, for example, to get the *Indian Antiquary* to agree to it, an invincible repugnance would be encountered. It is impossible not to recognize the gravity of this consideration.

The superiority of the sign *ś* as regards clearness and good typographical arrangement has no less impressed the Sub-Committee.

The scheme of the German Oriental Society transliterates by *ḷ* (with dot below) the cerebral *l*. Doubtless in practice no confusion can occur between the vowel *ḷ* and the cerebral *l*; it is, however, preferable to make a difference between the two, so that each letter of the Devanāgari alphabet may have its own corresponding transliteration. The *l*

with a line below it is perfectly suitable, as the London Society proposes, for the representation of the cerebral *l*. On the other hand, the transliteration of the anunāsika by *m̐*, in place of the simple sign ˜ placed over the vowel recommends itself at once by its symmetry with the notation *ṁ*, and by the advantage which it possesses of representing equally with all the other signs by a complete alphabetic character the phonetic value which it represents.

On these principles the transliteration alphabet would be constituted thus—

a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au
k kh g gh ṅ
c ch j jh ñ
ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ
t th d dh n
p ph b bh m
y r l v ś ṣ s h ḻ ṁ m̐
visarga *ḥ*
jihvāmūlīya *ḫ*
upadhmānīya *ḭ*

As regards accents, the udātta would be represented by the acute ´
the svarita by the circumflex ^
the anudātta by the grave `

Such are the modest conclusions, void of pretensions to systematic perfection, which the Sub-Committee have the honour to submit. They consider that only by means of very deliberate steps will it be possible to make real progress towards the amalgamation of the rival systems. The agreement of two such powerful associations as the German Oriental Society and the Royal Asiatic Society of London, whose concurrence under existing circumstances seems assured, cannot but be a powerful lever. There is also reason to hope that proposals so eclectic and free from ambitious designs will receive further very valuable adhesions.

EMILE SENART.

PROPOSALS

OF THE

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARABIC ALPHABET.

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1. The Committee agree upon the following:—

   ب *b* — ت *t* — ح *ḥ* — د *d* — ر *r* — ز *z* — س *s* —

   ص *ṣ* — ف *f* — ق *q* — ک *k* — ل *l* — م *m* — ن *n* —

   ه *h* — پ *p*.

2. For چ they recommend *j*, but will allow *dj* to be used as a substitute.

3. For ض *ḍ*, but allow *ẓ* in India.

4. For ط *ṭ* and for ظ *ẓ*. This is to avoid upsetting the Indian accepted system—elsewhere *ṭ* and *ẓ* will suffice.

5. For ي *y* whenever ي is a consonant. Whilst fully appreciating the reasons why German Orientalists have preferred *j*, the Committee feel obliged to adopt the character used throughout India and by English, French, and many other writers and scholars.

6. ا at the commencement of a word need not be transliterated, *hamzah* in the middle or at the end of a word to be represented by ' above the line.

7. For ع ' above the line (a comma reversed).

8. For چ ژ غ ش ذ خ ث

ṯ ḫ ḏ ṣ ǧ ẓ ċ

but agree that th kh dh sh gh zh ch may be used as substitutes for the above.

They consider that ṯ, ḫ, etc., are better than t́, ḣ, ṫ, ḣ, etc., or any others in which the mark is placed above the consonant, as in this position the mark may be taken for the accent of a vowel, the cross of a *t*, etc.

They will allow in India as substitutes for the above ث s̱ and ذ ẕ.

9. For و as a consonant *w*.

10. For گ in Persian, Hindustani, and Turkish *g*.

That in Turkish books for beginners, if it be thought necessary to mark when the ک is to be pronounced as *y*, the sign k̡ should be used.

11. The Turkish ڭ to be *ñ*.

12. That the Hindi and Pakshtū characters be represented thus—

ټ or ټ ṭ — ډ or ډ ḍ — ړ or ړ ṛ

څ ts̱ — ږ ġ — ڼ ṇ — ښ ksh

13. The ل of the article ال always to be transliterated *l*.

14. That the vowel-points be ـَ *a*, ـِ *i*, ـُ *u*.

The lengthened vowels ـَا *ā*, ـِي ī, ـُو ū. That *e* and *o* may be used in place of ī and ū in these languages in which it may be necessary. That ü and ö may be also used in Turkish, and ē and ō in Indian dialects.

That the so-called diphthongs ـَيْ and ـَوْ be *ay* and *aw*.

G. T. Plunkett.

ON THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRANSLITERATION

AT THE TENTH ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

The Report prepared by the Committee on Transliteration, and adopted by the Congress at Geneva, is published in this number of the Journal, those parts of it which are in French in the original being translated into English.

The conclusions arrived at are given in the form of two tables for the Sanskrit and the Arabic Alphabets respectively, and the Reports of the two Sub-Committees into which the Committee divided for work give in sufficient detail the reasoning which led to these results.

The Sub-Committees worked independently, and their Reports were not considered by the whole Committee till the final meeting on the last working day of the Congress, but it will be seen that with few exceptions both the Sanskrit and the Arabic sections have selected the same equivalents to represent similar sounds and corresponding letters in the two alphabets; further discussion in the same spirit which characterized the work of this Committee, and with a willingness to make compromises in order to arrive at a general agreement, may probably result in the elimination of those few anomalies. The question of spelling geographical names was discussed at the recent Sixth Geographical Congress in London this year, and the Congress invited all Geographical Societies to consider the question, and put forward their views and proposals for discussion at the next Congress; it will, therefore, be readily seen how important it is that Orientalists should, as far as possible, remove any stumbling-blocks to the general reader, and place themselves in a strong position

for impressing upon geographers the desirability of a scientific though necessarily simplified system for use on maps.

The principal divergence between the Sanskritists' and the Arabists' proposals is in the representation of the English sibilant *sh*. The Arabists propose to represent this and all the other aspirated (or so-called aspirated) consonants according to one system, and to use $\underset{<}{s}$, $\underset{<}{t}$, $\underset{<}{d}$, etc., as abbreviated forms of *sh*, *th*, *dh*, etc., or, if preferred, to use the latter, as is now customary in India; the Sanskritists, having one of these letters, viz. the *sh*, propose to represent it by *ṣ*, this being a sign which the Arabists reserve for the letter ص or palatal *s*, which does not exist in Sanskrit or in Indian dialects.

As regards vowel sounds, the Arabists allowed the long accents on the vowels *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, but the Sanskritists decided that these are unnecessary, and that it is better to mark the short vowels when required *ĕ*, *ŏ* instead of the long ones. The Arabists also proposed *ay* and *aw* for the two sounds which are represented by the Sanskritists by *ai* and *au*.

It appears to me that as regards the *ē* and *ō* it is for the Sanskritists to decide; that also on the question of *ai* and *au* or *ay* and *aw* the Arabists, though their proposal so far as the Arabic alphabet is concerned is the more logical, might give way, but that for the *sh* the $\underset{<}{s}$ or *sh* possesses decided advantages over the *ṣ*. Of course, there is no *principle* involved, it is simply a matter of *convenience*: the Arabists have seven letters represented in precisely the same way as *sh* or $\underset{<}{s}$; the < under a letter is more conspicuous than a simple dot; and lastly, while the geographers will almost certainly adopt *sh*, and may probably be persuaded to join the letters as *sh*, they are not likely to accept *ṣ*, $\underset{<}{s}$, or any letter which, when the diacritical mark is omitted, becomes a simple *s*, and it is perhaps easier to take *sh* or *sh* for a lengthened form of $\underset{<}{s}$ than for the simpler *ṣ*.

Should we arrive at an agreement upon these points, we shall be in a very strong position from which to argue the

question with the geographers and cartographers, and endeavour to induce them to adopt for place-names which have a recognized spelling a simple system of transliteration.

It is very satisfactory to know that the so-called phonetic method of spelling names having no fixed orthography which has been recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, is generally in harmony with the system of transliteration adopted at the Geneva Congress, but the geographers have, perhaps, somewhat ignored the difficulties attending any phonetic system. To the European ear two names may sound nearly alike, whilst to an Arab they are quite different, and confusion between them might be to geographers or travellers a source of serious trouble, just as Benfleet and Penfleet sound as quite different names to an Englishman, whilst an Arab can hear no difference between them. Again, the Geographical Society lays it down that the vowels are to have the same value as in Italian, ignoring the fact that both *e* and *o* have each two distinct sounds in that language, as in *seno* and *verme* and in *sono* and *suono*; no better rule, perhaps, can be laid down, but it must not be supposed that it can be in many cases anything more than a rough approximation to the sounds supposed to be represented.

In conclusion, the hope may be expressed that by the work done at Geneva real and very satisfactory progress has been made, and that we are very much nearer than we were a few years back to a general agreement as to the representation of non-European words.

G. T. Plunkett.

CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Aritṭhaka Stone.

In the Saṃyutta, vol. i, p. 104, it is said of Māra, the Evil One, that to frighten and so disturb the Blessed One, he appeared to him in the form of a gigantic elephant-king, with a head like a great Aritṭhaka gem, tusks as of pure silver, and a trunk like the pole of a plough.

The first simile, that of the gem or rare stone, is obscure. The particular stone is not mentioned elsewhere, and in the absence of the commentary it is not easy to ascertain what stone is meant. Prof. Windisch, in vol. xlix of the "Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," pp. 285, 286, has a most ingenious suggestion.

It is this. King Devānam-piya-Tissa of Ceylon had had, at his coronation, three gems (*maṇi*) brought to him from Malaya, the mountainous district in South Ceylon. These, with other things, he sent as a present to his friend Asoka at Pāṭaliputta. And as the head of the embassy he appointed his nephew Mahā Aritṭha, the son of his sister (Dīpavamsa, xi, 29, 31; xiv, 68). The glory of these gems, Prof. Windisch suggests, may have made so deep an impression in India that they became famous, and gave rise to the proverbial use in legend of the expression "*Mahā Aritṭha's gems*" as something specially wonderful. And this is what the author of our particular legend had in his mind. The elephant's head was like one of Mahā Aritṭha's gems.

The matter is of some importance: for, if this explanation be right, it would follow, of course, that (barring interpolation, which is here most unlikely) the legend itself, and probably the whole Saṃyutta, are, at least in their present shape, some time later than Asoka.

Now one would have thought that even if the stones had created so great an impression, they would have been called after the country which produced them, or the king who sent them, rather than after the minister who brought them over. And there is a greater difficulty still. Granting all the rest of the hypothesis, the simile does not hold. The three *maṇī* are described as *pabhissara-maṇī* (Dīp. xi, 30), and their names are given as Indasīla, Veḷuriya, and Lohitanka (sapphire, cat's-eye, and ruby: Mahā Vansa, p. 69). The author of the legend mentions only one. Which could he mean? No one of the three is like an elephant's head; and an elephant's head is not *pabhissara*, nor can it be compared to any brilliant gem. The other two similes are sound and natural. Is it not more probable that this simile was so also?

In that case the Ariṭṭhaka stone must be some stone like, either in colour or in texture, or in both, to the skin of a white elephant's head. The word Ariṭṭha is used in the Old Commentary on the 51st Pacittiya (last line) as the name of a drink mixture that was sometimes intoxicating, and sometimes unfermented. Was this of a dull grey yellowish white colour? It is also given in the dictionaries as the name of buttermilk, and of several plants, including the soap-tree (*Sapindus saponaria*) and garlic. In its sense of bringing luck, it might well be the name of certain rare forms of coloured rock, such as steatite or serpentine, which resemble in appearance the dirty grey white of a so-called "white" elephant's head. Soap-stone would fulfil these conditions, and in the description of an elephant the expression "with a head like a great mass of soap-stone" would be very much in place.

Literally translated, the expression would merely mean "the fateful stone." *Ariṭṭhakaṃ ñāṇam* at Sumangala Vilāsinī,

vol. i, p. 94, means knowledge of fate. That stones were harbingers of good and bad luck is well known in Indian folk-lore. There may well have been some such stone, whether soap-stone or opal or some other, with which a "white" elephant's forehead could properly be compared.

I regret I have no copy of the commentary to refer to. Perhaps M. Léon Feer would give us Buddhaghosa's opinion on the point. But in face of Professor Windisch's very beautiful combination, it seemed desirable to point out at once the considerations which naturally occur to one on the other side.

I may add that the pole of a plough (*īsā*) is constantly used as a simile in descriptions of elephants. See Mahā Vansa, x, 4. 7; Majjhima, i, 414; Vimāna Vatthu, xx, 8, and xliii, 9. M. Léon Feer, in his edition of the Saṃyutta (Pāli Text Society, 1884), has *nangala-sīsā*, but the correct reading is certainly *nangalīsā*, as given in the note from S^1 and S^3.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

2. The Semitic Origin of the Old Indian Alphabet.

Sir,—It is, I believe, admitted that some of the modern alphabets of India, including, of course, the Deva-nāgarī, are more or less derived from the Southern or Maurya alphabet of the Asoka inscriptions. It will also be apparent, on a comparison of the inscriptions and documents of different periods, that the Sinhalese and the ancient Maldive as well as the Kawi alphabets are derived from the same Asoka alphabet. The question, therefore, of the Semitic origin of this Southern Asoka alphabet, first mooted by Professor Weber, and so ably discussed by Professor Bühler in his recent essay on the subject,[1] is of general interest, irrespective of its great importance in palæographical researches. Besides, it is always a step in

[1] In Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-Historische Classe. Band cxxxii. V. *Indian Studies*, by George Bühler. No. 3: "On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet."

advance to ascertain to what extent the ancient Indians were indebted for their culture to Semitic races.

Amongst the many weighty arguments adduced by Prof. Bühler in support of the Semitic theory, he attaches great importance to the one founded on the inscription on Sir Alexander Cunningham's Eran coin, now in the British Museum. It is, so far as I know, the only inscription in the Southern alphabet yet discovered in India which reads from right to left. He considers it "the link which was wanted in order to complete the chain of arguments proving the Semitic origin of the Brāhma alphabet."[1]

In reference to this point I may be permitted to draw Prof. Bühler's attention to the additional evidence which can be gathered from ancient Ceylon inscriptions, many scores of which passed under my observation when I was on the Archæological Survey. The oldest of them are cut in pure *Brāhmī lipi*, the Southern Asoka alphabet. The characters often vary in type, and are in several instances inscribed reversedly, whilst some inscriptions have been discovered which actually read from right to left. Two such inscriptions have been published with tentative transcripts and translations—one by Mr. Bell in his valuable report on the Archæology of the Kegalle District,[2] and the other by Mr. Parker in the Ceylon Literary Register.[3] Mr. Bell, in discussing his inscription, mentions the existence of others like it in the Kegalle District. Mr. Parker, in his ingenious explanation of the "retroversion" of the letters in his inscription, says "it is the earliest instance of what is known in Ceylon as *Peralihasa*. It is impossible to exhibit the freaks of the carver in a bare transliteration. Some of the letters are reversed vertically, some laterally, while two syllables have the consonants transposed, and a few letters are correctly cut."[4]

[1] *l.c.*, p. 3.
[2] Ceylon Sessional Papers, xix, 1892, p. 69.
[3] Vol. ii, p. 408.
[4] I am indebted to Mr. D. W. Ferguson for drawing my attention to Mr. Parker's inscription.

This, I submit, can hardly be the true solution of the question. *Peralibasa* is not the reversion of letters so as to be read backwards from right to left. It is a way of speaking jocularly in a language obtained by the transposition of two accented syllables in a given expression, which may consist of one or more words,[1] as, for instance, Kolaṁba yanavā ('I go to Colombo')=Yalaṁba konavā. Ali baṁdinavā ('to tether elephants')=Bali aṁdinavā. Polvatte dev-meḍura ('the church at Polwatta')=Valpotte meṽ-dedura, etc.

As I have said, these are but two inscriptions out of several that have been found inscribed reversedly. Mr. Bell has noted that the one he published in his archæological report already referred to was "not the sole instance even in the Kegalle District." This oft-repeated peculiarity of so many inscriptions certainly cannot, I submit, be merely accidental or due to the ignorance of the inscribers; the more so, because of the important fact that the anomaly is to be met with only in the most ancient inscriptions, in the Southern Asoka character. I am not aware of any of a later date which read from right to left, or in which individual letters are reversedly cut. It is, therefore, but reasonable to suppose that they point to a stage when the Brāhma letters were still under Semitic influence, and were written and read both from right to left and *vice versâ*—a period earlier than that of Asoka's edicts, and possibly earlier even than that of the Eran coin, which Prof. Bühler assigns to a date "not very far distant from the middle of the third century B.C."

If, on closer inspection, the supposition I have put forward holds good, the inscriptions show the extent to which the art of writing had already spread in the third century B.C., and also go to corroborate the hitherto disputed statement in the Sinhalese annals regarding the intercourse between India and Ceylon before the introduction of

[1] *See* Mr. Goonetilleke's interesting article in the "Orientalist" of Jan. 1884 (vol. i, pt. 1), pp. 5–12.

Buddhism by Mahindo, the son of Asoka.[1] In the absence of facsimiles, however, it is not possible to discuss the inscriptions in detail; and I must, therefore, content myself for the present with calling attention to the new and valuable evidence which they seem to afford.

Let me conclude this note by mentioning the suggestion made to me by Prof. Rhys Davids, as to the possibility of the Indians having borrowed their Brāhma alphabet from the Sinhalese, who in turn may have got it from the Semitic people then trading in Ceylon, for Ceylon in those olden days is said to have been the centre of Eastern commerce.[2]—Yours faithfully,

DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE.

3. MAHUAN'S ACCOUNT OF BENGAL.

Netherclay House, Taunton,
Sept. 20th, 1895.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to offer a few remarks on Mr. Phillips's interesting article in the July number of the Journal on Mahuan's account of Bengal.

Cheh-ti-gan. This corresponds precisely to Chittagong (Chatgánw). At that place a traveller proceeding to the interior would transfer himself from a sea-going vessel to a country boat to go up the Meghna, just as the Chinese pilgrim describes. The distance, 166 miles to Sonargáon, is also very nearly correct. Sonārgáon, however, is not "Suvarna-gramma, or Golden Town," but Suvarnakāra-grāma, or Goldsmith's Village. The site is not unknown, as Mr. Phillips supposes. It is on the Meghna, about twelve miles east of Dacca. A very interesting account of the ruins and remains at this place by Dr. Wise will be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xliii, p. 82.

[1] *See* Mr. Parker's interesting Report on Archæological Discoveries at Tissa-mahārāma (Journal Ceylon Branch of the Roy. As. Soc., vol. viii, pt. 1, pp. 70–75), where he has arrived at the same conclusions as I have done here.

[2] *See* "Ceylon," by Sir James E. Tennent, vol. i, pp. 571, etc. (Ceylon as known to the Phœnicians).

The Chinese traveller notes that the "Kingdom of Bengala" is thirty-five stages, or 105 miles, south-west from Sonárgáon. This distance and direction bring us, as the crow flies, to the eastern boundary of the Sarkár, or fiscal division, of Sátgáon, and forty miles further in the same line is the site of the famous ancient city of Sátgáon, which if not precisely the capital of Bengal was the residence of one of the provincial governors, and the largest and most important commercial town and trading port in the country. Sátgáon is, I think, beyond doubt the place meant by Mahuan. He is, of course, mistaken in asserting that the people were all Muhammadans, though the officials and leading men were so.

The Tang-ka is the ordinary silver coin now more generally known as the rupee. The Bengalis, however, still use the term *ṭaṅká* or *ṭáká* for rupee.

As to the cotton fabrics, it is difficult to decide what is meant by *Man-chê-ti* and *Hin-pei-tung-tali*. *Pi-chih* can hardly be for Betteela, as this, according to Yule's glossary, is a Portuguese word, Beatilha="a nun's veil," and Mahuan visited India before the Portuguese came there. If, as appears from Mr. Phillips's note, the *ch* is a transliteration of *t* or *ti*, I would suggest the Bengali and Hindustani *buṭi*, or in full *buṭidár*, the name of muslin with flowers worked on it.

Sha-na-keih is apparently the material known to Europeans in the sixteenth century as 'sanes' or 'sahnes,' Persian صحن *ṣahn* (see J.A.S.B., vol. xlii, p. 216). A great deal of it was made at Balasore in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a white cotton cloth of rather coarse texture.

Sha-ta-urh seems to be correctly identified with *Chautár*, and *Mo-hei-mo-leh* with *malmal*, perhaps the *malmali shāhī* or royal muslin made at Dacca.

The word *Kân-siao-su-lu-nai* is given as the name of a class of musicians. I know of no class or caste of musicians so called in any part of Bengal, but I would suggest that

we have here two words indicative of musical instruments. *Su-lu-nai* seems to be the Persian سُرنای *surnái* 'a flute or pipe,' a word in common use in Bengal; and if the Chinese syllables can be so transliterated, the former part of the word would be *khanjari*, the Bengali name for a tambourine. Thus the combined word would be *khanjari-surnái*, or 'tambourine and pipe,' which corresponds to the description of the instruments used. It is noteworthy also that these are the actual instruments used by the musicians in Bengal in the present day (see Dr. Wise's "Notes on Dacca," p. 253).

As to the identification of Gai-ya-szu-ting with Ghiyás-uddin, the Chinese date seems to be wrong, as there are no coins or inscriptions of this king later than A.H. 799, corresponding to A.D. 1396. But the other king may, perhaps, be identified as follows: In A.D. 1415 (=A.H. 817–818) Jaláluddin was king, but his reign did not commence till A.H. 818, the end of March, 1415. In the former part of the year 1415 his father, the Hindu Raja Káns, was apparently still alive. Might it not, therefore, be possible that the Chinese historian has mixed up the two, and made out of Káns and Jaláluddin a joint name, Káns uddin, which he represents by Kien-hut-ding. A Chinese would not be aware of the incongruity of a mixed Hindu and Musulman name. Though Lane-Poole, adopting the modern Arabic custom, writes Ghiyás *ad*-din and Jalál *ad*-din; in India, where Arabic is only known as an ancient classical tongue, the final *u* of Arabic nominatives is still retained in proper names, and we still say Jalál*u*ddin (*i.e.* Jalálu 'd-din), Munír*u*ddin, Ghiyás*u*ddin, not *ad.*—Yours truly,

JOHN BEAMES.

4. EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES IN MYSORE.

The following is taken from *The Academy* of Sept. 21st:—

Vienna, Sept. 3rd, 1895.

Mr. L. Rice, C.I.E., the director of the Archæological Department in Mysore, who, two years ago, discovered the

Aśoka Edicts of Siddâpur, has again made three most valuable finds. He has kindly forwarded to me photographs and transcripts of his new inscriptions; and, with his permission, I give a preliminary notice of their contents, which, indeed, possess a great interest for all students of Indian antiquities.

The best preserved among the three documents is a long metrical Sanskrit Praśasti or Eulogy on the excavation of a tank near an ancient Śaiva temple at Sthâna-Kundûra, begun by the Kadamba king Kâkusthavarman, and completed in the reign of his son Sântivarman. The author of the poem, which is written in the highest Kâvya style, was a Śaiva poet called Kubja, who, as he tells us, transferred his composition to the stone with his own hands. He devotes nearly the whole of his work to an account of the early Kadamba kings, regarding whom hitherto little was known except from their land grants, published by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*. Like the land grants, the Praśasti states that the Kadambas were a Brahminical family, belonging to the Mânavya Gotra and descended from Hâritîputra. But it adds that they derived their name from a Kadamba tree which grew near their home. In this family, Kubja goes on, was born one Mayûraśarman, who went to Kâñchî in order to study, and there was involved in a quarrel with its Pallava rulers. He took up arms against them, and after a prolonged and severe struggle he became the ruler of a territory between the Amarâr*ṇ*ava and Premâra. Mayûraśarman left his possessions to his son Kaṅga, who adopted instead of the Brahminical termination *śarman* of his father's name, that which distinguishes the Kshatriyas, and was called Kaṅgavarman. Next followed Kaṅga's son Bhagîratha, who had two sons—Raghu and Kâkusthavarman. Both became successively rulers of the Kadamba territory; and Kâkustha's successor was his son Śântivarman, during whose reign Kubja composed his poem, while residing in an excellent village (*varaśâsana*) granted by that king. The last two kings are known through Dr. Fleet's Kadamba land grants,

but the names of their predecessors appear for the first time in Mr. Rice's Praśasti. New also is the account of the manner in which this branch of the Kadambas rose to power. It seems perfectly credible, since Brahminical rebellions and successful usurpations have occurred more than once in the Dekhan both in ancient and in modern times. The change of the termination in Kaṅgavarman's name, and the adoption of the names of mythical warriors by his descendants, may be due to a marriage of the Brahman Mayûra with the daughter of a chief or king belonging to the Solar race, whereby his son and his offspring would become members of the Kshatriya caste. The inscriptions show that such alliances were by no means uncommon in ancient times.

Incidentally, the Praśasti mentions besides the Pallavas two other royal races: "the great Bâṇas," on whom Mayûraśarman is said to have levied tribute; and, what is of much greater interest, the Guptas, whom Kâkusthavarman is said to have assisted by his advice. The verse referring to the Guptas occurs in line 8 of the Praśasti, and I give its translation in full:—

"That sun among princes (*Kâkustha*) awakened by the rays of his daughter (*Sâvitrî-Sarasvatî* 'personified intelligence'), the glorious races of the Guptas and other kings, that may be likened to lotus-beds, since their affection, regard, love, and respect resemble the filaments [of the flower], and since many princes attend them, like bees [eager for honey]."

The Guptas, who were attended by many princes, hungering for their gifts as the bees seek the honey of the lotus, are, of course, the Imperial Guptas; and the Gupta king whom Kâkusthavarman "awakened by the rays of his intelligence" is in all probability Samudragupta. As far as is known at present, he was the only Gupta who extended his conquests to the Dekhan. His court-poet, Hariseṇa, alleges in the Allahabad Praśasti that Samudragupta imprisoned and afterwards liberated "all the princes of the Dekhan," and mentions twelve among them by name.

Samudragupta's reign came to an end sometime before 400 A.D. Hence Kâkusthavarman, too, would seem to have ruled in the second half of the fourth century, and Mr. Rice's new inscription probably belongs to the beginning of the fifth. Its characters exactly resemble those of Kâkusthavarman's copper-plates, which Dr. Fleet long ago assigned to the fifth century on palæographical grounds. The two estimates thus agree very closely, and mutually support each other.

In addition to these valuable results, Mr. Rice's new inscription furnishes an interesting contribution to the religious history of Southern India. As all the land grants of the early Kadambas are made in favour of Jaina ascetics or temples, and as they begin with an invocation of the Arhat, it has been held hitherto that these kings had adopted the Jaina creed. Kubja's Praśasti makes this doubtful, and shows at all events that they patronized also Brahmans and a Śaiva place of worship. An incidental remark in the concluding verses, which describe the temple of Sthâna-Kundûra, proves further that Śaivism was in the fifth century by no means a new importation in Southern India. Kubja mentions Sâtakarṇi as the first among the benefactors of the Śaiva temple. This name carries us back to the times of the Andhras, and indicates that Śaivism flourished in Southern India during the first centuries of our era.

Mr. Rice's two other finds are older than the Praśasti, and possess, in spite of their defective preservation, very considerable interest. They are found on the one and the same stone pillar, and show nearly the same characters, which are closely allied to those of the latest Andhra inscriptions at Nasik and Amarâvatî. The upper one, which is also the older one, contains an edict in Prakrit of the Pâli type, by which the Mahârâja Hâritîputta Sâtaka*nni*, the joy of the Vi*n*hukada*d*u*t*u family, assigns certain villages to a Brahman. This Sâtaka*nni* is already known through a short votive inscription, found by Dr. Burgess at Banavâsi, which records the gift of the image of a Nâga,

a tank, and a Buddhist Vihâra by the Mahârâja's daughter. The new document, which contains also an invocation of a deity, called Ma*tta*pa*tti*deva, probably a local form of Śiva, teaches us that Sâtaka*nni* was the king of Banavâsi; and it furnishes further proof for the early prevalence of Brahmanism in Mysore. It certainly must be assigned to the second half of the second century of our era. For the palæographist it possesses a great interest, as it is the first Pâli document found in which the double consonants are not expressed by single ones, but throughout are written in full. Even Hâritîputta Sâtaka*nni*'s Banavâsi inscription shows the defective spelling of the clerks.

The second inscription on this pillar, which immediately follows the first, and, to judge from the characters, cannot be much later, likewise contains a Brahminical land grant, issued by a Kadamba king of Banavâsi, whose name is probably lost. Its language is Mahârâsh*ṭ*rî Prakrit, similar to that of the Pallava land grant published in the first volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and Sanskrit in the final benediction. It furnishes additional proof that, at least in Southern India, the Mahârâsh*ṭ*rî became temporarily the official language, after the Prakrit of the Pâli type went out and before the Sanskrit came in. This period seems to fall in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

The numerous and various points of interest which the new epigraphic discoveries in Mysore offer, entitle Mr. Rice to the hearty congratulations of all Sanskritists, and to their warm thanks for the ability and indefatigable zeal with which he continues the archæological explorations in the province confided to his care. To the expression of these sentiments I would add the hope that he may move the Mysore Government to undertake excavations at Sthâna-Kundûra, or other promising ancient sites, which no doubt will yield further important results.

G. Bühler.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1895.)

I. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band xxix, Heft 2.

Philippi (F.). Das Alifu'l Waṣli.

Goldziher (I.). Ueber umschreibende Zahlenbezeichnung im Arabischen.

Jacobi (H.). Der vedische Kalender und das Alter des Veda.

Seybold (C. F.). Sujūṭi's al Munà fi'l kunà.

Steinschneider (M.). Arabische Lapidarien.

Huth (G.). Nachträgliche Ergebnisse bezügl. der chronologischen Ansetzung der Werke im tibetischen Tanjur, Abtheilung mDo (Sūtra). Bd. 117–124.

Windisch (E.). Mahā-Ariṭṭha.

Hillebrandt (A.). Zu Oldenberg's Religion des Veda.

Nöldeke (Th.). Einige Bemerkungen über das Werk Ǧamharat aš'ār al 'Arab.

Socin (A.) and Stumme (H.). Nachträgliches zum arabischen Piūṭ.

Fraenkel (S.). Zu Aus b. Ḥágar.

Hartmann (M.). Der Naǧašī Aṣhama und sein Sohn Armā.

2. Journal Asiatique. N.S. Tome v, No. 2.

Sauvaire (H.). Description de Damas (suite).

Durand (A.). Le pronom en égyptien et dans les langues sémitiques.

Carra de Vaux (M. le Baron). L'astrolabe linéaire ou bâton d'Et-Tousi.

II. Obituary Notices.

Professor von Roth.—Sanskrit learning has suffered a severe loss by the death of Prof. Roth, the leading Vedic scholar of Germany. Only a year ago we had to record in the pages of this Journal the decease of one of his most distinguished pupils, Prof. W. D. Whitney, the chief of the Vedists of America. Both these great scholars were honorary members of this Society.

Rudolf Roth died on the 23rd of June at Tübingen, having been one of the teaching staff of that University for exactly half a century. He was born at Stuttgart on April 3rd, 1821. Matriculating at Tübingen, he passed through the regular course of Protestant theology. Subsequently he, for a time, held a curacy (*vicariat*) somewhere in Württemberg. At Tübingen Roth turned his attention to Oriental studies under the guidance of Heinrich Ewald, who, though famous as the greatest Semitic scholar of the century, was also a Sanskritist in the earlier part of his career. The eminent comparative philologist, August Schleicher, born in the same year as Roth, was a pupil of Ewald at the same time. After taking his degree of Ph.D., Roth repaired to Paris. Here he came under the stimulating influence of the great French Orientalist, Eugène Burnouf, who was not merely the only scholar at that time possessing a comprehensive acquaintance with Vedic literature, but an eminent pioneer in Avestic research. Another distinguished pupil of those days who owed much to the teaching of Burnouf was Prof. Max Müller. From

Paris Roth came over to England, where, at the East India House and the Bodleian, he devoted himself to the examination and copying of Vedic MSS. Returning to Tübingen in 1845, he settled there as *Privatdocent* for Oriental Philology. In the following year he published a small volume containing three treatises on the Literature and History of the Veda. This was an epoch-making work, and became the starting-point of Vedic research. The information here given by Roth is almost entirely based on his study of MS. material, for till then the only portion of Vedic literature published was the first eighth of the Rigveda, edited a few years before by Rosen; and the only account of the Vedas was the essay published in 1805 by Colebrooke, the true pioneer of Sanskrit philology. In 1848 Roth became extraordinary professor. In 1856 he was promoted to an ordinary professorship, being at the same time appointed chief of the University library. He already bore among Orientalists a distinguished name, which spread the fame of Tübingen to every country where the ancient language and literature of India is studied. He had, in 1852, published, with valuable elucidations, an edition of Yāska's *Nirukta*, the most ancient Vedic commentary in existence, dating perhaps from the fifth century B.C.

The first volume of the great work with which Roth's name will ever be associated had appeared in 1855. This was the large Sanskrit Dictionary printed under the auspices of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. The seventh and last volume was not completed till 1875, about a quarter of a century after the work was first taken in hand. The responsibility for the classical Sanskrit portion of the dictionary was assumed by Dr. Böhtlingk, who, from his vast knowledge of the literature of the post-Vedic period, was better qualified for the work than any other scholar of the time. Roth undertook the task of dealing with the Vedic period. His share not only forms the most important and valuable contribution hitherto made towards solving the great difficulties of Vedic interpretation, but

is also the foundation on which nearly all subsequent researches on the language, institutions, religion, and mythology of the Veda are based. Roth is, therefore, to be regarded as the real founder of Vedic philology. Nearly half his life as a scholar was devoted to the dictionary. It must be remembered that Roth was the first—excepting Benfey in his glossary to the Sāma Veda (1848)—to handle the lexicography of the Veda. Only those who have some acquaintance with the subject can adequately appreciate the amount of time and labour Roth must have spent in indexing, in comparing parallel passages to ascertain meanings, and in arranging the material logically and historically.

No man could have been better qualified, both by natural gifts and by preparation, for an undertaking of such magnitude. In him imaginative power was combined with intellectual clearness, keenness, and penetration, as well as controlled by accuracy of scientific method, to a degree perhaps never surpassed among scholars. Conscious that his own share in the great dictionary was the work of a pioneer, Roth anticipated that it would soon become antiquated. Comparatively little, however, of the results at which he arrived have been upset by the criticism and research of younger scholars. There can be no more striking evidence of his genius than this. May later generations never be forgetful of the debt which Vedic scholarship owes to the labours of one of the greatest of the many great scholars Germany has produced!

In the year following the completion of the first volume of the lexicon, Roth brought out his edition of the Atharva Veda in collaboration with his former pupil, the late Prof. Whitney, who, as well as Prof. Albrecht Weber, contributed much valuable material to the dictionary.

Of Roth's minor works it is here perhaps only necessary to mention his catalogue of the Indian MSS. in the University Library of Tübingen (1865), his treatise on the Atharva Veda in Kashmir (1875), and his metrical translations of typical Vedic hymns in association with his

two pupils, Geldner and Kaegi, in *Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda* (1875). He contributed many important and valuable articles to various journals, especially that of the German Oriental Society. These articles deal chiefly with the religion, mythology, textual criticism, and interpretation of the Veda. The most noteworthy of them treat of Brahma and the Brahmans (ZDMG., vol. i, pp. 66–86), the highest gods of the Aryan nations (vi, pp. 67–77), Soma (xxxv, pp. 680–92), the habitat of the Soma plant (xxxviii, pp. 134–9), the myth of Soma and the eagle (xxxvi, pp. 353–60), learned tradition in antiquity, especially in India (xxi, pp. 1–9), the Pada and Saṃhitā text of the Rigveda (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi, pp. 45–68), the orthography of the Veda (ZDMG., xlviii, pp. 101–19 and 676–84), the shortening of the ends of words in the Veda (Trans. Seventh Oriental Congress, Aryan section, pp. 1–10), Indian fire implements (ZDMG., xliii, 590–5).

Clearness, directness, and conciseness were characteristic of all that he wrote. Hardly any of his articles exceed twenty pages in length, many of them being considerably shorter. Most other scholars would have devoted twice the space to the treatment of the same questions without gaining anything in matter or lucidity.

The one department outside the range of Vedic studies which particularly interested Roth, was medicine. Hence the medical articles in the great dictionary are from his pen. He also wrote on Indian medicine as represented by Caraka in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (vol. xxvi); and his last contribution to that journal, published this year, is a notice of an Indian edition of the well-known medical writer Vāgbhaṭa.

Roth occasionally lectured on the Avesta; and various distinguished Zend scholars, such as Geldner and Mills, have been his pupils. He wrote several articles on Avestan subjects for the Journal of the German Oriental Society. The most important of these deal with the legend of Feridun in India and Iran (vol. ii, pp. 216–30), the legend of Jemshid, the Vedic god of the dead, Yama, being

compared with Yima (iv, pp. 417–33), contributions to the interpretation of the Avesta (xxv, pp. 1–21 and 215–31), the calendar of the Avesta and the so-called Gahanbār (xxxiv, pp. 698–720), and the souls of the middle region in Parseeism (xxxvii, pp. 223–9).

In addition to all his other University work, Roth was in the habit of giving a course of lectures every alternate year on the history of religions, to large and appreciative audiences of theological students.

In accordance with the excellent German custom, the jubilee of Roth's degree was celebrated two years ago by the publication in his honour of a *Festgruss*, containing contributions on Oriental subjects from forty-four scholars. The list of contributors contains the names of nearly all the leading Sanskritists of several countries. Most of them were his former pupils: indeed, hardly any other Orientalist can have had a larger number of distinguished scholars among his disciples. Among his pupils, besides those already referred to, may be mentioned Professors E. Kuhn, of Munich; H. Zimmer, of Greifswald; L. v. Schroeder, of Innsbruck; R. Garbe, of Königsberg; R. Lanman, of Harvard; the late Martin Haug, of Munich; and Dr. M. A. Stein, of Lahore. About eight years ago Roth numbered among the members of his Vedic class an old gentleman upwards of sixty years of age. Having been one of the professor's earliest pupils, he had returned to Tübingen to continue his Oriental studies under his former teacher after an intermission of forty years. This is probably a unique experience among professors of Sanskrit.

Professor Roth was ennobled by the late King of Württemberg, in recognition of his great services to Oriental scholarship. Many academies and societies esteemed it an honour to count him among their members. Edinburgh, however, seems to have been the only foreign university which conferred upon him an honorary degree. But a scholar like Roth could well dispense with distinctions of this kind, nor was he the man to attribute much weight to them. Though he received various honourable calls to

other seats of learning, he refused them all, attaching, like all true scholars, little importance to pecuniary advantage, and preferring to live and die at his old university in his beautiful native land of Swabia, the birthplace of so many famous men of Germany.

ARTHUR A. MACDONELL.

Sir Thomas Francis Wade, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., etc.—It is some twenty-five years ago that I first met Sir—he was then Mr.—Thomas Wade: he had come down to Shanghaï from Peking, where he was Chargé d'Affaires, and was staying on business at the British Consulate. I was then Honorary Librarian of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and I went to see him to get some information about his own publications. This information was given to me with the graceful, though dignified, manner which was one of the characteristics of Mr. Wade, whether walking in the dust of Peking or in the fog of Lower Berkeley Street. When I last heard of him he had just been the President of your learned Society, and was the bearer of the agreeable tidings that I had been appointed one of your honorary members in the place of my illustrious friend Ernest Renan.

Wade began life as a soldier, being the eldest son of a soldier, Colonel Thomas Wade, C.B. The exact date of his birth I never could ascertain, but it was somewhere about 1818. After being educated at Harrow, he entered the Army in 1838, as ensign in the 81st Foot. The Opium War, during which he took an active part as an officer in the 42nd Highlanders and the 98th Foot, was his first opportunity to learn Chinese. The cession of Hongkong to Great Britain by the Treaty of Nanking (1842) offered young Wade a new field of action, when he was appointed an interpreter to the garrison of the island. He retired from the military service as a lieutenant in the 98th Foot only in 1847, when made an Assistant Chinese Secretary. Wade had once more occasion to resume his profession as a soldier when the Imperial troops were, in April, 1854,

surrounding the foreign settlement of Shanghaï, behaving like, if not worse than, the T'aï-ping rebels in the native city, threatening to loot the property and to destroy the lives of the Western Devils who were inhabiting the "Muddy Flat" bordering on the Hwang-poo River. Foreign residents, officers and sailors from H.M.'s ships *Encounter* and *Grecian*, from the U.S. sloop *Plymouth*, as well as from the merchantmen in harbour, stormed, on the 4th of April, the camp of the Chinese troops; and Mr. Wade took in a gallant manner his part in a severe fight which cleared Shanghaï from unpleasant neighbours, but cost the small European community two killed and sixteen wounded.

Mr. Wade had left Hongkong in 1852, being appointed Vice-Consul at Shanghaï. The T'aï-ping had taken the native city on the 7th September, 1853: the three chief Consuls, with the agreement of the Chinese authorities, made arrangements in June, 1854, for a set of Custom House rules, which were to be carried out by three intendants—Mr. Wade for the British, Mr. L. Carr for the Americans, and M. Arthur Smith for the French. In fact, shortly after Wade gave up the position to Horatio Nelson Lay, predecessor of Sir Robert Hart, as Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hongkong, then sent Wade on a special mission to Cochin-China. The two embassies of Lord Elgin, and the two wars with China which were brought to an end by the convention of peace signed at Peking on the 3rd of October, 1860, were new opportunities to utilize Wade's knowledge of the Chinese language. I may say that from this time is beginning the curious parallelism between the careers of Wade and Parkes, who were destined to occupy, both of them, the post of Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking.

The writer of the obituary published in *The Times* (weekly edition, August 9, 1895) rightly says: "A full biography of Sir Thomas Wade would be at the same time a history of our diplomatic relations with China during a period of forty years, for in all our important dealings with the

Chinese Government during that time he played a by no means insignificant part. The only other Englishman, perhaps, who had anything like the same experience, and who displayed similar remarkable qualities in the bewildering world of Chinese politics, was his friend and colleague Sir Harry Parkes, who died ten years ago at the comparatively early age of 57. Both had a remarkable power of making themselves thoroughly acquainted with the Chinese language, Chinese character, Chinese ways, and especially Chinese trickery, and both were thereby able to render very valuable services to their own Government. But in natural character and tendencies they were very different. Wade was more a man of study, and Parkes more a man of action; and when the two were working together in a subordinate capacity, the former naturally did most of the correspondence and the latter more of the interviewing and the outdoor work, though it must be admitted that each could play the *rôle* of the other when any such necessity arose, and on many occasions the studious Wade showed that in activity and daring he could hardly be surpassed by Parkes himself. The two men differed also in their modes in dealing with the Chinese. Parkes was naturally inclined to be authoritative and domineering, whilst Wade was generally disposed to temper his tenacity with patience and conciliation. Yet the two men, though they were in a certain sense rivals and often crossed each other's path, never displayed any unworthy jealousy of each other. In one of his early letters Parkes writes: 'Wade and myself share a tent: he is a right good fellow, is Wade.' That familiar phrase indicates briefly, but graphically, the relations which existed between them, and it will be cordially re-echoed by many who knew Sir Thomas Wade personally and who now mourn his loss."

When Sir Harry Parkes was, on the 13th July, 1883, appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of China, and Chief Superintendent of Trade, Wade wrote to him from England: "You start fair-fairer than most men in one respect—you have

the full confidence of the community," adding, "You know the country and people better than anyone alive . . . May you have strength to endure." [1]

In 1861 Wade was made a C.B., and appointed (1862) subsequently to the most important position of Chinese Secretary and Translator to the British Legation in China, which some years later was filled by the remarkable sinologue William Frederick Mayers, cut short in the prime of life. During the absence of Sir Frederick Bruce and of Sir Rutherford Alcock, Wade acted as Chargé d'Affaires from June, 1864, to November, 1865, and from November, 1869, to July, 1871, when he was at last appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China. In the meantime he married (1868) Amelia, daughter of Sir John Herschel. Certainly the culminating point of Wade's career was the Convention signed at Chefoo, 13th September, 1876, for the settlement of the Yun-nan outrage, that is to say the unwonted attack on Col. Horace Browne's special mission from Burmah and the murder of the interpreter, Augustus Raymond Margary.

The British community in China did not at the time render full justice to the exertions of the distinguished diplomate, both at Peking and in London, when he returned home. Foreigners are greatly inclined in the Far East to believe that the whole world has only to think of the problems concerning their own interests; they forget too often that the Legation is but an instrument of the home authorities, which have to study, not one point, but to survey the imperial policy at large. Wade was in these days very strongly attacked by the Press in China, but Mr. Disraeli, a good judge in the matter, never failed to speak in Parliament in the highest terms of the

[1] "The Life of Sir Harry Parkes" . . . By Stanley Lane-Poole. London, 1894, ii, p. 364.

representative of Great Britain at the capital of the Celestial Empire.

Wade had been appointed a K.C.B. in November, 1875, and he was made G.C.M.G. in 1889. Six years before (1883) he had retired on a well-earned pension.

During his sojourn in China, Wade had gathered a very extensive collection of valuable Chinese books, which was only rivalled by Wylie's rare library at Shanghaï. This collection he gave to the University of Cambridge, where he received in 1886 the honorary degree of D.Litt., and was nominated in 1888 the first Professor of Chinese. For some months past Sir Thomas was ailing at his house, 5, Salisbury Villas, Cambridge, and there he slept his last this summer, on Wednesday, 31st July.

As a Chinese scholar, Wade is known by his method to learn the Chinese language. He first began his series of contributions by the *Hsin Ching Lu*,[1] published at Hongkong in 1859, followed up by the progressive course called the *Tzu-erh Chi*[2]: this latter book has been universally used both at the British Legation and in the Customs service; it has done more to diffuse the Peking dialect than any other book, and though I have the strongest objection to the use of this dialect in preference to the language spoken at Nanking, it has nevertheless greatly contributed to the knowledge of Chinese at large. It has been found necessary to give a new edition of the *Tzu-erh Chi*, which was published in 1886, at Shanghaï, at the expense of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs.[3]

Though chiefly known by this work, Sir Thomas Wade

[1] The *Hsin Ching Lu*, or "Book of Experiments," being the first of a series of contributions to the study of Chinese. Hongkong, 1859. fol.

[2] *Yü-yen Tzu-erh Chi*. A progressive course designed to assist the student of colloquial Chinese, as spoken in the Capital and the Metropolitan department. In eight parts. London, 1867. fol. Cf. *Bib. Sinica*.

[3] *Yü-yen Tzŭ-êrh Chi*. A progressive course designed to assist the student of colloquial Chinese, as spoken in the Capital and the Metropolitan department. In three volumes. Second edition. Prepared by Thomas Francis Wade and Walter Caine Hillier. Shanghaï, 1886. 4to.

has written some other valuable papers (one among others on the Chinese Army[1]), of which I give a list at foot.[2]

HENRI CORDIER.

III. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HAND-BOOK OF COLLOQUIAL TIBETAN. A Practical Guide to the Language of Central Tibet. In Three Parts. By GRAHAM SANDBERG, B.A. Calcutta, 1894.

Mr. Sandberg announces in the preface of this interesting volume that it "is designed to afford a complete guide to the Vernacular of Tibet Proper," and that "it is the *lingua franca* of the Tibetan Empire which has been analysed and codified in this Hand-book; not the dialectic forms spoken in corners of the country, as in L'adak, Lahul, and Sikkim, but the general Vernacular current in the heart of the land, and which will carry the traveller from west to east and from north-east to south."

The first part of the Hand-book (pp. 9–127) is devoted to the grammar of this Tibetan *lingua franca*. It is beyond the purpose of this review to examine in detail this subject, which is not, however, quite so new as the author leads one to believe. "Up to the present date," he says in his preface, "no grammar of the colloquial language has been placed before the public. Jaeschke, indeed, in his learned works, has fully dissected the old classical language."

[1] The Army of the Chinese Empire: its two great divisions, the Bannermen or National Guard and the Green Standard or Provincial Troops; their organization, locations, pay, condition, etc. (*Chinese Repository*, xx, May and June, 1851.)

[2] Note on the condition and government of the Chinese Empire in 1849. Hongkong, 1850. 8vo.

Chinese Currency and Revenue, being a memorial from Ch'u-tsun to His Majesty, together with a report thereon from the Board of Revenue. Translated from the *Peking Gazette*. (*Chinese Repository*, 1847, xvi, pp. 273–293.)

Memorial regarding the Currency and Revenue by Ngôh-shun-ngan as the subject was brought under his notice by order from the Board of Revenue. (*Ibid.*, pp. 293–97.)

Japan, a chapter from the Hai Kuo Tu Chih, or illustrated notices of Countries beyond the Seas. (*Ibid.*, 1850, xix, pp. 135, 206.)

Letter on Mr. Bruce's Mission. China, 15th August, 1859. Pamph. 8vo.

Mr. Sandberg overlooks the two works on colloquial Tibetan published by Mr. Jaeschke, the lithographed grammar issued in 1865 from the Mission Press of Kyelang, and the Tibetan grammar of 1883, published in Trübner and Co.'s Collection of Simplified Grammars of the principal Asiatic and European Languages. These works, though perhaps not as complete as the present one, and more specially devoted to Western Tibetan speech, are extremely valuable for a knowledge of any kind of colloquial Tibetan.

It is quite true that, these two books excepted, all other grammars of the Tibetan language, written by foreigners, whether Csoma, Schmidt, or Foucaux, are devoted solely to the classical language, which was very probably, I might say certainly, never spoken in the country, and is only a servile translation of Indian Buddhist languages into Tibetan.

The system adopted by Mr. Sandberg for the transliteration of Tibetan sounds is practically that of Jaeschke, and of Major Lewin in his "Manual of Tibetan." It is to my mind open to grave objections, for I believe in either the use of the native character or in a purely phonetic transcription, but as the author thinks (p. 369) my own method "most extraordinary," the less, perhaps, I say on the subject the better. I cannot, however, pass over what he there says about a Tibetan syllabary giving the pronunciation of Lh'asa, Bat'ang, and the Ts'arong (the two latter districts in Eastern Tibet), published in my "Land of the Lamas" (pp. 368–370), and which he thinks was given me by some Tibetan-speaking Mongol, and is "fanciful" in the extreme. As a matter of fact, these sounds were given me by a highly educated Tibetan from Lh'asa, who, in 1889, was Secretary to the native King of Chala, then living at Ta-chien-lu, and were written down by me with the greatest care in the presence of Monseigneur Felix Biet and several fathers of the Catholic Mission of Tibet, all of whom spoke Tibetan with great fluency, and who controlled each of my phonetic transcriptions.

As for my own knowledge of Tibetan, it was gained during seven years of nearly continuous intercourse with people of all classes of society, from high lamas and officials to shepherds and beggars, and from Amdo to Nyach'uk'a, from Jyadé to Ta-chien-lu. For four years of this time I studied at Peking under a lama born within fifteen miles of Lh'asa, and who had come to Peking for the first time a year before I met him. I have conversed month after month with Lh'asans, and they have all said that my pronunciation approximated more closely their own than that of any other part of the country, and not infrequently they wondered, not knowing where I had learnt it, at my having been able to stay long enough in their country to acquire it. Such Tibetan as I can speak is essentially a *lingua franca*, what the Chinese call *tsa hua*, and though it may differ somewhat from Mr. Sandberg's, I have always been able to make myself understood with it throughout the country. So much for myself and for the value of my opinion. I advance it, however, with all due deference for the learned author's views, and with no desire to appear either hypercritical or dogmatic; we are both probably right as far as we go.

It is impossible here to enter into the vexed question of tones, but I think that it is wrong to compare, as does Mr. Sandberg (p. 13), Burmese and Tibetan tones with those of the Chinese language; in fact, I would like to see no mention of tones in Tibetan—they have been made the bugbear of Chinese, and there is absolutely no reason for introducing them here, for colloquial Tibetan, and also colloquial Chinese to a certain extent, ignores them. The point of resemblance between Tibetan and Chinese in this respect is not, I should say, the use of tones, of which nearly all natives are profoundly ignorant, but the universal habit of joining two synonymous but different sounding words, or some qualifying word together, for making what Mr. Sandberg calls (p. 117) "expanded forms" whenever there is danger of the meaning being in doubt, a practice recognized by our author on a subsequent page (p. 17), but not given, I think, proper prominence in his book.

Thus, in the examples given by Mr. Sandberg (p. 15), of "says" (*zer*), "a nail" (*gzer*), and "gold" (*gser*), the difficulty is avoided in the same way in both China and Tibet: in the former country the speaker would say *t'ieh ting-tzŭ* "an iron nail," if he feared being misunderstood, and a Tibetan would say *ser-gi chan-zer* "a gold nail," if *ser-zer* (for I think I am right in saying that *gzer* is never homophonous with *gser*) appeared to him ambiguous. The original monosyllabism of Tibetan, and, for that matter, of Chinese and other kindred languages, is not, I believe, as well established a fact as the author seems to think, and I am strongly inclined to believe that they were never purely monosyllabic at any period of their history.

I must also call attention to the constant use which the author makes of the words *di* and *dé*, which he here (p. 20) takes for the definite article, though correctly interpreted elsewhere (pp. 37 and 85, etc.) as the pronouns *hdi* "this" and *dé* "that." They are not everywhere used so frequently as our author believes; for example, I think most Tibetans would say *go gyab* "shut the door," not *go di gyak*, and *me t'ug* "don't touch it," instead of *dhe-la lakpa ma t'uk*, literally, "to that your hand do not place." In Eastern Tibetan, by the way, it is interesting to find that, so as to clearly differentiate the sounds of these two words, the word *hdi* is pronounced *a-di*; thus one hears *a-di shog* "come here." A similar expedient has been resorted to in other parts of the country, for Mr. Sandberg says (p. 85): "In the province of Tsang and in Sikkim, we have *ɯudi* or *audi* and *pidi* in use for 'this' and 'that.'"

I must call attention, in the paragraph on the plural number, to the omission of any reference to the use, as a plural sign, of the word *ts'ang*, meaning, originally, "all," "the whole." Thus, we hear *pönbo-ts'ang* "the official," *Sogbo-ts'ang* "the Mongols," and also *na-ts'ang* "we," and *k'o-rang ts'ang* "they."

In Chapter IV, on Adjectives, I think sufficient prominence is not given to the use of *ha-chang* in the formation of superlatives—thus, *ha-chang ch'enbo* "the biggest, or very

big"—and to the usual method of making intensive forms by the repetition of the adjective itself, as *t'o-bo t'o-bo* "very high," *ya-bo ya-bo* "very good," *ch'ung ch'ung* "very small," *nyung-nyung* "very little." The Chinese in like manner say *hsiao-hsiao-ti* "very little," *kuai-kuai* "very fast," etc. I may also call attention here to the colloquial mode of expressing "the best," which is *angi dang-bo*, literally "the number one," "the first," exactly reproducing the Chinese expression *t'ou i-ko* (頭 一 個); "the worst" is *t'a-ma*, literally "the last," while "very bad" would be commonly expressed by *ha-chang nan-ba*. So the phrase which Mr. Sandberg gives on p. 40, *mi dhe khang-pa ang-ki dhang-po la do gi yo*, may mean, as he translates it, "that man lives in the first house," but I should understand it to mean, "that man has a first-class house."

Chapter V deals with Numerals. I think Mr. Jaeschke's treatment of the subject is more correct than that of our author. I have never heard cardinal numbers expressed in any other way than in that in which the former writer gives them. Thus, it is the more general practice, wherever I have been, and also, apparently, wherever Jaeschke has lived in Tibet, to say, for example, *sum-chu tsa nyi* "thirty-two," *dzi-chu dzé drug* "forty-six," *drug-chu ré na* "sixty-five," *jya-t'am-ba* "one hundred," *ton-tra-nyis jya-dun dang dun-chu don-jyäd* "two thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight," etc. *Bum-tra* (*p'rag*) is the colloquial expression for "100,000."

A very common mode of expressing "twice," "thrice," etc., is by prefixing the word *ts'er* "time" to cardinal numbers; thus, *ts'er-nyis* "twice," *ts'er-sum* "thrice." The expression *ts'er-nyis*, *ts'er-sum* means also, I may remark, "repeatedly," and in Chinese we find the same expression, *tsai san tsai ssŭ* (再 三 再 四).

Chapter VI deals with the Verb. It is full and very comprehensive, and I have very little to add on the subject. Mr. Sandberg correctly points out the importance of the auxiliary verb *ré-pa*; the fact is, it is used infinitely more frequently in all parts of Tibet than any of the other

auxiliary verbs, and in many of the phrases given by him, in which he uses *yin*, *yöd*, or *dug*, I think one would much more frequently hear natives use *ré*. Thus, "I am a Tibetan" is generally expressed by *Beuba ré*. "This is nice" is *shimbo ré*. The auxiliary *yöd* is very generally used with the dative with the sense of "to have"; thus, *na-la yöd* "I have," literally "to me is."

The interrogative "is there?" is more usually expressed by *a* (or *é*) *yöd* or *a ré* than by any other form I know of. Thus, one will generally hear for "are there any books in the lamasery?" *gomba-na pé-ch'a a yöd?* "Is the pass high?" *la t'o-bo a ré?* etc.

The past tense is usually rendered by *song*, and in such other ways as Mr. Sandberg points out, but also very frequently the only indication of the tense is some adverb, conjunction, or verb; a method, by the way, the Chinese have also frequent recourse to.

The future tense of all the auxiliaries is very generally formed by the word *gyu* placed after the verb *yöd*; thus, "shall you have milk to-morrow?" is *kyorang sanyin wo-ma yöd-gyu a ré*, or *yöd-gyu ré yod-gyu ma ré?* I have often heard this root used alone with an adjective, as, for example, *däring ts'a-gyu ré* "it will be hot to-day," and even *drang-gyu-ré* "it is getting cold," just as they say *ts'a-gi-ré* "it is hot," and *drang-gi ré* "it is cold" (compare with this the Chinese expression *lêng-tê hên* 冷得狠 "it is very cold"); but these forms cannot be considered grammatical, though they certainly belong to the *lingua franca* of Mr. Sandberg, and should therefore be mentioned.

In the section relating to the active verb, I may add a reference to the frequent use, to express the completion of an action, of the word *ts'ar* with *song*; thus, "he has finished his meal" is *za-ma za ts'ar-song*; "I have finished reading the book" (*na*) *pe-ch'a ta ts'ar-song*. This has not been noted by Mr. Sandberg, who only refers (pp. 53, 54) to some other uses of this word.

Mr. Sandberg's remarks in this chapter on the construction of the Tibetan phrase, and also his Chapter XIII on

composition, cannot be too carefully studied. Until one has got well into one's head the absolute necessity of dividing every phrase into short clauses, mostly gerundial, connected by some conjunction, adverb, or "continuative particle," as the author aptly calls them (p. 121), one cannot hope to speak this language, or, for that matter, Chinese and many other Oriental ones I might mention. Mr. Sandberg (p. 121) truly says: "The whole style of composition is a chain of gerundial and participial clauses, depending only technically upon one another. The chain of clauses or sentences proceeds continuously, each successive clause in form, though not in sense, a sequence from the other, until at length a final verb—by no means the most important or main one in meaning—brings a break in the connection."

One more observation on this part of the work and I have finished. On p. 69 Mr. Sandberg calls attention to "a curious expletive, sounded *o-go*, often added to interrogative sentences, chiefly negative ones . . . . and which may be said to answer to our 'won't you,' 'will you' at the end of any hortative injunction." I think that the author has misunderstood the exact value of this term, which means "do you understand?" A very common phrase, one that a foreigner is apt to hear very frequently, is *ago, amé go*? "do you understand or not?" or else *a go*, with the same meaning.

Passing to the subject of the formation of substantives, it is proper to note the curious use to which the word *sa* is put in forming a certain class of words. Thus, we hear *lug-sa* "the place or object in which to pour out [a liquid]"; *den-sa* "the place one occupies or where one lives"; and also *dro-sa* "there is need for going," *bab-sa mindo* "there is no probability of it [snow] falling," *dro-sa mindo* "there is no need for going," etc.

The second part of Mr. Sandberg's work is devoted to conversational exercises and technical terms, which he prefaces with some useful remarks on pronunciation, some of them happily modifying the rules he previously laid

down in the first pages of his book. These rules tend to show that my "execrable" phonetic system of transcribing Tibetan really does give the sounds as heard in Lh'asa, though possibly not always those of the most highly educated; but then we are dealing with a *lingua franca*. I still persist in believing, after carefully studying this part of Mr. Sandberg's work, that for the purpose he had in view in writing this book—which was to supply travellers with a phrase-book and a considerable amount of handy technical information—it would have been better had he adopted a purely phonetic system of transcription. A traveller visiting a country, the first elements of whose language he does not understand, does not want, when consulting a phrase-book, to put some question to a native, to have to devote a half-hour's study to rules of pronunciation. Let the author of the book he is using tell him that in all native words transcribed vowels are pronounced as in French or Italian, and that consonants have the same value as in English, and let him further use no diacritical or other marks, and then the traveller will be able to pronounce his words in a manner, perhaps not perfectly satisfactory to a highly educated native, but sufficiently well to make his meaning understood. This is, perhaps, not a scientific method, but I think it is a practical one, and that is what one wants in works of this nature. The rules for the orthography of geographical names, printed in "Hints to Travellers," published by the Royal Geographical Society (7th edition, pp. 38–43), meet with my hearty approval, and I see no reason why they should not be extended to a whole language as well as to geographical names, and to this work I would refer my readers for fuller information on the subject.

The conversational exercises give a number of useful phrases such as a traveller would wish to know to enable him to talk on that most interesting of all topics—the weather, as well as about preparing and eating food, shopping, etc. There is in this part of the work much valuable information on paying and receiving visits, on

articles of food, methods of reckoning time, the plants, trees, fauna, avi-fauna, monies, weights and measures, titles, religious edifices and usages, etc., of Tibet.

In connection with the section dealing with monies, weights and measures, I should remark that it is the usual—I might say, as far as my observation goes, the universal—rule when counting to put the word *gang* after the weight or measure when only one unit is referred to, and the word *do* "a pair" when there are two. Thus one renders "one tael, two mace, and seven candareens" by *sang-gang dzo-do karma dun*, not *sang chig dzo nyis dang karma dun*; and "two fathoms and a span" is *damba-do t'o-gang*. This rule has been overlooked by Mr. Sandberg.

The third part of Mr. Sandberg's book is a vocabulary of useful words in Ladaki, Central, and literary Tibetan. I have only space to note the use he makes in it of the term *Kon-ch'og* (*dkon-mch'og*) to render "God." This term is used to express the Sanskrit *ratna* "jewel," "treasure," especially in the expression *tri-ratna* (*i.e.* Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), and I think it a pity that Protestant missionaries have chosen it to express our word God. The Catholics have not, however, made a better selection, for they use the expression *Nam-k'ä Jo-wo* "Lord of Heaven—of the sky," which is open to serious objection, though Tibetans say, it is true, *Nam-la chyag-djä* (*p'yag mdjad*) "to pray to Heaven" (in Chinese *pai T'ien* 拜 天).

In an appendix the author gives a few useful words and phrases in "Mongolized Tibetan as well as in the genuine Mongol language, the latter the colloquial idiom of the South."

I do not exactly know what the author means by Mongolized Tibetan; it is about as vague a term as Anglicized French would be. It appears to me, judging from the presence in the vocabulary of such words as *alich* "little," *potso* "boy," *chho* "lake," *homa* "milk," *sya* "a bird," to be a mixture of some *t'u-hua* of Kan-su and of Koko-nor Tibetan. As to the Mongol, it approximates quite closely that spoken by the Halhas (Khalkhas) of Eastern and North-eastern Mongolia.

A few typographical errors have escaped the author's eye. On p. 53 he writes *bok song* "have dropped," "fallen," instead of *bab-song*. On p. 184 he writes *Nam-ts'o chhyi-mo*, and on the next page *Nam-ts'o chhuk-mo*, both referring to the same lake, the Tengri-nor. On p. 187, speaking of the Tibetan legend on the silver tankas, the word before the last should be written ཕྱོར (abbreviated form of ཕྱོགས). On p. 194 he has *roi-ma* (འདོས་མ) "small brass cymbals in pairs"; འདོས is impossible in Tibetan, as the letter འ cannot be prefixed to ར. This instrument is more usually called *ding-sha*, and is the Indian *mandira* used to measure time in music.

I must also call attention to the etymology of the word *Shapé*, a name given colloquially to the members of the Lh'asan Cabinet. This name, Mr. Sandberg says (p. 189), is *dzabs-pad* "lotos-foot." This appears to me quite as fanciful as the derivation of the title Dzassak from *ja ts'ag* "a tea sieve." Whether *Shapé* is really derived from *gshags* (pronounced *shag*) meaning "justice," and *dpé* (pronounced *pé*) "a model," or not, I do not feel competent to pronounce, but certainly this seems more rational than Mr. Sandberg's derivation of the word.

Finally, the word *p'yi-ling*, which occurs repeatedly in this work, and is always translated by "Englishman," means a "foreigner of any nationality." It is *p'yi* "outside," *gling* "country," and appears to have been copied from the Chinese term for foreigner, *wai-kuo jen* (外國人) "outside-country-man."

All the slight errors or omissions I have referred to in this work can easily be corrected in subsequent editions, and I have no doubt there will be many of them, for the book is very practical, and contains all that is necessary for the acquisition of a good knowledge of spoken Tibetan.

Its advent should be hailed by all interested in the subject as a most valuable addition to our very scant knowledge of the subject it deals with.

W. Woodville Rockhill.

Primitive Civilizations, or Outlines of the History of Ownership in Archaic Communities. By Edith J. Simcox, author of "Natural Law," etc. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. New York: Macmillan and Co.

In point of industry Miss Simcox's work is monumental. The extinct civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Phœnicia are laid before us in their every-day attire: the mummies, the winged bulls, temples, and merchant galleons all seem to have undergone a process of resurrection, and to move before us in a matter-of-fact manner just as if the ancients were part of our daily life, and going about their usual business. The second volume treats almost exclusively of China, whose present-day civilization differs only in detail from that of the hoary past. It is easy to see from the outset that the author has been somewhat fascinated with the idea that Chinese civilization is not by any means indigenous, at least in its earlier stages; and throughout the two volumes no opportunity is lost for comparing a celestial custom with the analogous practices in the Western empires of antiquity. But she protects herself against the consequences of too sanguine speculation on the part of such theorists as the late M. Terrien de Lacouperie by the following wise sentence, found at the end of Chapter iv, volume 2: "At present this and other equally inviting lines of enquiry have not been followed up, on account of the difficulty of finding a scholar interested at once in the subject-matter of both classes of texts, and master enough of both archaic languages not to be misled by accidental or superficial resemblance."

Civilization began with the discovery of writing. Although Miss Simcox can hardly be said to express herself

anywhere in these bold terms, such is manifestly the deduction to be drawn from the extremely interesting theories she propounds touching the relation of sunlight, hieroglyphs, and sustained thought. One may even go farther, and ask why should not writing, in the primitive shape of shadows made permanent upon the rock, be more archaic even than articulate speech? The second part of the introduction treats of "Prehistoric Problems," amongst which is the suggestion that we should account for the birth of letters and the common features of the distant monarchies of Egypt and China by tracing them to Turanians in Babylonia. The reasoning seems to be as follows, though Miss Simcox is certainly not responsible for the majority of the doubtful premisses. There is absolute proof that the Egyptians and Babylonians resembled each other, in several important features, sufficiently to warrant the supposition of near relationship. It is unquestionable that Turanian inscriptions have been found in Mesopotamia. The distinguished traveller and geographer Von Richthofen (to whom, however, it must be noted, the Chinese literary authorities were only accessible second-hand), conceived the idea that the Chinese might have originally come from Khotan. "Nations are not born in the plain." The Chinese would find easy descents to rich lands, if we assume them to have migrated from Khotan, along the Tarim River, to Lob Nor and the Hwang Ho. Both the Chinese and the Accadians (Chaldæans of Turanian speech) described themselves as "black-haired." True, we know the grounds upon which the Accadians by contrast chose to dub themselves "black-haired," whereas we cannot account for the Chinese having done so;—and so on. Whilst giving countenance to these reasonings, of which the late M. de Lacouperie was, in Europe at least, the chief apostle, Miss Simcox has been careful to safeguard her own repute in several pregnant passages, of which the following is one:—"When obscure points of history have to be elucidated, the Hebrew scholar knows at first sight all the light that can be thrown on them by the language and literature of that

people, and the same thing is true of the student of Egyptian and Chinese, and of the Assyriologists, all of whom necessarily attach more weight to the circumstantial evidence they possess in their own departments than to the comparatively isolated pieces of information which each may communicate to the other. In time, no doubt, the results of all separate lines of enquiry are thrown into the common fund, and all established facts assume their proper place and proportion." There is a certain degree of irony, too, in the qualification of M. de Lacouperie's evidence as consisting of "varying degrees of conclusiveness." We are very much afraid that his evidence, taken as a whole, has never been seriously accorded any degree of conclusiveness by those students in the Chinese field who have justified, to the satisfaction of those in China as well as in Europe, their claim to be considered as sound authorities, however modest the degree of brilliancy each may possess in his own department. Miss Simcox concludes her introductory remarks as follows:—"Leaving all open questions of affinity to be decided by the learning of the future, we are certainly in a position to affirm that, before the so-called Aryans and Semites of history took the foremost place in the Old World, probably before they were clearly differentiated, the first civilized states in the world were founded by men of some other race, humane, industrious, non-political, but with a moral philosophy for the use of princes; liberal in the treatment of women, with the most unchanging customs of any people that have ever lived, and with the most enduring records of their life. By analogy we should expect all these states to belong to the same ethnological family; but, if the identification cannot be maintained, the similarity of temperament and institutions which suggested it only becomes the more noteworthy; as if the social order formulated by Chinese and Egyptian rulers were not merely one natural view, but in fact the first and only one that presents itself to a primitive community as either natural or possible."

As all men known to us have the same organs and limbs,

and are therefore on equal ground with each other so far as touches their instinct for self-preservation, it follows that no one in the shape of a ruler could in primitive times have successfully asserted himself over his fellows except by the display of power, wisdom, or virtue, or all three combined, in such a commanding degree as to induce his less richly endowed fellows to place themselves under him and resign to him part of their free will. It is not only manifest, but it is historical for the past, and plain even for to-day, that the beginnings of states can always be traced to the pre-eminent powers, first of individuals, then of families or tribes. In other words, all primitive communities, with certain differences in detail, conceive and formulate that view of social order which is alone natural and possible. As to the differences in detail, the differences between Babylonian, Chinese, and Egyptian social life are, after all, no greater than the differences between English, French, and German social life, and such differences will be accounted for in most cases by physical surroundings, the necessity of defence against natural or human enemies, and so on. It only stands to common reason that communities living near to each other are more likely to have originated in some common spot than communities living wide apart; it is also evident that proximate states are more likely to borrow ideas from each other than distant states. Men walk in the same way, eat in the same way, suffer and enjoy in the same way; yet one may turn the toes in or out, use fingers, knives, or chop-sticks; be drunkards or abstainers, wear trousers, clouts, or petticoats; punish certain acts as crimes, or extol them as virtues: yet still the world goes round as it always did, and men change very little. Perhaps it is not so wonderful after all that there is so much community of thought as it is that there is not more difference. The interesting discovery in our story-books for children that the cat is an animal of the tiger kind is no more wonderful than the explanation that the tiger is an animal of the cat kind. The moral of the whole thing seems to be that all human ways, interesting though they

may be, when newly described, to human beings, are, after all, very commonplace ways; but, like anything else subject to historical treatment and classification, they are apt to become a chaos unless subjected to the strictest scrutiny as to the causes and effects of their evolution. There is, perhaps, too much tendency now-a-days to assume certain classifications, as, for instance, that the Scythians of the Persians and Greeks were Aryans and not Turanians; that the Chinese are a later edition of Accadians; that the Babylonians were not Semites, and so on; straining the facts according to how we find them fit in with the pet theory. After all, Turanians are simply men who are "not Iranians," and it is still doubtful exactly what Iranians were, and how far the word is co-extensive in its origin with Aria or Aryans. Semites, or descendants of Shem (even supposing the classification had any pretence to historical value), are, by the hypothesis, descendants from the father of Shem, who was also the father of Ham and Japhet. The nose may be a little longer or shorter, the hair and the skin lighter or darker, (distinctions common to all other animals), but our eyes, noses, ears, and limbs are all exactly the same in effect. The truest course is rather to postpone all attempts at classification until the materials are complete. It is only within a generation or two that we have been able even to decipher the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian writings, let alone to be quite sure of their meaning, not to speak of fixing and classifying modes of life, taxation, and social thought out of those meanings. So, also, with our knowledge of Chinese literature: it is young: the more we learn of it the plainer it is that the earlier work requires revision. To take Pauthier, from whom Miss Simcox frequently quotes, as an instance. No more intelligent or industrious man ever lived; but it is no exaggeration to say that, though his translations are as often right as wrong, they are as often wrong as right, and like some of the Chinese high roads, indicate to us rather what stumbling-blocks to avoid, and what general direction we must take, than offer to us a route along which we may safely travel.

There is not the faintest evidence that the Chinese ever came from Khotan, nor do the remarks of Ritter and Richthofen seem to justify such a supposition. There is not the faintest ground for connecting the "Bak tribes" of M. de Lacouperie with Bactria; the very word "tribes," as a forced translation of *sing*, is a misnomer and an anachronism, and even the word *bak* (meaning "a hundred" or "all, many," etc.) is tortured out of its natural form *pak* to fit in with this crude speculation. Though there are many instances where the Chinese idea of status, vendors' rights, land-tax, ancestors' ghosts, etc., seem to be similar to the corresponding ideas of Egypt, Babylonia, or Malabar, still there are just as many instances where they are diametrically opposed. Moreover, in taking the statements of translators second-hand as a basis for comparison, one is apt to start off with a false premiss. For instance, the Chinese "*tien* or 'contract'" (vol. i, p. 184) is *not* a contract. Whatever it originally meant it never meant that, and in commercial affairs it absolutely means nothing now but "a pledge," "to pawn, or mortgage." Its other meanings, apart from trade, are "solemn act," "solemn formality," "statute": the very idea of "contract" (as shown by Sir Henry Maine) was very late in germinating in the oriental mind (*i.e.* Chinese or Indian). Then, again (p. 197), "As in China, corn and silver were used as the chief medium of exchange." Cloth and silver certainly were; and, even if rice ever was thus used, (and it is the first time we have heard it, if so), rice is not corn. Rice in China was one of the chief taxes in kind: official salaries were often paid in rice, but that does not make it a medium of exchange. On page 218 we are told that "in Egypt, as well as in China, property is transmitted almost entirely apart from marriage," a proposition as vague as it is unsatisfactory.

On the other hand, there are many instances passed over where an obvious connection with Chinese ideas might have been fairly surmised (in the absence of evidence either way); as, for instance (p. 249), "reducing the town of

an enemy to the condition of a ploughed field," which is to this day both a Chinese ideal and a Chinese literary expression; the system of identification by finger-prints (p. 378); the fact that in ancient Egypt (p. 94) "agriculture counted for more than manufactures, and manufactures were of more importance than commerce"; the fact that in ancient China, as with the nomad tribes bordering on China, descent was traced through the mother, as we are told (p. 123) was the case in Egypt. It is evident that all primitive tribes must have first conceived relationship through mothers, as there was no ocular or scientific evidence to connect a child with any father at all, still less with any specific father.

The fact is, Miss Simcox gives us in one purview what perhaps we have never had presented to us before, a very passable set of reduced pictures (taken in each case from originals, the identity of which the authoress herself had no means of checking), exhibiting the every-day life of Egyptians, Chinese, Accadians, and Babylonians. Miss Simcox accepts it as proven that "the highly developed commercial system of Babylonia was originated by the race which spoke a language that is now left to Tatars and Finns." The more complete and faithful are the pictures we get from original sources, the more opportunity we shall have in due course for rationally entertaining ourselves with problems as to the common origin of the peoples pourtrayed; but it must not be forgotten that peoples often adopt a new language: for instance, the Finnish Bulgarians have adopted Slav; the Tungusic Manchus have adopted Chinese; the Parthians (it seems doubtful whether they were Aryans or Turanians) were in their earlier civilization largely infected with Greek. But it is hardly yet time to speak of "that movement which brought the ancestors of Egyptians, Accadians, and Chinese from another highland cradle." We must first have plenty of leisure to sift our evidence. With regard to Assyrian, Egyptian, and Babylonian scholarship, the languages and literature are dead; the workers are all in London, Paris, or Berlin. But

the Chinese language and literature are not dead; it must not be forgotten that the chief workers are out in China, though the most influential audience may be in Europe. The workers in China must be reckoned with sooner or later, even if they be ignored now, and up to now there is much in the theory-making of home workers which they do not see their way to accept.

It is well known to students of Chinese literature that, when the first Chinese envoy crossed Parthia and reached the Persian Gulf or Syrian ports (it is uncertain which), the Parthian traders, *i.e.* the Arabs or Phœnicians of either Charax or Tyre, endeavoured to dissuade the envoy, or rather the envoy's lieutenant, from braving the dangers of the sea. This fact is obviously connected with the "Phœnician lies" about the dangers of the "Tyrian seas," with which, Miss Simcox tells us on page 397, the navigators of other nations were alarmed. At this time the King of Parthia was assisting Vespasian against Vitellius, the Chinese were driving the Scythians farther west, and both Chinese and Western accounts agree that the Yüechi or Hephthals, subsequently called Yeptha by the Chinese, were invading Bactria. But everything in the Chinese records tends to show that the whole country was a completely new revelation; there is not the faintest tradition that the Chinese ever saw Khotan, or even heard of it, until they prosaically found their way there whilst groping for the Yüechi in quite historical times; still less is there reason to suppose they had ever heard of Transoxiana or Mesopotamia. Even the Hiung-nu, or Chinese Scythians, destitute of writing as they were, had not only traditions, but actually and historically described relations with the West as far as Urgenj, which is mentioned in Chinese history 2,000 years ago under the name Ukken. The farthest Chinese traditions show that relations had only been held by or rather forced upon the Chinese with the Scythians of the Yellow River; even the mythical journeys of the semi-historical King Muh do not take us beyond the sources of the Yellow River, and he was, admittedly, wandering in strange lands. No

straining will connect the solitary links at each end of Asia which are supposed to form a chain to join Akkad with China. In describing the (supposed) Phœnician habit of desolating the country around their isolated factories, Miss Simcox, ever on the look out for an extra link, adds the comment (p. 397) "by a calculation like that which led the Chinese Emperors to protect their coasts from pirates by similar devastations." The Phœnicians are only *supposed* to have occasionally done it. No Chinese Emperor ever did it. A Manchu Emperor, a few years after the Chinese Empire was roughly conquered, did it for a year or two, and at once found out his mistake: but then the Manchus had never seen the sea before; not one Manchu seaman existed, (or, indeed, exists to this day); and uncouth early Manchu ideas in no way represent ancient China. This is only one illustration out of many. There can be no object in even hinting at a community of ideas between China and the West unless it be to create or increase the confused impression upon the credulous reader's mind that, though single links may be weak, the whole chain is notwithstanding there, either in substance or in shadow; in this particular case there is no justification for even imagining the possibility of a shadow.

On page 439 it is proposed that the elongated heads of Asia Minor suggest a descent from the Macrocephali of the Greeks. Here, supposing that we followed Miss Simcox's cue, we might state that, as now in Asia Minor, so in Manchuria, the elongating of the head by artificial pressure is a living custom; but even the Manchu Emperor Kienlung, in explaining the grounds of this custom in an imperial decree, protested against the habit of making too much of a popular practice for sensational purposes. So with "the Chinese and Syrian rule against purchases or presents being made or accepted by persons in authority." Is it not an exception for any country not to have such a regulation? Is it not a fact that in China the rule is but the shadowy protest of conventional morality against the universal practice the other way? A Russian rule forbidding

drunkenness, or a French rule against licentiousness, would have as much value from a comparative historical point of view. Indeed, the Chinese are such an elastic people, and will stretch so far, that we are told on page 541 Sir John Barrow was struck by the physical resemblance between them and the Hottentots!

To sum up, therefore, the impressions created by the first volume: it is an admirably arranged popular account of Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phœnician civilization, in which the prominent social characteristics of each are compared in a most interesting and suggestive way. The writer of the present lines, whose speciality is Chinese, is quite incompetent to question the accuracy of individual statements so far as they touch the four Western civilizations; but he notices throughout that authorities upon facts affecting the Chinese have been too readily accepted by the authoress without that discrimination which one would naturally have expected from one who had consulted the original Chinese first-hand. This fact leads us to ask ourselves: Is it not possible that the acceptance of authority for the Egyptian and Mesopotamian facts may have been equally facile? Perhaps not; but, as the Chinese philosopher puts it, "see one angle and a good joiner can calculate the other three." Any way, we cannot at all accept the theory that the Chinese are simply Turanian Mesopotamians in disguise, nor do we quite understand why so little is said of the ancient Indian civilizations; and India is certainly more accessible to Khotan and Turkestan than China. We are disposed, from our humble standpoint of limited knowledge, to accord to the authoress the highest praise for industry, acuteness, method, and judgment; as regards indiscriminateness, it is difficult to blame her, for how is she to know? When each sinologist poses as a prophet, how is she to recognize the true seer? All we can venture upon in the way of adverse criticism is to say that we regret the position into which she has been forced, whilst we fully recognize her caution and her intelligence in eying askance all possible pitfalls.

The second volume gives us a very compendious and, on the whole, accurate history of the Chinese social development; perhaps the best, in this particular line, yet published in any European tongue. If this general judgment is supported by every other critic, Miss Simcox may well be content to accept a few specific corrections in detail. As is almost unavoidably the case in all instances where authors accept statements of fact second-hand, numerous misprints and mistranslations occur, as, for instance, *Jo-shin* for *Jo-shui* (p. 12); *Khin* for *ts'in* (p. 63); *Ts'in* for *Tsin* (pp. 124–28, etc.); *Chua-to* for *Hwa-t'o* (p. 130); *Kao-tsong* for *Kao-tsou* (p. 132); *Lin* for *Liu* (p. 152); *Chinese Han-lin* for *Khitan Hanlin* (p. 172); *Kwan* for *wan* (p. 221); *Tai-tsou Ming* for *Ming T'ai-tsou* (pp. 237, etc.); 11,000 for 1,100 (p. 240); *Tang-ja-wang* for *T'ang Jo-wang* (p. 250); *Ou-ni-tao-jin* for *Ou-ni-lao-jin* (p. 257). Of course these are small matters, but their recurrence tends to perpetuate error and confuse the reader. Moreover, the promiscuous acceptance of French, English, and Russian romanizations of Chinese sounds makes it difficult sometimes to know of whom she is speaking. Thus Su *Che* (if the French form) is Su Shï, or Su Tung-po himself, and not his brother *Su Tcheh* (Anglic. *Che*). Then the "Ho-chang" of p. 277 are simply "bonzes" (Anglic. Ho-shang). The Grand Canal (p. 224) was not the work of Kublai Khan, who did little more than repair and alter the course of an artificial watercourse already existing for many centuries. An admirable pamphlet upon this subject has recently been published by the Jesuit Fathers of Shanghai, a whole set of whose works (published under the name of *Variétés*) Miss Simcox should at once obtain at the cost of a few shillings.

On the whole, we are disposed to endorse, in a general sense, all that Miss Simcox says in her second volume, which, considering that she is often compelled to accept what translators and specialists tell her whether she likes it or no, is certainly a marvellously successful piece of patchwork history. It is amusing, however, to find the

Chinese "General" Tcheng-ki-tong cited amongst the literary authorities.

E. H. PARKER.

COLONEL SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN: HIS LIFE AND WORK ON OUR INDIAN FRONTIER. By T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., D.C.L. 8vo. London, 1895.

The remarkable career of Sir Robert Sandeman, although little noticed outside India, was well worthy of permanent record; and it would be hard to find anyone better equipped for the task than Dr. Thornton, both by his sympathy with Sandeman's aims and his intimate knowledge of the facts. Naturally the author's former official position leads him to deal with the subject of the memoir more as a public man than as a private individual. The Bob Sandeman that we have heard his early intimates talk of, disappears nearly entirely in Sir Robert Sandeman, the Governor General's Agent for Baluchistan. But all things considered, this may be looked upon more as a merit than a defect. As an individual, Sandeman seems to have been just a bluff, burly, hearty Englishman (or Scotchman, perhaps I ought to say) of a not uncommon type, men who make up in tenacity of purpose for the want of great intellectual power.

Born at Perth in 1835, Robert Sandeman reached India in 1856 as a cadet in the old Bengal Army; and, after a brief experience of soldiering during the Mutiny, he joined the Panjab Commission in May, 1859. He became Governor General's Agent in Baluchistan in 1876; and died at the post of duty on the 29th January, 1892, near Las Beyla in that province. Luckily for him, most of his early service was in the districts west of the Indus, a country where his peculiar qualities were not stamped out of him, as they would have been in places where ready compliance with legal formalities and silent submissiveness to authority are, for most men, the best outfit for a successful official career. With Sandeman's appointment, in May 1866, to the district of Dera Ghazi Khan came the turning-point in his career;

an opening here presented itself, of which he was not slow to avail himself. One-third of the population of the district was of the same Baluch race as the tribes beyond its western border. Both within and without the district, the supremacy of the tribal chiefs had decayed, intertribal quarrels were endless, and the public peace was constantly disturbed. In addition, the men beyond the frontier were at loggerheads with the Khan of Kalat, who claimed suzerainty over them. Sandeman now conceived the policy of reviving the power and authority of the Baluch chiefs, in the hope of so using them as to put an end to all differences among the Baluch inhabitants of his district. In this project he succeeded most marvellously, by a judicious mixture of firmness with conciliation.

Since the same tribes held the land on both sides of the frontier, it was natural for Sandeman to attempt a similar intervention in the affairs of the independent section of the tribe. The method adopted for adjusting disputes was that of *panchayats*, coupled with a system of finding paid employment for tribal levies in keeping the country peaceful and the trade routes open. In these earlier measures we have the germ of that system of modified control and interference with which Sir Robert Sandeman's name is now so honourably connected. For nine years, 1866–75, Sandeman continued in charge of the Dera Ghazi Khan district, every year developing more fully his ideas of tribal management. At length, in 1875, came his opportunity of playing a greater part upon a wider stage; and for the remaining seventeen years of his life all his energies were devoted to carrying out on a larger scale the plans first conceived and put into force at Dera Ghazi Khan.

Sandeman's connection from this time with the affairs of Kalat brings us to his controversy with the officers in charge of the Sind border. The Sind system consisted in two things: (1) strict military patrol of, with non-intervention beyond, the border; (2) treatment of the Khan of Kalat as a sovereign prince, coupled with the complete denial of all political rights to the chiefs

subordinate to him, who when they raised any difficulties were styled "rebellious subjects." On this question, as we look back now, it is possible to believe that both the contending parties had some right on their side. Fifty years ago, when the Sind frontier system was organized, it would have been utter rashness to act on Sandeman's views. Bugtis, Marris, and Bozdars were then names of terror; our only hope, to keep them at arm's length and preserve our own districts from their incursions. No wonder that Sir William Merewether, able man though he was, should have failed to see in 1876 that the system, under which he had grown grey, had become antiquated. If it was, as it now seems to us it was, inevitable that an advance of our influence westwards must take place, the Sind system of non-intervention and a close frontier was doomed to perish. Sandeman now appeared in the very nick of time, as the man of Providence, with a ready-prepared scheme, and a strong, resolute will to back it. Some change there must have been. Thus, the situation being such as it was, even if Sandeman's plan had not been there for acceptance, some other must have been devised to meet the change of circumstances. Naturally the man who had something definite to propose, and was ready to back his choice, at the risk of his reputation and future career, carried everything before him.

Lucky was it for us that Sandeman had his way in 1876; otherwise, it is difficult to see how we could have succeeded in the southern half of our field of operations during 1878–79: and after the Maiwand check, complete disaster would have overtaken us, our route to the front would have been cut in two, Candahar in all probability would have fallen, had not Sandeman been already firmly seated at Quetta and wielding paramount influence in the whole country from Chaman to Sibi.

Study of the excellent map provided by Dr. Thornton will show the immense change in our position, worked by the intervention in Baluchistan which began in 1876, and of which almost the whole credit must be assigned to Sir

R. Sandeman. Our sphere of influence has been carried some 800 miles further to the west; we command the flank of any force marching on India *viâ* Cabul; we are within easy striking distance of Candahar. Nor are we so far from Hirat as to be altogether unable to influence its fate. Our railway terminus is only fifty-nine miles from Candahar. By exploration and enquiry we have found out that the country of Baluchistan is not such an absolutely dreary and unprofitable waste as we have been brought up in the belief of its being. The coast is inhospitable; the country arid: no effort of man would, I fear, be able much to improve it. Still, without being one of the more favoured spots of the earth's surface, Baluchistan is capable of becoming once more, as it was of old, the seat of a great trading route between India and the West. Some day the main line of railway between east and west will pass across it. This vision may be realized, perhaps, before the present generation has totally disappeared; and in all these marvellous changes, both past and yet to come, Sir R. Sandeman's preponderating share must never be forgotten. It is too early yet, no doubt, to pass a final judgment on the results of the position recently assumed by us in Baluchistan. But, thanks to the sturdy honesty of purpose and thorough self-devotion of one man, of whom Anglo-Indians may well be proud, we have acquired a frontier of commanding strength, such as few, if any, of us expected to see ours for many generations. Our only fear for the future is that the king may arise "which knew not Joseph," that the lessons we ought to have learnt from the past will be ignored, and that in our childish over-haste for so-called progress, we shall soon overstep the wise bounds set by Sandeman, and succumbing to our craze for legality and leaden uniformity of administration, proceed to set aside the chiefs and Khans, and attempt to rule Baluchistan as if it were a part of Lower Bengal. When that time comes, Dr. Thornton's masterly statement of frontier history and management will be there to act as a warning against such errors and as a guide into the right way. His "Colonel

Sir Robert Sandeman" takes rank among the classic works on the history of our administration in India, and will continue to be for many a year the leading authority on the subject to which it relates. Hè is to be congratulated on the successful completion of a difficult task.

Sept. 13*th*, 1895. W. IRVINE.

THE TĀRĪKH-I RASHĪDĪ OF MĪRZĀ MUHAMMAD HAIDAR DUGHLĀT, A HISTORY OF THE MOGHULS OF CENTRAL ASIA. An English Version, Edited with Commentary, Notes, and a Map, by N. ELIAS. The Translation by E. DENISON ROSS.

This is a book of high importance and interest to all who concern themselves with the history of the Moghul Empire. The author, Mīrzā Haidar, was Bāber's cousin. As a contemporary of the greater part of the events which he describes, and moving on equal terms among the master spirits of the age, he had every opportunity for getting the best information at first-hand. Consequently "the minute details which the author gives of his own sufferings and of the sufferings of his nearest relations during the period that followed the ascendancy of Sheibānī Khān in Māwerannaher and Khorāsān—of their escapes, adventures, successes, and discomfitures—let us more into the condition of the country and feelings of the inhabitants of these states and of Kāshghar at that crisis, than perhaps any other monument extant." Such is the verdict of William Erskine, who has himself translated a large portion of the work (Brit. Mus. Add. 26,612), and the same praise may be extended to whatever in the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī is based on Mīrzā Haidar's personal knowledge or experience.

The introduction, by Mr. Elias, is full of interesting matter. It contains (1) an account of the author, with an estimate of the historical value of his work; (2) a summary of the Chaghatai Khānate down to its division, *i.e.* the point where Mīrzā Haidar's narrative begins, including a genealogical table of the House of Chaghatai; (3) a description

of the land of the Moghuls; (4) an account of the various peoples by whom it was inhabited; (5) a delineation, geographical and historical, of Uighuristān; (6) a brief recital of the events which took place in the period immediately subsequent to the completion of the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī.

Among much that will attract the specialist alone, anyone may read and admire the section on the physical geography of Moghulistān, with its graphic sketches, telling of one who has seen, not merely copied. The dissertation, also, on the different meanings of Moghul, Turk, and Uighur calls for special notice. Mr. Elias makes a valiant effort to clear up the confusion which has reigned so long over the geography and ethnography of this enormous area, and which, as he remarks, is mainly due to the shifting and haphazard nomenclature adopted by Oriental historians. Some of his conclusions may appear insufficiently supported, but in any case we must confess that he has thrown light into the darkest corners. A word is due in praise of the map, which will be of great assistance to those who would unravel the complicated movements of the time.

The translation, stripped for the most part of ornamental verses, moral sentiments, lists of pious and learned contemporaries, small-talk, miscellaneous anecdotes—all that is unnecessary and therefore abundant in a Persian history—is very readable and accurate, so far as can be judged in the absence of the original text. Much thought and patient labour have evidently been bestowed upon it. Here and there we meet with a doubtful rendering, e.g. *hawā* 'mention' (p. 95), where the ordinary meaning seems to make good sense; *ū khūk murd* 'that pig died' (p. 90); *khās Moghul* 'a thorough Moghul' (p. 179), for which, though it has Erskine's authority, I should prefer to read *hāmi-yi Moghul* 'guardian of their interests.' The chronogram on p. 95, *sar-i khar giriftah Abdul Kudus*, requires elucidation. As it was composed to commemorate the exchange by Abdul Kudus of an urban for a pastoral life, khar must point to khargāh, and we may render: 'Abdul Kudus took a fancy to tents.' On p. 174 the words

'became a falcon,' which Mr. Elias says he cannot explain, are derived from Sūfiistic sources. The falcon typifies the soul returning to God. So Jalāluddīn Rūmī writes in one of his poems—

Bish'nīdam az hawā-i tu āwāz-i tabl-i bāz ;
Bāz āmadam, kih sā'id-i sultānam ārzūst.

'For love of thee I hearkened to the sound of the falcon-drum ;
I returned [or I became a falcon], for the arm of the King is my desire.'

The spelling and accentuation of Oriental words is not all it should be. On p. 218 alone we find Dāhistān, Alāmat, and Hāshishin. The author tells us that this part of the work was performed under difficulties, and practically the value of his book is not much impaired by a fault which the Persian scholar will easily correct, and others, of necessity, ignore.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

BIBLIOTHECA LINDESIANA. CATALOGUE OF CHINESE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS. Privately printed. 1895.

In the introduction to this Catalogue, Mr. Edmond, the Librarian, tells us that the Chinese portion of the great Library at Haigh Hall contains about 8000 native volumes. The foundation of this collection, which was made by the late Lord Crawford, was the purchase *en bloc* of the Chinese library of M. P. L. van Alstein, in 1833. Many additions were afterwards made through agents in China, until the collection assumed its present dimensions.

A catalogue of the Van Alstein Collection was made by J. Williams, the author of a learned work on Chinese astronomy, and that formed the basis of the present Catalogue. This should be looked upon, the compiler tells us, "as a brief hand-list or preparatory study, rather than a catalogue worthy of the importance of the collection."

As it stands, however, the Catalogue is a creditable production, and forms a good index to the books in the Chinese portion of the library. The compiler acted wisely in taking advice from Professor Douglas and in following the Wade system of transcription of Chinese sounds.

From this Catalogue we learn that the collection of Chinese books in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana is one fairly representative. We find it contains a large number of works by the early Jesuit and Protestant Missionaries, good editions of the Confucian classics, some valuable Buddhist and Taoist books, the best historical treatises, some good encyclopædias and collections of reprints, several valuable philological treatises, and not a few of the higher works of light literature. It contains also several treatises in Manchoo and Corean, and a few works on Chinese subjects written in Western languages.

As the present Catalogue is apparently intended to be only the outline of a fuller one to be made hereafter, it may be of service to point out some of the points in which corrections and improvements may be made.

In No. 260, page 3, it would be more correct to call Ch'ang-an not *the* but *an* ancient capital of China. Several other cities have also been ancient capitals.

In No. 304, p. 10, and in other places it would be better to substitute *Confucius* for *K'ung Ch'iu*.

Under No. 259, p. 13, it should be stated that the "Chu tzŭ ch'üan shu" is not a complete collection of the writings of Chu Hsi. There are several treatises by the great philosopher and commentator not included in this collected edition of his writings.

Page 15, No. 195. "Traditions of Tso. By Tso Ch'iu-ming." This is apparently not correct. The Chinese name indicates that the treatise which bears it is a reprint of an annotated edition of the "Ch'un-ch'iu" with Tso's commentary.

Under No. 203, p. 15, instead of "Complete works of Lo Pi" we should have "Reprint of the Ch'ien-chi of Lu Shih."

Under No. 194, on the same page, the words "Description of Ch'üeh Li" give an imperfect idea of the book bearing the title "Ch'ueh-li-chih." This book gives an account of Confucius' birthplace, tomb, temple, and of the worship performed in the temple, and of the places in the neighbourhood associated with the sage. In the Number Key the character for *Kuan* is given by mistake for that for *Ch'üeh*.

Page 18, No. 321. Fa-hsien's "Fo-kuo-chi" is not "a narrative of the travels of Fa-hsien in Central Asia" (where he went to obtain information and documents regarding the Buddhist religion). It describes briefly the pilgrim's journey overland to India, his travels in that country—the one to which he went for "information and documents about the Buddhist religion"—and it relates his voyage from India to Ceylon, and his return to China. The edition of the "Fo-kuo-chi" in Lord Crawford's Library is the comparatively rare one edited by Hsü Hsü, of Nan-ch'ang. In the Catalogue the name of the editor is given as "Hsü Hsü-kung," but the word *kung* here probably stands for the character so read which means "respectfully," "reverently," and belongs to the next character.

Page 19, No. 64, for "Amitatha" read Amitabha or Amitayus, and in the name of the translator *j* should be substituted for *g*.

No. 322, p. 19. "Fo Tsu Li Tai T'ung Tsai." This treatise is much more than a "History of the Buddhist saints or patriarchs." It is rather the annals of Buddhism first in India and afterwards in China in connection with Chinese legends and history.

Page 25, No. 445. For *Hsü* in "Hsü-ting-ch'ien-lü, and in the Number Key for the same, *Ch'in* should be substituted.

No. 343, p. 28. The "I ch'ieh ching yin i" explains not only the "foreign technical terms found in the Buddhist works," but also the difficult native words and phrases.

No 331, p. 36. The "Li Sao" was composed by Chü Yuan, not by "Feng Sao."

No. 362, p. 38. "Liu shu ku." This book is not "an ancient dictionary," but a philological treatise of the

thirteenth century. It gives an account of Chinese characters under the sixfold classification of them according to their origin and use.

No. 335, p. 42. "Mu T'ien tzŭ Ch'uan Chu pu Chêng." This title is explained as meaning "Respectful terms for addressing the Emperor and superiors generally." The book, however, is apparently the well-known account of the Emperor Mu's visit to Hsi-Wang-Mu.

These and other errors of interpretation and transcription can be easily rectified. The compiler would make his Catalogue more useful by giving the number of the *Chuan* instead of the *pên* of the books, and by explaining whether a date added to a work is that of the particular copy or of the book when produced or first published.

T. W.

Die Religion des Veda. Von Hermann Oldenberg. pp. 620. Berlin, 1894.

Not for many years has so important a work as this appeared in any department of Sanskrit research. It is a book which is full of ideas, dealing in a thoroughly scientific spirit with a vast amount of material, and while calling in question many accepted views, puts forward a number of new ones in their place. I have therefore felt it to be my duty to devote, through lack of other leisure, part of a summer holiday to writing an appreciation of the book, rather than that its appearance should pass without some record in the pages of this Journal.

The work consists of two parts of about equal length, the former treating of the mythology of the Veda, the latter of its cult. The objection might be made that it is too soon for a new treatment of the subject after the publication of Bergaigne's great work *La Religion Védique*. But Bergaigne's book is limited in its scope to the hymns of the Rigveda, and bears the character of a thesaurus of materials. Oldenberg's

work, on the other hand, exploits not only the whole field of Vedic literature but also much else beyond its range, and subjects the material utilized to a philosophically critical treatment. The second part is particularly valuable as presenting, in a masterly fashion, a subject never before adequately treated as a whole. Few living Sanskritists would have been capable of thus sifting and concentrating so vast an amount of scattered material without smothering the general treatment under a mass of detail. The book, therefore, not only represents a great advance in itself but will doubtless also prove a stepping-stone to accelerated progress.

I am unable to agree with several of the positions taken up by the author, and think that some of them, even though defended by a scholar of Prof. Oldenberg's grasp, are not likely to be accepted without a more minute examination of the material in question than seems possible in a work of so wide a scope. The probable rejection of some of them after such examination will, however, only lead to that advancement of truth which all real scholars have at heart.

Perhaps the most important hypothesis put forward by Prof. Oldenberg is that the seven Ādityas, as representing the seven planets, of which Varuṇa, the moon, was the chief, were borrowed in the Indo-Iranian period by the Aryans from a Semitic nation more skilled in astronomy than themselves. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis may briefly be reproduced thus: The group of the seven Ādityas corresponds to the Ameshaspentas of Avestan mythology. Mitra and Varuṇa are the chief Ādityas. Mitra (=the Avestan Mithra) is admittedly the sun. Varuṇa (=the Avestan Ahura Mazda) is, probably even in the oldest Vedic period, the moon. Finally, the identification of Varuṇa with the Greek *οὐρανός* must be absolutely rejected. Now all these propositions, excepting Mitra and Varuṇa being the chief Ādityas and Mitra originally the sun, are liable to be seriously called in question.

Most scholars are now-a-days fully alive to the danger of mythological equations based on the identification of names, as only tending to force together conceptions which are totally disconnected. In the present case we have a phonetic equation which, though offering a slight difficulty, is not one of those which, like many other identifications of comparative mythologists, have to be rejected in the light of the stricter phonetic laws now recognized (cp. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii, p. 154). But we have not only the phonetic equation; we have also a fundamental equation of conceptions. For the oldest evidence we possess—that of the Rigveda—is certainly more in favour of Varuṇa being the encompassing sky than anything else (cp. J.R.A.S. 1894, p. 628). Oldenberg, it is true, thinks that the absence of Mitra's connection with day and Varuṇa's with night in the oldest Veda, does not disprove the age of that connection. Now the late occurrence of a myth absent in earlier literature, admittedly does not disprove the antiquity of that myth. But when we have one form of a myth in the Rigveda and another in the later Vedas, very strong arguments must surely be adduced to demonstrate that the Rigveda represents the more recent stage. The identity of Mitra with the sun in the Indo-Iranian period, combined with the fact that Mitra and Varuṇa are dual chiefs of the Ādityas, by no means shows that Varuṇa was the moon. The improbability, moreover, of the moon, the lesser deity, so completely overshadowing the sun, would require a satisfactory explanation. The identification of the Ādityas with the seven Ameshaspentas, in which Oldenberg follows Roth (Z.D.M.G., vi, 69 *sqq.*), may be correct; but Spiegel doubts it, and Windischmann thought the Ameshaspentas a purely Iranian creation. The number seven can scarcely be said to be characteristic of the Ādityas. Not more than six are ever enumerated by name, and that only once (RV. II, 27, 1). Their number is only twice specified, and that in the younger parts of the Rigveda, once as seven, along with two other groups of seven only (IX, 114, 3), and once as eight (X, 72, 8). The number

is given as eight in the Atharva-veda, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the latter also stating it to be twelve. The isolated application of the number seven may therefore quite well be purely Indian, due to the analogy of the seven Ṛṣis, the seven priests, the seven rays of the sun, and so forth. Again, though in the Veda the names of the three lesser Ādityas (Bhaga, Aṃśa, Dakṣa) are abstractions like those of the Amesha-spentas, there is no single correspondence in the names of these abstractions. Finally, Oldenberg has to assume that the character of the Ādityas, and particularly of Varuṇa, could, when borrowed by the Aryans, hardly have been understood, it being impossible that the moon as such could within the Indo-Iranian period have developed so highly abstract and ethical a character as to account for the supreme position as a moral ruler of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta, and of Varuṇa in the Veda. Thus Oldenberg's hypothesis appears to me to involve too many doubts, improbabilities, and assumptions to warrant its acceptance.

Another view of more general bearing put forward in this work, is the existence, among the deities of the earliest Vedic period, of a number of direct abstractions. On the general character of the Vedic pantheon, Oldenberg himself says it is certain that the higher gods [*i.e.* those which are not of a semi-divine or fetishistic nature] of the Vedic, and certainly also of the Indo-European period, are without exception, or well-nigh without exception, the deified representations of entities in nature or the forces which are active in the great phenomena of nature (p. 40).

All the deities of the Rigveda which admit of being regarded as abstractions may be divided into three classes. One of these, consisting of purely allegorical personifications of abstract qualities, such as Manyu (Wrath) and Śraddhā (Faith), is scantily represented in the Rigveda, and that only in the very latest hymns, because of the speculative tendency which manifests itself in these. This class of deified abstractions, further developed in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā and the Atharva-veda, as exemplified by Kāma (Desire), prevails

still more in the Brāhmaṇas and in post-Vedic mythology, with personifications like Dharma (Duty). With this group Oldenberg is not concerned.

Another class of abstractions which is also rare, and the deities of which, with one or two exceptions, are separate individuals in the tenth book only, comprises names with the value of attributes or epithets. Prajāpati, Lord of Creatures, is an example of this type. In the only older portion of the Rigveda (IV, 53, 2) in which it occurs, this name is actually an epithet of Savitṛ, who is there called 'supporter of heaven and prajāpati of the world.' In IX, 5, 9 it is applied as an epithet to Soma compared with Tvaṣṭṛ and Indra. In the remaining four occurrences, all in the tenth book, Prajāpati appears as an independent deity, once as the supreme god above the other gods (X, 121, 10). It is only in the Sūtras and the post-Vedic Brahmanical literature that he becomes identified with Brahmā. One god belonging to this class, Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇas pati, Lord of Prayer, occurs frequently in the oldest as well as the recent parts of the Rigveda. This is one of the deities Oldenberg appears to regard as a direct personification, 'the celestial embodiment of the priesthood' (p. 16, cp. 592). To me the evidence seems, though perhaps erroneously, to be in favour of Bṛhaspati having been originally an epithet representing the sacerdotal side of Agni's nature, which had already at the beginning of the Rigvedic period acquired an independent character. The many traits he has in common with Agni, especially that of *purohita*, domestic priest, besides his occasional identification with that god, would be accounted for by the original connection, while the much more frequent distinction made between him and Agni would be due to Bṛhaspati's acquired independence. It would, however, take too much space to set all this forth in detail.

The third class includes names expressing a particular sphere of activity and mostly having the form of a *nomen agentis* in *-tṛ*. It includes, if Oldenberg's view be correct, four gods as familiar to the oldest portions of the Rigveda as

to the youngest. These are the 'Instigator' (Savitṛ), the 'Wanderer' (Viṣṇu), the 'Fashioner' (Tvaṣṭṛ), the 'God of Roads' (Pūṣan). We may take Dhātṛ, the Ordainer or Creator, as a clear example of this type. The name sometimes occurs in the Rigveda as an appellative of priests as 'ordainers' of the sacrifice. As the name of a deity, it occurs about a dozen times, but only in the tenth book, with the single exception of one verse (3) in a hymn to the Viśvedevās, which enumerates a large number of deities (VII, 35). In one of these later passages (X, 167, 3) it occurs as an epithet of Indra, and in another (X, 82, 2), of Viśvakarman. The similarly formed name Trātṛ, protector, is mostly used as an epithet of Agni or Indra. It also occurs independently as *deva trātṛ*, the protector god, four times (IV, 55, 5. 7; I, 106, 7; X, 128, 7), besides one occurrence in the plural (VI, 50, 1). Roth expresses the opinion in the large St. Petersburg Dictionary that *deva trātṛ* has special reference to Savitṛ and also to Bhaga. Thus of these two gods, Dhātṛ and Trātṛ, it can, at any rate, hardly be maintained that they are old creations or direct abstractions. But the god Savitṛ, whose name is clearly of pure Indian derivation, from the root *su* 'to impel,' and undoubtedly means the 'Inciter,' etc., is mentioned with much frequency in the oldest parts of the Rigveda. There may, therefore, be better grounds for supposing that this deity embodies directly the idea of stimulation. Against such a view it may be urged that Savitṛ undeniably partakes very largely of the character of the sun. Though it is impossible here to show this in detail, some of the more striking statements to this effect may be mentioned. Savitṛ is pre-eminently the golden deity. He illumines heaven and earth (I, 38, 7. 8, etc.). He raises aloft his strong golden arms, with which he blesses and arouses all beings (II, 38, 2, etc.). The raising of his arms is, in fact, characteristic (I, 95, 7). He moves with his chariot, seeing all creatures, on a downward and an upward path (I, 35, 2. 3). He shines after the path of the

dawn (V, 81, 2). In several passages Savitṛ and Sūrya appear to be indiscriminately spoken of to denote the same deity. There are some traces that the word has not yet entirely lost its attributive value, for it is twice used as an epithet of Tvaṣṭṛ (III, 55, 19; X, 10, 5), and in nearly half its occurrences accompanies the word *deva*. It is, therefore, certainly very probable that Savitṛ, the Stimulator, should represent one of the sun's most prominent characteristics, its stimulating power, which both arouses animate beings to life in the morning, and promotes the vegetable growth of the earth. Though of a more special character than Sūrya, he might be identified with the latter because of the original connection being still felt, but distinguished from the concrete sun as having gone through a separate evolution of his own. This seems decidedly more probable than that Savitṛ should be a pure abstraction of the notion of stimulation—which is contrary to the general tendency of the mythological creations of the Rigveda—and should then have attracted to himself a large body of solar traits. And all the time the name expresses an entirely appropriate attribute of the sun as its starting-point. Oldenberg's view, in fact, seems unnecessarily to invert the probable order of evolution.

He further explains Viṣṇu to be the 'Wanderer,' as exemplifying the notion of 'wideness of space.' He cannot see that this deity recognizably represents a power of nature, and thinks that every distinct trace of solar character is absent in him (p. 227 f.). The prevailing notion in the conception being wideness of space, Viṣṇu is the god who traverses it, orders and procures it for men. His characteristic three steps cannot refer to the sun's course, for what is said about them does not agree with morning, noon, and evening, the third step being sublime and leading to the mysterious world of the highest height, and showing no connection with sunset. The triple nature of Viṣṇu's strides Oldenberg therefore explains from the general favour shown to the number

three in mythology. Now it is quite true that if Viṣṇu be a solar deity, his character has become greatly obscured. But I have endeavoured to show (J.R.A.S. 1895, pp. 170 ff.) that the evidence supplied by the Rigveda and the later literature is sufficient to warrant the inference that Viṣṇu actually represents a solar deity conceived as the sun, not in his general character, but as the swiftly moving luminary which with vast strides traverses the whole universe in its threefold division of earth, air, and heaven, so familiar to Vedic cosmology. This explanation meets Oldenberg's objection to the usual interpretation of the three steps, while satisfactorily accounting for the character of the third step.

Space will not admit of my examining, even in the cursory method followed above, the arguments advanced by the author in favour of his theory as applied to the gods Pūṣan and Tvaṣṭṛ. I must content myself with stating the opinion that, on the one hand Oldenberg's view is not conformable to the general cast of thought in the oldest Rigvedic period; while, on the other, there seem to be good grounds for a different explanation. We must hasten to consider some of the numerous other points which claim attention.

Oldenberg revives and approves of the hypothesis first advanced by Mannhardt, that the phenomenon represented by the Aśvins, the twin gods of early dawn, are the morning and the evening star. He certainly supports this view with great plausibility. The arguments in favour of the identification are these: The morning star is the only light beside the morning fire, the dawn, and the sun. The time of the Aśvins, their luminous nature, and their course around the heavens are applicable to the star. Not so their duality. For while the Aśvins are inseparable, the two stars are eternally apart. Still, the evening star would naturally be thought of as forming a couple with the morning star. Considering the importance of the morning in Vedic worship, and the fact that sunset plays practically no part in it, while the Aśvins nevertheless are in some passages invoked

morning and evening and are sometimes even spoken of as separate in the Rigveda, it seems by no means unintelligible that the star of evening should have come to be worshipped in association with that of morning. This view, Oldenberg shows, is further supported by the evidence of comparative mythology (p. 212, note 3). The Aśvins, who are horsemen, sons of heaven, drive across the sky, and possess a sister, have a parallel in the famous horsemen of Greek mythology, the *Διὸς Κοῦροι*, the brothers of Helena, and in the Lettic sons of god who come riding on their steeds to woo the daughter of the sun, either for themselves or the moon. In the latter myth, too, the morning star is said to have come to look at the daughter of the sun. Among all the numerous explanations given by interpreters, who have been puzzled by the Aśvins since the time of Yāska, the only one, perhaps, which might seem to compete in likelihood with the present theory, is that of Goldstücker, who thought that the Aśvins represented the inseparable duality of light and darkness which constitutes the morning twilight.

Oldenberg may be right in adhering to the generally accepted opinion that Parjanya goes back to the Indo-European period, as being identical with the Lithuanian Perkunas. There are, however, some reasons worthy of consideration in favour of this god being a recent mythological creation. The conception of Parjanya in the Rigveda is naturalistically fresh, and the activity of the god is very realistically and literally described. The connection between the appellative meaning of rain-cloud and its personification is so close that it is often hard to say which is intended. The name of Parjanya is regularly coupled with the literal name of wind, *vāta*, while the more fully personified Indra is associated with the less concrete Vāyu. If Parjanya and Perkunas are the same, it seems likely that only the appellative meaning is Indo-European. But how can the equation Parjanya=Perkunas be justified phonetically?

In his interpretation of the Indra myth, Oldenberg

appears to me to explain one point too literally and another too figuratively. He is of opinion that the release of the waters by Indra, was by the poets of the Rigveda understood not of celestial but of terrestrial waters set free from terrestrial mountains. The refutation of this view seems to follow from the author's own statements. According to his own conviction, comparative mythology proves that the cloud waters were originally meant, while the later mythology recognizes the atmospheric character of the Vṛtra fight, and the Rigveda itself shows isolated remnants and traces of the old conception. Why the Rigvedic poets should have undergone this intermediate aberration, is hard to see. It is true that Indra is scarcely ever said in the Rigveda to rain. But is it not natural that the release of the celestial waters should be described in more or less stereotyped mythological terms, just as lightning is regularly called Indra's *vajra*, in order to differentiate his activity from the literally described operations of a cognate deity like Parjanya? It is no doubt also true that clouds, much the same as lightning, play no great part in the Rigveda (p. 141), as Oldenberg says in agreement with Hillebrandt. But it is surely only true of the literal names of those phenomena. It will not easily be admitted to be true mythologically. Such an argument would tell still more strongly against Hillebrandt's lunar theory of Soma. For the literal name of moon, *mās* or *candramās*, occurs decidedly less often in the Rigveda than that of lightning (*vidyut*) or of cloud (*abhra*, *abhriya*). On the other hand, there appears to be hardly sufficient reason for Oldenberg's metaphorical explanation of Indra's winning of light as 'the attainment of bright goods after overcoming terrible danger' (p. 151).

Apāṃ napāt, the Son of Waters, in Oldenberg's opinion, probably does not represent lightning in the Rigveda, but fire in all water, especially rivers and ponds. Opinion is almost unanimous that this deity represents a form of Agni in the Rigveda. Though Agni may have been regarded as latent in terrestrial waters, as being so often extinguished

by them, it is hardly likely that in this condition ordinary fire should so often be spoken of as shining forth, to say nothing of shining with undimmed splendour in the highest place (II, 35, 14). He is, moreover, distinctly connected with lightning in the often quoted passage: 'clothed in lightning, the son of waters has mounted upright on the lap of the slanting (waters)' (II, 35, 9). The name itself is indicative of issuing from the waters. The Avesta has, however, to be reckoned with in determining this deity's original nature. Oldenberg, disagreeing with Darmesteter, who identifies Apāṃ napāt with fire in the story of the conflict of Ātar (fire) and the dragon (Yasht XIX), takes him to have been originally a genius of the waters. The rather scanty and indefinite information about him quoted from the Avesta (p. 118) seems to favour the Rigvedic conception quite as much as Oldenberg's view. The only support for his opinion which he can adduce from the Rigveda is the fact that RV. X, 30, a hymn addressed to Apāṃ napāt, is in its ritual application exclusively concerned with ceremonies connected with water and not with fire. But this hymn is by no means so decidedly sacred to Apāṃ napāt. According to the Anukramaṇī it is addressed to 'the waters or Apāṃ napāt.' As the name occurs only three times in its fifteen verses, Ludwig and Grassmann agree in regarding the hymn as celebrating the waters only, which are mentioned in every verse. 'Son of waters' is a graphic designation of lightning, while some such expression as 'lord of waters' would better describe a genius of the waters.

Oldenberg, dissenting from the view that Rudra is a storm-god, believes him to be a demon of disease coming from forest and mountain, like Mars Silvanus. It is, however, hard to get over the fact that he is the father of the Maruts, who are often called Rudras. They would hardly be so named if their father were so totally different in character from themselves. His being characteristically an archer is liable to more than one interpretation; but his missiles are several times definitely referred to. He is

spoken of as holding a bolt in his hand (*vajrabāhu*), an epithet applied to no other god but Indra. His lightning shaft discharged from the sky traverses the earth (VII, 46, 3). He is besought not to assail his worshippers with celestial fire, but to cause lightning to descend elsewhere (AV. XI, 2, 26; X, 1, 23). He is the ruddy boar of heaven (I, 114, 5), the term boar being otherwise mythologically applied to the Maruts and to Vṛtra. The three hymns addressed to Rudra in the Rigveda consist chiefly of deprecations, in which he is besought to spare his worshippers and their cattle with his bolt. His name in some passages of the Rigveda appears to be an epithet of Agni. Though it cannot be said that there is anything very definite to show clearly what natural substrate he represents, a probable conclusion may be drawn from the above-mentioned traits. The relation of Rudra to mountains and forests is not found till the later Vedic literature, and its force as an argument is weakened by his there being connected with all kinds of localities. The evidence of the Rigveda would, therefore, appear to be in favour of Rudra being a storm-god, in whom the baleful nature of lightning is prominent, in contrast with its action wholly beneficial to man in the case of Indra. This accounts for his formidable nature—which is more and more developed in the later literature — manifested in his killing and injuring man and beast with his shafts. It also accounts for his being the father of the storm-gods. The healing and beneficent side of his character would be due partly to the purifying action of the thunderstorm in clearing away hurtful miasmas, and partly to his action of sparing those whom he might slay. The latter trait doubtless gave rise to the euphemistic attribute 'auspicious' (Śiva), which developed into his regular name in post-Vedic mythology.

Our author criticizes adversely (p. 101) the much discussed theory of Henotheism, 'the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest,' a theory which has also been opposed by Whitney and Hopkins. Oldenberg argues that, on the one hand, hymns addressed to the

Viśvedevās are frequent, in which all the deities, even the lesser ones, are praised in succession; while, on the other, the technical priest could not but know the exact relative position of each god in the Soma ritual, for which the great mass of the Vedic hymns were composed, and which included the worship of almost the entire pantheon. He concludes, therefore, that Henotheism is rather an appearance than a reality, an appearance produced partly by the indefiniteness of outline in the Vedic gods, and partly by the natural exaggeration of the priest and singer in extolling the attributes of the god he is addressing. This piece of criticism seems decidedly to hit the nail on the head.

In his appendix (pp. 599–612) Oldenberg's destructive criticism treats with telling effect the novel hypothesis advanced by Hillebrandt in his important book *Vedische Mythologie*, that Soma as a god throughout the Rigveda means the moon, which, moreover, is the centre of Vedic worship. The late Prof. Whitney, in a paper touching upon this hypothesis in a sceptical spirit, had called for a detailed examination. This Prof. Oldenberg has, without delay, supplied in a masterly fashion. His argument is in outline as follows: In the vast majority of references to Soma in the Rigveda, the character of the god as a personification of the plant and juice is clear and obvious. On the other hand, while the identification of Soma and the moon is unmistakable in the later literature, there is in the whole of the Rigveda no single instance either of an express identification or of an express reference to the moon being the food of the gods. The fact that even in the least obscure passage in which the identification is generally admitted by Vedic scholars, viz. that which refers to the wedding of Soma and Sūryā (X, 85), the lunar nature of Soma is alluded to as a secret known only to Brāhmans, indicates the incipient character of the conception. The brilliance of Soma is constantly brought into relation with the sun, but this is often vaguely expressed. It is only in these vague passages that the lunar Soma of later belief can be discovered (cp. p. 184). At the same time Oldenberg

admits that amid the fanciful and chaotic imagery of the Soma hymns may lurk a casual identification of the celestial Soma and the moon, or reference to the swelling of the moon as parallel to the swelling of the Soma plant. But with the few exceptions generally recognized in the later Rigveda, and possibly some others, the position that the god Soma in the Rigveda is on the whole a personification of the terrestrial plant and juice, remains unshaken. If this be so, the latter half of the hypothesis, that the worship of the moon dominates the religious thought of the Rigveda, necessarily falls to the ground. It should be added that Prof. Bloomfield admits Hillebrandt's former contention, but rejects the latter (Amer. Journ. of Phil., vol. xiv, p. 491 f.).

The greater part of the second half of the volume (pp. 302–523) brings together and critically treats, with a masterly command of the material, all that is at present known concerning the various kinds of sacrifice, the different fires, the priests, ceremonies, festivals, prayer, and magic in the Vedas. A prominent and important feature is the very wide utilization of ethnological literature for the purpose of discriminating ancient inheritance from new development. Hitherto the study of Vedic religion has, to its detriment, been isolated from the light which the science of ethnology is capable of shedding on it. One widely diffused primitive conception which the Indo-Europeans must have inherited from an earlier stage, but I think not referred to as such by Oldenberg, is the notion of heaven and earth being the universal parents.

From a general point of view Oldenberg shows that the ritual indicates the quite predominantly benevolent character of the great Vedic gods, as the endeavour to ward them off by prayer or offerings of food is a rare trait, chiefly apparent in the cult of Rudra. Among the lesser demoniac powers the hostile predominate; while the souls of departed fathers are treated as both friendly and uncanny. The Vedic sacrifice being intended to elicit the favour of the gods, is accompanied by prayers. Thanksgivings are almost entirely absent, the Vedic language, in fact, not knowing

the word to thank (p. 305). The general attitude of the sacrificer of the Rigveda is the endeavour to evoke the benevolence of a deity by satisfying, strengthening, exhilarating him with the offering, which is chiefly Soma, in the expectancy of an abundant recognition of such attentions. A few passages are, however, found in the Rigveda, in which the sacrificer is regarded as exercising a kind of magical, compelling influence on the deity. But such a notion is rare, and is probably to be regarded as an incidental fancy. This conception of the power of the priest became a conspicuous feature in the period of the Brāhmaṇas, where the relative importance of the gods and of sacrifice is inverted, the gods being mere shadows and sacrifice all-powerful. The chief source of this view Oldenberg sees in the mixture of two originally separate spheres, sacrifice and magic, which Bergaigne does not sufficiently distinguish (p. 315). The way in which Vedic ceremonies, as shown by him, are everywhere permeated by magical notions is highly interesting and important.

The magical fire for warding off injurious spirits, which is the more primitive, being spread over the whole earth among races in a low stage of civilization, is not to be found in the Vedic cult. It has become amalgamated with the ordinary sacrificial fire, but is, according to the author, represented in the more elaborate ritual of the three fires by the southern (*dakṣiṇa*) fire, for it is from the south that the souls of the dead and cognate uncanny spirits approach (p. 340).

The only perfectly certain trace of human sacrifice in Vedic times in Oldenberg's opinion is to be found in the rite connected with the building of the fire-altar, in which a man, horse, bull, ram, and he-goat are prescribed as the five victims. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, however, speaks of this as a thing of the past, substitutes being then already in vogue (p. 364). The weight to be attached to ancient legends like that of Śunaḥśepa must, he thinks, remain doubtful.

With regard to the differentiation of technical priests in the Rigveda, Oldenberg's argument (p. 396) against the existence, at least in its oldest portions, of the Brahman specifically so called, is not very clear. The name occurs as the last of seven in the oldest list of technical priests (RV. II, 1, 2); but it can be proved according to Oldenberg that he represents not the Brahman of the later ritual, but the Brahmanāccha̱msin. If this be so, it would have been advisable to adduce the proof more distinctly. In any case, the oldest Vedic ritual knew seven priests with distinct functions. It is of interest and importance to note that the Avesta has eight, the chief of whom, the *Zaotar*, who in the Iranian Soma sacrifice recited the gāthās, corresponds in name and function to the Vedic reciting priest, the *Hotṛ*. The names of the remaining Avestan priests point to the same sacerdotal actions as those with which the Vedic Soma sacrifice is concerned (p. 385). This shows how elaborate the ceremonies of the Soma sacrifice must have been even in the Indo-Iranian period. The *dīkṣā*, or consecration preparatory to a rite, is, as Oldenberg points out, one of the observances to be found among the most diverse primitive peoples. Its real object is to bring about intercourse with the gods by inducing an ecstatic condition. An important means to this end was fasting, which was regarded as resulting in enlightenment and supernatural power of various kinds. Traces are already to be found in the Rigveda (cp. especially X, 136) of the power of religious austerity, *tapas*, originally exposure to heat, which attained such an inordinate development in later India.

The last section (pp. 524–97) describes the Vedic methods of burial and beliefs regarding life after death. The author makes it probable that even the Rigveda—the later Vedas show it clearly—alludes to a belief in hell, in opposition to the view of Roth, who held that only heaven, as the abode of the righteous, is referred to, the existence of the wicked being ended by death. But this latter view conflicts with the universal primitive belief in the continuance of all life after death. Oldenberg, in agreement with Zimmer

and Scherman, also sees positive traces of the belief in hell in the Rigveda.

With regard to the question of widow-burning, the author points out that ethnologically the practice is on the same level as that of giving the dead man clothes and ornaments to wear in the next world, a primitive custom not only widely diffused, but still clearly understood in the Veda (p. 586). Just as the bow placed in the hand of the deceased is in the funeral rite of the Rigveda removed from it, so the widow ascends the funeral pyre of her dead husband only to be recalled from it to the world of the living by a special ceremonial act. This is clearly a relic of the ancient custom of widow-burning, which, though undoubtedly excluded by the Vedic ritual, was far from being an invention of later Brahmanism, and probably never, even in the earlier period, fell entirely into abeyance through the authority of the Veda. All this has long ago been clearly shown by Prof. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*.

Though it has only been possible in this review to touch upon a few of the questions dealt with by Prof. Oldenberg, what has been said probably suffices to show how important and valuable a contribution his book is to our knowledge of the religion of the Veda.

ARTHUR A. MACDONELL.

AN AUSTRALIAN IN CHINA, BEING THE NARRATIVE OF A QUIET JOURNEY ACROSS CHINA TO BRITISH BURMAH. By G. E. MORRISON, M.B., C.M.Edin., F.R.G.S. London: Horace Cox. 1895.

This "Quiet Journey across China to British Burmah" comes at an opportune moment, and is a welcome addition to our books about China Its author is Dr. G. E. Morrison, of Victoria, Australia. Although this seems to be the author's first book of travels, yet he has evidently wandered in many lands and he is a seasoned traveller.

The journey described in this book is one which has already been made by several travellers, some of whom have written and published accounts of their journeys. The best of these accounts were apparently read by our author before he set out on his travels, or at least before he wrote his book. Indeed, the present work differs from most other books of travel in China in this respect (along with others), that the traveller had acquired some information about China and the Chinese, and the particular line of country which he was to traverse, before he started on his journey.

Our author went by steamer from Shanghai to Hankow and on to Ichang, the head of steam communication on the Yangtze up to the present. From Ichang to Chungking the traveller ascended the great river in a native boat, known as a Wupan or Five Planks. This was a small uncomfortable craft in which to go up the gorges and over the rapids. Our author's account of these is very brief, but true and picturesque. He does not mention all the gorges, and his attention does not seem to have been directed to the noteworthy objects in two of them.

At Chungking Dr. Morrison made a halt of a few days, and during his stay he made the acquaintance of all the foreign residents, especially the missionaries. From this, on through Western China, the journey was made by land, the traveller being dressed as a "Chinese teacher." For the most part he trudged along on foot with his coolies, as he was not able to afford a sedan. He did indulge in the luxury of a sedan for a short distance, and he also made part of the journey on mule- or pony-back. The Chinese all along the route seem to have treated him fairly well, and he does not fail to give those who served him faithfully their due meed of praise. He also sums up the characteristics of the Chinese, that is of the Canton, artizans, in a few sentences (p. 223) which are as near the facts as an Australian could attain. His journey was uneventful, and he arrived safely at Bhamo, from which he continued his travels to Mandalay and Rangoon, and from the last by steamer to Calcutta.

Dr. Morrison's book is written throughout in a cheerful, humorous spirit, pervaded by a half-repressed tendency to levity and sarcasm. What he has to say he says in clear, terse language; he tells his stories well, and there is not a really dull page in the whole book. Moreover, for second-hand information and opinions derived from others, he is careful to cite his authorities. Our traveller seems to have a catholic appreciation for missionaries of all sects, whose zeal and energies, however, he apparently thinks are misapplied. But his remarks on the various mission stations, the work and the visible results, are worthy of attentive perusal. So also are all his statements about opium-smoking and poppy-cultivation as he saw them on his journey, and about the traffic in female children and infanticide. It should be remembered, however, that our traveller knew only about a dozen words of Chinese, which he probably did not pronounce correctly, and that he had no interpreter when away from the missionaries.

The book has numerous photographic illustrations, and it is furnished with an index and a sketch-map. It is well printed, and is free to a remarkable extent from typographical and other mistakes.

A second edition of the work will in all probability be soon required, and there are a few inaccuracies in it which the author may like to have corrected. He seems to go too far in what he states and suggests about the "Rice Christians"—that is, those Chinese who become Christians for the sake of immediate worldly advantages to be obtained from the missionaries. The author does not seem to know that there are many thousands of native Christians, even among the Protestant sects, who not only do not derive any pecuniary gain from their connection with the religion but even contribute to the support of the mission stations. No doubt some of the very low-class Chinese do profess themselves Christians merely with a view to a regular supply of rice and tea, but these should be regarded as exceptions. On this subject our traveller quotes a missionary, the Rev. C. W. Mateer, as stating,

"The idea (derived from Buddhism) is universally prevalent in China that everyone who enters any sect should live by it." This seems to be utterly wrong and misleading, for sects in China, with the exception of Christianity, require to be supported by their adherents. As to Buddhism, everyone knows that the Buddhist layman not only does not live by his sect but that he is called on by his religion to support the monks and keep up the temples and the religious services.

On p. 77 and in other places the word for "Yamen-runner" would be more correctly and intelligibly given as *Ch'ai-jen* instead of *Chairen*. So also on the same page *Gowshun*! *gowshun*! probably means "Promotion! promotion!" (*Kao-shêng*! *kao-shêng*!). The author's translation "A little more! a little more!" is, however, the practical result at which the Yamen-runner was aiming.

At p. 209 we read of the gaols of China, "or, as the Chinese term them, 'hells.'" This is putting matters wrongly. The Chinese do not call their prisons "hells," but they call the latter "earthly prisons."

T. W.

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